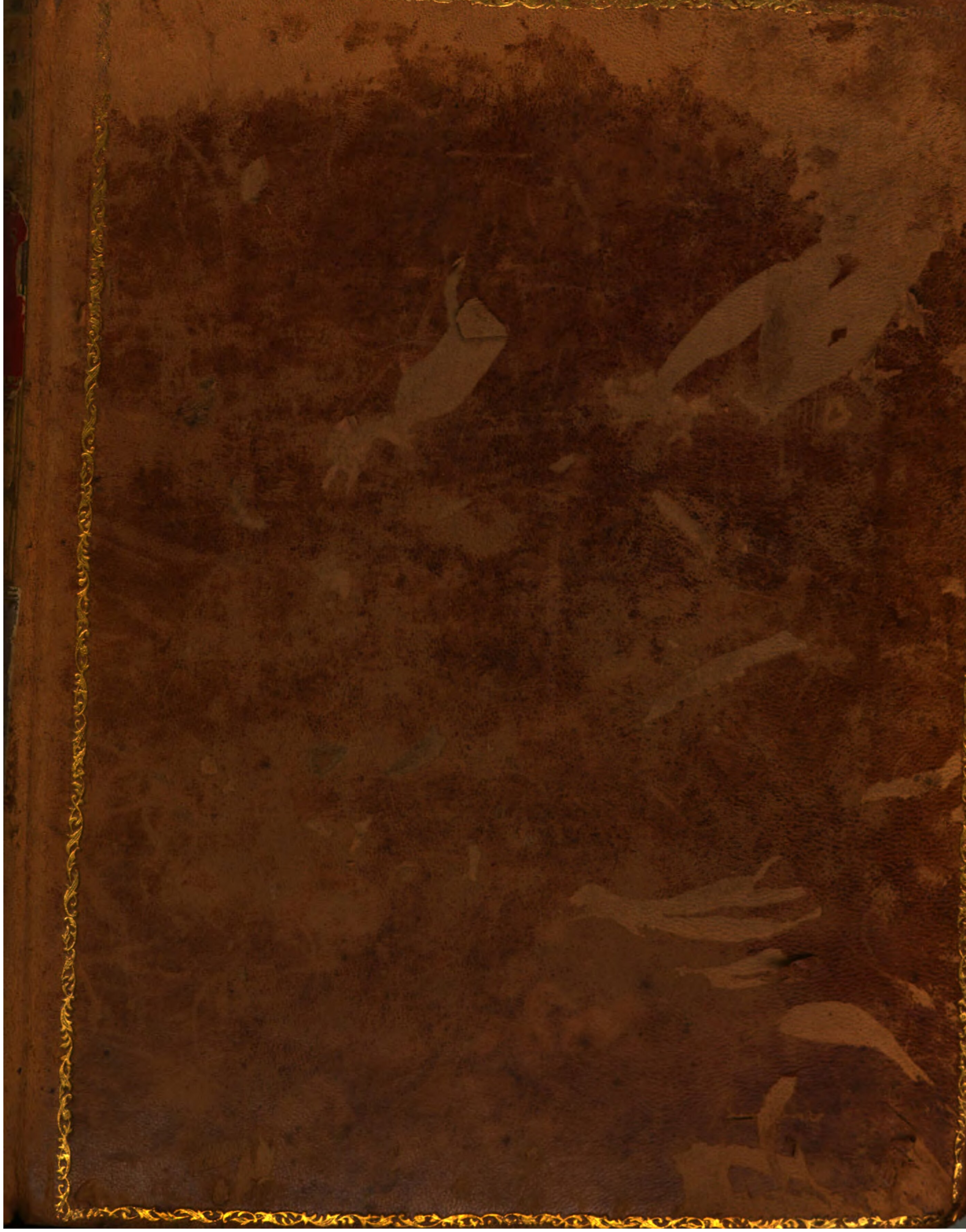
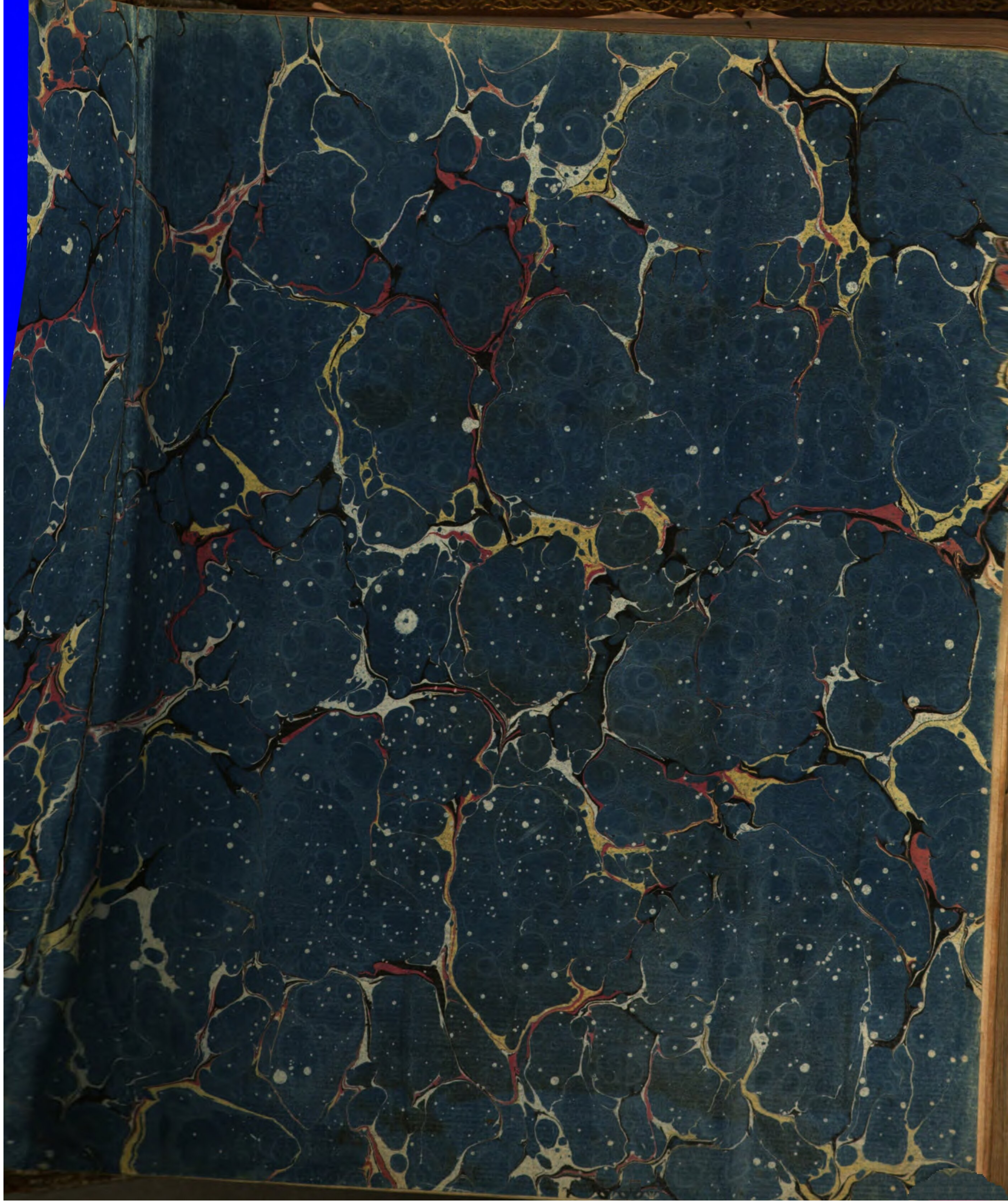












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ORIGINAL PAPERS;
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FROM THE
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TO THE ACCESSION OF THE
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TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED
EXTRACTS from the LIFE of JAMES II.
AS WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

THE WHOLE ARRANGED AND PUBLISHED
By JAMES MACPHERSON, Esq;

VOL. II.

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E R R A T A.

Page. Line.

- 269 — 24 after *way*, dele the full point.
 321 — 1 after *stand now*, dele the full point.
 342 — 11 for *their*, r. *this*.
 — 12 after *advocate*, add *of the minister*.
 531 — 13 from bottom; for *Harley and Bolingbroke*, r. *Harcourt and Bolingbroke*.
 533 — 9 for *Earl's death*, r. *Queen's death*.
 576 — 5 from bottom, for *Oxford*, r. *Orford*.
 635 — 9 for *Shrewsbury*, r. *Somerset*.
 641 — 10 for *gentlemen*, r. *lord*.
 — 14 for *maids of honour*, r. *ladies of the bedchamber*.
 642 — 12 for *groom*, r. *lord*.
 — 23 for *maid of honour*, r. *lady of the bedchamber*.
 643 — list of Peers, for *Farrington*, r. *Torrington*.
 650 — 23 for *master of the household*, r. *lord steward of the household*.

ORIGINAL

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

STUART PAPERS.

1706.

1706.

THOUGH the state of affairs in Scotland was calculated to raise the hopes of the court of St. Germain, the Stuart papers for this year are more curious than important. The Scottish Jacobites were resolved to risk every thing to prevent the union, and the consequent success of the succession in the protestant line. The French had given them some expectations of support; but the battles of Ramillies and Turin disconcerted all their measures. The French King declared that he could spare neither men nor money at present; but that he would search for a more favourable conjuncture to give them the aid they required. The Tories in England were more cautious than the Jacobites of Scotland. They wished for the restoration of the excluded family; but they were unwilling to agree to any attempt, during the life of Queen Anne. They held no direct communication with the court of St. Germain. The agents of that court, however, had access, as usual, to Marlborough and Godolphin, who seemed to give private assurances of zeal for the Pretender, when they, particularly the former, publicly avowed their attachment to the house of Hannover, while both promoted the succession in the protestant line. It appears that the excluded family had turned their eyes, as early as the present year, towards the King of Sweden; who, by possessing himself of Saxony, and dethroning King Augustus, became, in some measure, the umpire of the affairs of Europe.

1706.
Lord Ca-
ryll's Letters,
vol. v. fol.
Scotch Col-
lege.
February 21.

Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters, continued.

"THIS is to let you know that your cousin Wisely [the King] is very well pleased with the care you take to preserve her right in reversion upon her kinswoman's [Queen Anne's] death; and she very well approves of the method you propose of consulting with Mr. Goulston [Godolphin] concerning what is best to be done in it: considering all present circumstances, without doubt that lawyer is better able than any other, both to advise and to act effectually in this affair, if he were willing to undertake it. But of that I must doubt, considering his behaviour in your cousin's former claim of right to her estate in possession; however, your cousin gives you full commission to act and proceed in the way you shall think best for his interest. And when you have consulted the above-named lawyer, you will be better able to take your measures, and to inform your cousin how matters are likely to go.

March 21. What you now write concerning that part of the quit-rents which are lately become due to your cousin Wisely [the King] sufficiently shews her undoubted right to them according to law; but I fear there will be many difficulties, not easy to overcome, that will obstruct her getting possession of them, through the neglect of her trustee, of which we shall know more, when you have conferred with Mr. Goulston [Godolphin] about it. Your cousin's title is certainly good in law, both against Young [princess Anne] and against that other person [Hanover] whose name I forgot, who at present, as you say, puts in a claim. I am glad to hear you say that those who have long since so often promised to pay Plessington's [the King's] debts, make steps as if they did design to be honest at last; though I do not find that you have had any fresh assurance from Mr. Armsworth [Marlborough] or Mr. Gilburn [Godolphin], who I know are full of other business at present.

April 5. What I hear concerning Hanmer [Hannover] and his knight [Sir Rowland Gwyne] is very extraordinary, and I believe will make some division in Wanley's [the Whigs] family, of which some are for joining immediately in company with the merchant Hanmer [Hannover], and others of them, with Mr. Brag [in the parliament] have publicly appeared against it. I also believe that those few of Kenzy's relations [Tories], that stood up for Hanmer [Hannover], have done

but little good either to Hanmer [Hannover] or to themselves. It is very probable, as you say, that the two merchants, Goulston [Godolphin] and Armsworth [Marlborough] have had a great hand in all this, but whether with an honest intention of paying their old debts or not, time must show. You are much in the right not to move in the business of the quit-rents, lately fallen in, whilst Mr. Brag [parliament] is in town, and that will come on better next term. In the mean time, you may have opportunity of consulting with Mr. Goulston [Godolphin] about it, and as you may find him disposed, you may make a pretty near guess of the success of that and of other matters. 1706.

April 25. I should be very glad to hear of your having had some communication with Mr. Armsworth [Marlborough] about the old debts, before his going into the country [abroad]; but if that cannot be, I hope at least that something will be said about that matter to captain Gourdon [colonel Sackville], of which I suppose you will have an account.

June 6. I find that your kinsman, Mr. Wisely [the King], is very well pleased with the way in which you proceed about the recovery of that part of the quit-rents lately fallen in, and applying them to the payment of the debts formerly contracted. As to the success of this matter, much will depend upon the honesty of Mr. Young's solicitor, [the princess of Denmark's minister] Goulston [Godolphin], for he has in his hands wherewithall to clear that matter, and therefore a seasonable application ought to be made to him.

Being a person concerned in these debts, though I can pretend no great skill in the law, yet I should be glad these queries might be made to those that are of Wisely's [Queen's] council: 1st, Whether Wisely has not at present a clear title in law, as it now stands, to those quit-rents? 2dly, And if so, whether he may not make them over to some trustees, for the payment of those debts, by a deed that will stand good in law? This I mention because I do not see, at present, how the title is devolved from Wisely [the King] to Young [Queen Anne]; but you that are upon the place can better judge of these matters.

June 28. In your last you gave full satisfaction to the two queries I had put to you in mine of the sixth of June; so that nothing

1706.
June.

otherwise is to be done in the business of the quit-rents than according to the plan laid down by you, by the advice of counsel upon the place for, as you say, Mr. Brag [parliament] is a very angry gentleman naturally, and his bitterness ought not to be stirred. Mr. Manning's [the King of France] affairs have gone so much backwards of late, that there is little hope of his being able to lay down the sum necessary to redeem the mortgage (an army for an invasion), so that we must necessarily make the best of the promises given, by those other merchants, which you know have been such, as no honest man could make and not perform, when able to do so. Nor is there, at present, any question to be made of their ability, having almost all the trade in their hands; so that, if they fail in the performance, the shame will be theirs, and the loss will be ours."

Nairne's Papers, vol. viii.
4to. No. 33.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.—He informs him of his master's abilities and application to business.

June 28, 1706.

"THE King, my master, applies to business now, with the address of a skillful workman. The dispatches for Scotland, were exactly conformed to what you said to me. They are all in his own hand and style, as well as eight letters to individuals, of the first consequence: as this gives myself very great pleasure, I believe you will not be displeased to know it."

July.
Nairne's Papers, D. N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 21.

"An account of the present state of Scotland, in July, 1706."—Indorsed,
"Mr. Scot's relation."

"First, An account of the standing forces, now actually in the kingdom."

"THE earl of Leven, commander in chief and master of the ordnance, a notorious whig and Hannoverian. The earl of Lothian, major general, such as the commander in chief, but of less capacity. James Maitland, major general, a soldier since he was a man; and if his capacity is as good as his experience is long, he may be a good officer. He is thought to have some good inclinations; and it is presumed he may be treated with."

The regiment of guards, without a colonel since Ramsay's death, consists of 16 companies, each company 40 men, including serjeants, corporals, and drums, is 640.

1706.

The earl of Dalhousie, first lieutenant colonel, a young man with a very small estate, no good manager, has debts, and sometimes forced to take sanctuary in the abbey of Holyrood-House; but being of a loyal family and so educated, it is presumed he has good inclinations; and it may be reasonably expected, that the King's presence will draw him, and all such to his Majesty's interest and service. The other lieutenant colonel — Stewart, brother to the earl of Galloway, is thought to have good inclinations; and to my certain knowledge, he was for the grand resolve. The major and following officers of this regiment, are reputed well affected; Thomas Hamilton, second major, John Murray, James Scott, John Hamilton, William Sharp, — Scott, — Stewart, captains; William Murray and James Ogilvie, lieutenants; the first two captains, and the two lieutenants, I know to be so.

The troop of horse guards, commanded by the earl of Argyle, consists of 100 gentlemen; at least, should be so.

The lord Forbes, first lieutenant, a bigotted whig, little sense, little estate, and disloyal. My lord Ballantyne, the other lieutenant, one of a very ordinary capacity and little or no estate; at the revolution, and for several years after, was esteemed very loyal; but having squandered a good estate, and falling in with the duke of Queensberry, he bought him, at the price of his post. Mr. John Kerr, the first cornet, such as the captain; the other Archibald Douglas, was at and after the Revolution thought very loyal, and is still reputed well affected; but much under the influence of the duke of Queensberry. I am credibly informed, that many of the gentlemen of the troop are well affected.

Two troops, or companies of grenadiers, on horseback; each consisting of 30 men, ranked as guards, 60.

The earl of Crawford, colonel, a good-natured man, and brave; has little or no estate, and influenced by the earl of Arran. The captains of (*some words illegible*) lord Cumberland, oldest son to the earl of Balcarras, and — Chrichton, heir male to the late earl of Dumfries.

The

1706. The first is a very young gentleman, that seems to promise no great things; the other is thought to have some good inclinations towards the King.

Major general Maitland's regiment, in the garrison of Inverlochy, consists (as I remember) of twelve companies; each company 40 men, including serjeants, corporals, and drums, 480.

Robert Keith, first lieutenant colonel. I have known him from my infancy. He always was before, and at the Revolution, very loyal; but I think, since that unhappy time, he is much corrupted in his principles; yet, at the same time, I judge his old imbibed loyalty is not entirely wore out, but that he may be retrieved; and, if I am commanded or permitted, I will use my best endeavours to persuade and engage him to his duty; for I know he has a great friendship for me, and will not deceive me. The other lieutenant colonel of this regiment, is Mr. Patrick Ogilvie, second son to the earl of Findlater, who will always be such as his brother, at least so long as he is chancellor. Yet he has many times, with great asseverations, said, that he never would do any thing against the King's interest. Other officers of that regiment I know not; but in general, I am informed, that some of them are well affected, and it is presumed, many of the common soldiers are so, because most of them are Highlandmen, and of consequence thought loyal.

Lord Strathnaver's regiment of foot, consists of 10 companies; each company 30 men, including serjeants, corporals, and drums, is 300.

This colonel is a very young man, and his father, the earl of Sutherland, being of ill principles, it may reasonably be presumed he is so. Yet I am told by some of his relations, that he is much better disposed than his father. The earl of Glencairn, lieutenant colonel, I know is loyally inclined; and I have it from most unquestionable authors, that he has often said, he never would do any thing against the King, and, as I remember, he voted the grand resolution; and several captains and subalterns in the regiment are reputed well affected.

The laird of Grant, younger; his regiment is in companies, and number of men, the same with Strathnaver's, 300.

The colonel before he got the regiment, was reputed loyal; but since he had it, by Argyle's procurement, he is considered, as much influenced
by

by that lord. Bruce of Kennith, the lieutenant colonel, is reputed loyal, as are several other officers in that regiment.

1706.

The earl of Lothian's regiment of dragoons, as I remember, consists of six companies; each company, including serjeants, corporal, and drum, is 30 men, 180.

The colonel's character is already given. The lieutenant colonel is son to Pollwarth, now called earl of Marchmont; when the late earl of Hume lived, this lieutenant colonel was thought well affected, and very much under the influence of Hume; but what to say of him now, I know not.

The major of this regiment, John Johnston, of Westraw, is reputed to have loyal inclinations, being much managed that way by his very loyal lady; but he is much under the influence of his chief, the earl of Annandale, whom few of any side must trust.

The Master of Carmichael's regiment of dragoons is, in troops and number of men, every way the same with Lothian's, 180.

This colonel, like his father, my lord Carmichael, now called earl Hyndford, is considered as not well affected to the King's interest, and his lieutenant colonel — Wishart far less; being a bigotted whig, the son of a minister of that pernicious tribe. But Pollock of that ilk, the major, though he is something whiggishly inclined, Kilmaronock tells me, that he has often, with great asseverations, said to him, that when the King comes, he shall have him and his troop; and this is all the loyalty I know in this regiment, except one lieutenant Graham, who I know to be well affected.

Three independent companies, for suppressing the Highland thieves and robbers; each company 100 men, 300.

The first independent company is commanded by captain Campbell, of Finnab; such as his chief, Argyle.

The second independent company, commanded by captain William Grant; generally reputed loyal.

The third independent company, commanded by major M'Kenzie; reputed loyal.

The

1706.

The castle of Edinburgh, commanded by earl of Leven, governor. The garrison, as I remember, consists of 100.

The governor's character is already given.

The lieutenant-governor, colonel James Stuart, one that was bred in Dumbarton's regiment, and before and at the Revolution was esteemed very loyal, and is still reputed to have loyal inclinations, but is a little influenced by the duke of Queensberry.

Major Cout, the lieutenant of the company, is a most bigotted whig, and reputed very disloyal.

The castle of Stirling is commanded by the earl of Mar, governor. The garrison consists of 100 men.

What to say of the governor I know not well. He was much reputed to have loyal inclinations; and to my certain knowledge, very much courted by the earl of Arran, to be brought entirely in, both to the interest of the King and country, and Arran once thought himself sure of him. But, last session of parliament, when the duke of Queensberry came to Scotland, he no sooner came, but he drew Mar from the country party, with the bait of secretary of state.

The lieutenant governor is colonel John Erskine; one that is supposed will always be for what the court has a mind to, so long as he enjoys any tolerable good post. But — Shaw, of Saughy, lieutenant of the company, is reputed to have loyal inclinations.

The castle of Dumbarton is commanded by Master Archibald Campbell, brother to Argyle. Who is the lieutenant, I know not; but the garrison, I think, consists of 60 men.

The castle of Blackness is commanded by the earl of Buchan, lately made governor; and the garrison, as I suppose, consists of about 60 men; but who the lieutenant is, I know not.

The number of the whole forces, in field and garrison, 2860.

This account of the forces is calculated according to the establishment; but cannot be reckoned effectually 2500, at the highest."

"Second, *The officers of state are*"

"E. Seafeld, chancellor: there is no lord high treasurer: the duke of Queensberry, privy seal: the earls of Mar and Loudon, secretaries of state: Boyle of Killburn, now called earl of Glasgow, treasurer depute: Cockburn of Ormiston, justice clerk: Murray of Philliphaugh, register.

The

The marquis of Montrose, president of council, not properly an officer of state.

1706.

Mr. James Stuart, now called Sir James, is advocate:

Mr. William Carmichael and Sir David Dalrymple, solicitors."

Third, "*An account of the Shires* *."

Edinburgh.

THE earl of Dalhousie, lieutenant-colonel of the foot-guards, is sheriff, and for the court. "The family of Winton were never stained with disloyalty. The present earl is in France; and the affairs of that family are under the conduct of Mr. James Seaton, a most loyal gentleman, and brother german to the lord Kingston. Lord Balmerino, a very bold loyal man, and of good parts, is very significant in parliament, and always with the country party." Collington, lord of Session, in the late King's time, and Lockhart of Carnwath, two commissioners of parliament for the shire are "unquestionably loyal, and of the country party." Of the other two commissioners, Dundas of Arncliffe and Dickson of Inveresk, "the first is a whig, a courtier, and lord of Session; and the other has been much with the country party, but sometimes varies."

Scot mentions the following gentlemen, in this shire, as very loyal; "Seaton of Barnes, Wauchop of Niddery, and all his sons, Sinclair of Roselin, Dalmahoy of that ilk, Sir James Baird, Sir William Paterfon, Sir William Cuninghame, Sir James Dick, Sir James Fleming; and in the town of Edinburgh, though the magistracy is in Whig hands, the most of the merchants and tradesmen are well affected: and here, I cannot but remember Mr. Drummond, the keeper of the prison, who is always kind to loyal prisoners, and took no fees from them, particularly from myself, he would take none."

Haddington.

The earls of Tweeddale, Roxburgh and Haddington, "all three of a stamp, and, as is supposed, much for Hannover;" yet it is thought, enemies to the union. "What to say of lord Belhaven's loy-

* This account is greatly abridged.

1706. alty, I know not: for he has varied in parliament, as he had employment from the court." The commissioners of parliament are Sir John Lawder of Fountainhall, "one that is thought tolerably well affected, but peevish and humourfome;" Fletcher of Salton, "though he owns himself of republican principles, always opposes the court, with vigour, speaks boldly and well, and has often said to myself, that he will oppose union and Hannover still, as thinking both destructive to the nation;" Nisbet of Dirleton, well affected; Cockburn of Ormiston, younger, for the court. "The generality of the gentry, in this shire, are esteemed well affected, as are many of the commons." Alexander Egar, Surgeon, member for the town of Haddington, is, "by many, thought loyal, but sometimes influenced by Tweeddale, because he has much of his employment from that lord and others of his kidney."

Berwick.

The earl of Hume, heritable sheriff, about 18 years of age, "has been loyally educated, and has a loyal governor; and it is not to be doubted, but he will follow the example of his most loyal, worthy father, lately deceased." The friends of the earls of Roxburgh and Haddington, in this shire, joined with Polwarth, in a late election against the earl of Hume; "which seems to be a clear indication, of what is to be expected from these three." The commissioners of parliament are, Sir Robert Sinclair of Longformacus, Sir Patrick Hume of Lumsden; "both reputed loyal, and have always adhered to the country party;" Sir John Swinton of that Ilk, "who sometimes trims, but for the most part is with the country party;" the seat of the fourth is vacant. "In this shire, many, both of gentry and commons, are well affected, and generally all are so, that are not whigs, either here or elsewhere in Scotland."

Roxburgh.

Douglas of Cavers, is sheriff and one of the commissioners for this shire. He is "entirely managed by the duke of Queensberry." The other commissioners are, Sir William Ker of Greenhead, "reputed an honest well affected man, but a little influenced by his chief, Roxburgh;" Eliot of Headshaw, lord of Session, "who, as I am well informed, came in by a trick, is entirely wrong;" Bennet, younger, of Grubet, "He was in the country party, till Tweeddale, Roxburgh, and others

of that set, broke off. He is now muster master and a courtier." The gentry are well affected, and the "commons, that are not whigs, are here and every where inclined to follow their master." 1706.

Selkirk.

Murray of Philiphaugh, is heritable sheriff. The commissioners are Mr. John Murray, advocate, and Mr. John Pringle Staining. "The first is entirely governed by his brother Philiphaugh, and the other much so." The town of Selkirk, is represented by Robert Scot. "As I remember, he trims; but the town, I know, is generally well affected."

Peebles.

Scot did not remember who is sheriff for this shire. "The commissioners," says he, "are Horseburgh of that Ilk, and Morison of Prestongrange; the first is reputed loyal, and he professed so to myself; the other is a weak, but rich man, expecting a patent of honour, and entirely managed by Queensberry." The earl of Traquair, is "a worthy honest man, and of most unquestionable loyalty, and so is Sir David Murray of Stanhope. Most of the gentry are loyal. The commissioner for the town of Peebles, Robert Shiels, is for the court."

Lanerk.

Scot did not remember the sheriff of this county. "The commissioners for it are, Bailey of Lamington, Hamilton of Aikenhead, Sinclair of Stevenstown, younger; these three are of the country party, and much managed by the earl of Arran: but Bailey of Jerviswood has entirely left that party, and is every way wrong. The commons of this country are generally whiggish, and consequently, not well affected. But I am informed, a good many of the gentry are well inclined."

Dumfries.

He was uncertain who was sheriff. "The commissioners are, Sir John Johnston of Westerhall, led both by employment and the earl of Anandale; Sharp of Hodham, who professes loyalty, but is entirely led by the duke of Queensberry: so is Douglas of Dornock: but Ferguson of Isle, the fourth commissioner, keeps by the country party, and is reputed loyal; and I heard him lately say, he would be against the union and Hannover. The common people are generally whiggish; but a good

1706. number of the gentry are well affected. The earl of Nethsdale is a man of undoubted loyalty, much loved and respected."

Wigton.

"I know not if the earl of Wigton be sheriff of this shire; but I am persuaded, he is, and will always prove loyal." The commissioners are, Mr. John Stuart of Sorby, brother to the earl of Galloway, and Mr. Stuart of Castle Stuart.

Kirkcudbright.

Sir — Agnew is heritable sheriff of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, "and by many reputed well affected, and I have heard him express himself so." The commissioners are, Maxwell of Cardines, "a rank whig and Hannoverian," McKee of Palgowan, to my knowledge, is loyal and honest, and generally known in that country to be so, which is an evidence, that most of the gentry there are well affected. The town of Kirkcudbright, is represented by Andrew Hume, son to Polwarth, "both father and son Hannoverian." The viscount Kenmure "is of most undoubted loyalty, having never taken the oaths."

Air.

"If the earl of Eglington is not sheriff of this shire, I know not who is. But I am sure his lordship professes much loyalty, and have often heard him do so. The commissioners are, Breslan, younger, of Bishop-town, a loyal honest man, and a close adherer to the country party; Cathcart of Carleton, sometimes court, but for the most part country party; Mr. Francis Montgomery, always with the court. Many of the gentry are well affected; but the commons generally whigs. For the town of Air, John Muir, an engrained whig, is commissioner; and the most of the town are said to be like him."

Dumbarton.

Mr. Scot did not know the sheriff, nor was he well acquainted in the county. But he concluded, that the gentry were loyal, "because they have chosen two gentlemen to represent them, that are notourly known to be most loyal; Sir William Cochrane of Kilmaronock, and Sir Humphry Colquhoun of Luss, constant adherers to the country party. The town is represented by a noted courtier, Mr. Smollett."

Bute.

Bute.

1706.

"The Stuart of Bute," now called earl of Bute, is heritable sheriff, reputed well affected; and so is Stuart of ——— one of the commissioners. But Stuart of Tillicoultry, the other commissioner, is for the most with the court, and much influenced by Stair and the president of the Session. For the town of Rothsay, Mr. Dougal Stuart, advocate, brother to Bute, is commissioner. He is loyal, active, and bold, speaks well in parliament; and though he is sheriff depute of Edinburgh, he closely adheres to the country party."

Renfrew.

Scot did not know who was sheriff; but he was convinced, that the earl of Dundonald and the lord Semple were loyal; and he hoped, that the marquis of Montrose, who had then great interest in Renfrew, as well as in Dunbartonshire, "whatever mistakes his lordship has committed will, in the main, prove for the King's interest. The gentry, in this shire, are generally reputed loyal; but the commons, most partly whiggish." Mr. Colin Campbell, member for the town of Renfrew, was "reputed to have loyal inclinations, but thought to be a little overawed and influenced, by his chief, Argyle." The commissioners for the shire, were Sir John Houston of that ilk, Stuart, younger, of Blackhall, and Pollock of that ilk. "The first are, to my knowledge, well affected; but Pollock is entirely courtier."

Linlithgow.

The sheriff uncertain. "The commissioners are, Sharp of Houston and Mr. John Montgomery, both of the country party. The gentry are generally well affected, and many of the commons are so. But the town is represented by a most bigotted whig, Stuart of Purdiven."

Stirling.

"The earl of Linlithgow, as I suppose, is sheriff of this shire. He is, to my certain knowledge, loyal, and was from his infancy educated under the government of a most loyal mother, sister to the late marquis of Montrose. The viscount of Kilsyth is loyal; so is lord Forrester, Graham of Killairn, Graham of Bucklyvie, all eminently loyal, and constant to the country party. The loyal gentry, that I know in this shire, are Mr. Charles Maitland, brother to the earl of Lauderdale, Stirling.

1706. ling of Kier, Seaton of Touch, Murray of Polmeas. But I am well informed, that most part of the gentry and many of the commons are well affected. The town of Stirling, for the most part, is whiggish; at least, the magistracy is so. The commissioner for this town, is colonel John Erskine, brother to the late laird of Alloa, and is a thorough-paced courtier."

Perth.

—"I think the marquis of Athol is sheriff; and it is hoped, his lordship is or will be right; and to my certain knowledge, many of the King's friends are using their utmost endeavours, to bring him entirely into the King's interest. The lord Drummond is of most unquestionable loyalty, as is his brother, lord John, and all the gentlemen of that name, that I know in this shire or elsewhere, are very loyal. The viscount Stormont is of undoubted loyalty. The lord Nairn is of undoubted loyalty, not having taken the oaths to the princess Anne; and, not only, as I am certainly informed, given good advice to his brother, the marquis of Athol, but advised and assisted the lord Stormont and others how to manage the marquis, in order to bring him heartily and entirely to the King's interest and service."

Scot mentions the following gentlemen, as loyal, in this shire, and gives several reasons, for his opinion of them: Drummond of Logie, and his brother, Drummond of Blair, and his sons; Drummond of — and his brother, Mr. David Drummond of —, advocate; Mr. James Graham, advocate, "a son of the loyal family of Inchbrakie;" Murray of Abercairny and his brother; Lindsay of Evelyke; Smith of Methven; Graham of Balgowan; Gray of Crechie and Mr. Gray of Crechie, and his son, now master of Gray; and Sir Patrick Trepland.

Fife.

"The earl of Rothes, as I think, is sheriff of this shire; and it is known to every body, that knows any thing of the transactions of Scotland, that he has very much lost his esteem and interest among the gentry of Fife, ever since he left the country party. The earl of Murray is of undoubted loyalty, as is his brother and presumptive heir, as having never taken the oaths; and my lord Sinclair is eminently loyal, having never taken the oaths, and all his children, that are men, are loyal; and Sir William Bruce, colonel Balfour of Ferny, Scot
of

of Scotstarvit, Sir John Preston, Carstairs of Kinneucher, Stuart of Dun-
 aven, and Malcom of Grange, are all very loyal, never having taken the
 oaths." The members of parliament were Anstruther of that ilk, lord
 of Session, Beaton of Balfour, Balfour of Dunbog, and Douglas of
 Strenry. Scot was uncertain about the principles of the first and last,
 as their conduct in parliament frequently varied; but he was convinced,
 that the second and third were well affected, as they adhered closely to
 the country party.

"Sir John Malcom and Malcom of Bolbodie I know to be loyal, and
 the lord Lyon is generally so reputed: for the earl of Balcarras, I can say
 little for him; but I know the earl of Kelly has loyal inclinations, but
 is frequently kept out of parliament, by the influence of his lady and
 her father Balcarras; the lord Colville is thought well affected, and is
 a close adherer to the country party: for the rest of the noblemen in
 Fife, I can say nothing for them. But the far greatest part of the
 gentry, in this shire, are reputed well affected, as are all such of the
 commons as are not under the direction and influence of presbyterian
 ministers. The members of parliament, for the towns in Fife are,
 Watson of Aderny, for St. Andrews; David Christie, for Dysart; Sir Jo.
 Anstruther, younger, of that ilk, for Anstruther Easter, such as his fa-
 ther; Sir John Erskine of Alloa, for Bruntisland; James Spittell of
 Lenchat, influenced by Tweedale and Yester, is for Inverkeithen;
 captain Offat, a seaman, for Kirkaldy; — of Reedie, younger, for
 Kinghorn, much, if not entirely, under the influence of the earl of Le-
 ven; Bruce of —, for Coupar, entirely devoted to Rothes; Sir Peter
 Halket for Dumferling, Smith of Geblieston, for Pittenweem; Mon-
 crief of Sachop, for Creill; David Dalrymple, for Culrofs, entirely
 courtier; Robert Anstruther, for Anstruther Wester; Beaton of Balfour,
 younger, for Kilrenny; all those members for the towns in Fife, except
 such as are above distinguished, are generally believed to be honest
 men, well affected to the King's interest, and I know most of them to
 be so, and all of them are thought adherers to the country party."

Forfar.

"The earl of Strathmore is Sheriff, and is of undoubted loyalty.
 The earl of Airly is loyal; as are the most of his name every where.

The

1706. The earl of Southesk is loyally educated, and, to my knowledge, most zealous that way; and it is hoped the earl of Northesk's inclinations are right. Though he has sometimes varied in parliament, I am sure he was for the grand resolve. The lord Kinnaird is very loyal."

"The members of parliament for this shire, are Lyon of Achterhouse, Carnegie of Finhaven, Haliburton of Pitcur, and Graham of Fintray; all four loyal; but the first and last most remarkably so." The loyal gentlemen in this county, are "Lindsay of Edsdale and his brother, Fotheringham of Powrie, elder and younger, Seaton of Old Bar, Ramsay of Bamff, Graham of Duntroune, he that represents Dundee, Lyon of Cossens, Lyon of Carfe, Lyon of Ongle. The town of Forfar is represented by Mr. John Lyon, an honest loyal man. Brechin is represented by Alexander Millison, so loyal and honest, that no act could yet prevail with him to give the court one single vote, even though he is very poor. Hutcheson, for the town of Aberbrothick, is reputed loyal; and Scot of Logie, for the town of Montrose, though he was the first that left the country party, upon the temptation of the master of works place, he always did, and still does, pretend much loyalty, and has often sworn to myself, that he never will do any thing against the King's interest.

"In short, this shire is so entirely loyal, that there is scarce any in it of birth, breeding, or estate, but what is so, and so are all the commons, some few Whigs excepted, most, if not all, in the town of Dundee; but now the magistracy of that town is out of their hands, which was chiefly promoted, managed, and effectuated by Fintray, and captain Yeaman, a substantial merchant, lately come from the West Indies, and has the reputation of a loyal honest man."

Kincardineshire, commonly called Mearns.

"The earl Marshal heritable sheriff, of unquestionable loyalty, loved and respected, has great interest in elections for parliament, and, on a good occasion, will be much followed both by the gentry and commons. The viscount of Arbuthnot is loyal, and has often professed so to myself. The family of Halkertown were always loyal, but this lord is mad. The gentry and commons of this shire are exactly so as in Angus. Such of them as I personally know, and am particularly acquainted with, are, Sir David Ramsay of Balmain, commissioner for the shire, who is loyal, and keeps steady with the country party: Sir Thomas Burnet of Leys,
the

the other commissioner, though he was very far wrong at the Revolution, and sometimes varies in parliament, he has for these three last sessions, been for the most with the country party, particularly for the grand resolves, and spoke boldly against the Hannover succession, when proposed by Polwarth; and told myself, a week or two before I came from Scotland, that he would, to the utmost of his power, oppose the union.

1706.

The gentlemen in this shire that I am familiarly acquainted with, and know to be loyal, are Bannerman of Elfick, Falconer of Newton, Falconer of Glenfarquar, Middleton of Balbegno, Burnet of Glenbervie, Scot of Brothertown, Scot of Benholm, Scot of Comiestown, Barclay of Johnston, Barclay of Bomakinan, and Douglas of Arthrofe, son to bishop Douglas.

Aberdeenshire.

“The earl of Errol, lord high constable of Scotland, is of most unquestionable loyalty. The earl of Aberdeen is reputed loyal; and my lord Haddo, lately to myself, expressed much loyalty. The members of parliament for this shire, are Udny of that ilk, More of Stoneywood, Gordon of Pitlurg, and Seaton of Pitmeddan, younger; all four, I am informed, were chosen as loyal honest men, which is a good evidence of the loyalty of the barons there, as it is in many other shires. I am well informed, by many of the King’s friends, that most or all the gentry are well-affected to the King’s interest, my lord Forbes, and some of his name, excepted, who are rank Whigs, and few of that stamp are any where well-affected.”

Inverness.

Scot owns he knew little about this shire. “He was acquainted,” he says, “with the commissioners, Grant, elder, and younger. The first always adhered to the country-party; and, to my certain knowledge, very warmly opposed the Hannover succession, when proposed by Polwarth. His son was, last session, courtier.”

Nairn.

Scot knew little about this shire: but he heard, “that the generality are well-affected. The members of parliament are Rose of Kilravock, and Forbes of Culloden. The first is reputed loyal, and, for the most part, with the country-party; the other commonly with the court.”

1706.

Cromarty.

Scot knew only by common report, "that in this, as in all the northern shires, all ranks of people are generally well-affected to the King's interest. The lord Tarbat has changed so often and trimmed so much, that I do not know what to say of him. The members of parliament for this shire are, Mackenzie of Cromarty, and Macleod of Cathbole; both much under the influence of Tarbat, but frequently with the country-party."

Argyle.

"For this shire, I can say little about it; but that it is represented by Campbell of Auchenbreck, Campbell of Arkinglas, and Campbell of Mamore; all these are, and will be, as their chief Argyle is; and so will Mr. Charles Campbell, commissioner for the town of Campbeltown."

Bamff.

"In this shire, all ranks of people are generally believed and reputed to be loyal. Ogilvie of Boyne, younger, is the commissioner for it; and is reputed, and very much pretends to be loyal. He has, sometimes, varied in parliament; but, last session, he closely adhered to the country-party. His colleague, Duff, is dead. Lord Salton is loyal; and, though the lord Fraser has a post in the army, he is thought to be loyal: and the loyal lord Duffus is dead, and his son is with an English squadron, in the West Indies.

Sutherland.

"This shire is of a very small compass; and being (as I am informed) only two or three barons in it. The earl of Sutherland's vassals are privileged by an express act of parliament, to elect commissioners, contrary to the general rule of law and standard of the nation. So this earl must always rule the election as he thinks fit. The present commissioners are, Gordon of Gavity, supposed to have inclinations to loyalty, but often varies in parliament. The other commissioner, Sutherland of Kinnald, younger, is in prison for debt."

Caithness.

"This shire (as both commissioners of it informed me) is entirely loyal. Sinclair of Stempster is one commissioner. Sir Gregory Sinclair of Clyth, the other commissioner, died before I came from Scotland; and

and none in his place, that I know, as yet elected; but it is not to be doubted, but an honest loyal man will be chosen. The earl of Caithness is very loyal; but it is thought will not come to parliament, because he has no inclination to take the oaths."

1706.

Elgin.

"I cannot say much about this shire; but that it is reputed, as the other northern shires are, well affected. It is represented by Brodie of that ilk, who is old and infirm, and has not been in parliament for the two sessions past. The other commissioner is M'Kenzie of Inch Couter, a loyal honest man, and stands firm with the country-party."

Orkney.

"The stewartry of Orkney is believed and reputed to be very loyal. The commissioners for it are, Sir Archibald Stuart of Burray, and Douglas, younger, of Eagleshaw, both reputed loyal, but much influenced by the duke of Queensberry; yet voted the grand resolves, and, as I am well informed, have often declared, they will never do any thing against the King's interest."

Clackmannan.

"This is very small, consisting of three, four, or five barons; has, at present, only one commissioner, Stuart of , who is reputed loyal, and is of the country-party."

Rofs.

"This shire is like the other northern ones, believed and reputed to be loyal. The commissioners for it are, M'Kenzie of Scatwell, and M'Kenzie of Gerloch, both reputed loyal, but much influenced by the lord Tarbat."

Kinrofs.

"This is a very little shire, containing very little more than the estate of Kinrofs, and a little town of that name. Mr. Bruce, younger, of Kinrofs, is commissioner for it. I know not what to say of his loyalty; but I can with confidence say, that his father, Sir William, always was, and still is, a very loyal honest man."

"I do not pretend to give a plain, distinct, particular, or positive account of the Highland clans; but in general, according to the last information I have had, I think they may be capable to raise about eight

1706. thousand men. I mean such as are well affected; for Argyle, and all his followers, are considered as otherwise disposed.

“The duke of Gordon is of so known and undoubted loyalty, that I shall not presume to say any thing] about his Grace; only, in general, as he is one of the most powerful of the clans, he has this advantage, that, having many gentlemen of note of his name, and abundance of gentry in the low country, his vassals, he is capable to bring a good number of horse to the field, which few or none of the clans but his Grace can do.

“May it please your Majesty, thus, to the best of my judgment and knowledge, in the preceding pages, I have given your Majesty a true, sincere, and faithful account of the present state of Scotland; and I am fully persuaded, that the far greatest part of the nation is well affected to your Majesty's interest; and I know none that are ill affected, but that pernicious rebellious crew, the presbyterian ministers, and such as are entirely under their direction and influence, which are, for the most part, the common people: for in the western and most Whiggish shires, a great many of the chief gentry are well affected, and (as I am informed by the viscount of Kenmure) those in Galloway, commonly called Cameronians, are generally for your Majesty; and every body knows that all the northern shires, nobility, gentry, and commons, are well affected.”

Lord Caryll's
Letters, vol.
v. fol.
Scotch Col-
lege.

Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters, continued.

July 22. “I Find that of late you have not had much communication with your old acquaintance Mr. Goulston [Godolphin]; when you meet him next, I shall be glad to know in what temper you find him.

August 22. In the former letter, you tell me that the business of the quit-rents is still depending, without any great prospect of your reaping much advantage from them; and that also the pretensions of the creditors, concerning your cousin Wiseley's [the King's] debts, had yet received no answer, but that you intended a visit to Mr. Goulston [Godolphin] to try whether, by his means, you could procure a good dispatch in either or both these matters: you also intended, at the same time,

time, and by the same means, to try to do a kindness to your friend Wilson [Middleton] in procuring a pass for his young kinsman, which seemed otherwise to be very difficult to be obtained. 1706.

Now I am very glad to find, by your last letter of the 26th, that you have met with Mr. Goulston [Godolphin] and found him in very good humour; and that which pleased me most is, that he seemed to be affected with the good news of your cousin Wiseley's [the King's] better health, which, by other rumours, had been contradicted. As for what passed between you in regard to the quit-rents, I am glad at heart that he is gone so far in it, as to take from you an abstract of the title, and an account of the adversaries pretensions, to consider what may be done in it. I find Mr. Jones [Middleton] is much beholding to him for his kind expressions in his behalf, and will be more so, when, by his means, leave is obtained for Jones [Middleton] his young kinsman. I hope the kindness shewn to Mr. Jones [Middleton] is upon account of the near relation he has to your cousin Wiseley [the King], upon which head I should most delight in it.

The gentleman mentioned in the following letter, is probably captain Stratton, who was appointed by unanimous choice of the Jacobites in Scotland, and particularly by the duke of Hamilton, to go to France. September.

"The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy."

The Scots are determined to oppose the union.—They demand assistance from France.

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. viii. 4to.
No. 35.

Translation.

September 4, 1706.

"A Gentleman, sent to my master, the King of England, by his friends in Scotland, is arrived at this place; and his Majesty has commanded me to explain to you his commission, in order that the King may be informed of it.

"They make no new proposals; referring themselves to, and adhering to those which they formerly made. But they hope, that, after the enemy's armies shall retire, the King will take advantage of that opportunity to send them succours, under the command of their own King, whose presence appears to them very necessary for animating the people, confounding his enemies, and deciding, when opinions differ.

"Having

1706.

"Having received no news from this country since the misfortunes that happened to them, they considered themselves, in duty bound, to assure the King, their master, that their zeal was not shaken, nor their courage damped by them; but that they would make all their efforts to reject the union, and did not doubt to succeed, providing the prevailing party in England did not send money to gain voices in parliament; and that even this, though it should happen, should not break off the project of the enterprize, because those who disapprove of the union, will be piqued at it, and be reduced to the necessity of having recourse to force, as the means of preventing the effect of an act of parliament, and of delivering themselves from the tyranny with which they see they are threatened: but that, without the succours they demand, they will not be able to do any thing; and there will be reason to fear that some, through despair, will abandon the design, in order to protect themselves from the persecutions which they have endured, with a constancy, that can never be sufficiently commended."

Lord Caryll's
Letters,
vol. v. fol.
Scotch Col-
lege.
Sept. 14.

Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters, continued.

"I Also thanked you, in a former letter, for your so seasonably taking occasion of your obliging your friend Wilson [Middleton], at your meeting with Mr. Goulston [Godolphin], in procuring his assistance in behalf of the young gentleman traveller*, which I hope may give him countenance to appear in the world.

"I doubt not but you will drive the nail as far as it will go, in the business of the quit-rents, formerly mentioned, that they may be applied to the payment of the debts, which would be of great ease and satisfaction to your cousin Wisely [the King].

Nairne's pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 62.

* He probably means John lord Clermont, son to the earl of Middleton. There is a copy in Nairne's hand of a procuration from lord Clermont to the earl of Strathmore, dated in the month of November this year, whereby he impowers him to manage an estate in Scotland. It appears to have been a secret and *bona fide* transaction.

A Me-

A Memorial, shewing that it is the interest of the King of Sweden to hinder the Hannoverian succession.

Carried to Versailles the 22d September, 1706.

1706.
September.
Nairne's
Papers, D N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 48.

Translation.

" **I**T is unnecessary to prove the utility of having a free communication between separate dominions. Now the duke of Hannover, who will have none with his territories in Germany, when he is master of England, will think himself obliged, and even under a necessity, to find this advantage of a communication, and to employ all sorts of means to establish it; and his conscience will be no obstacle to him, as he will justly think, that he will have as much right to any other country as he has to England.

As a bridge of boats is thrown over rivers, vessels are employed for the same purpose at sea; and, in order to employ them to keep up a communication between England and the territories of Hannover, the duke of Hannover must have a maritime province to join his dominions, and he will find none but that of Bremen.

The same reasons which will induce the family of Hannover to seize on the country of Bremen, should alarm the King of Denmark for the safety of Holstein and Oldenburgh, without which that family will not be master of the Elbe and the Weser; not to mention the ancient enmity between these two powers, which appeared on all occasions, and lately at the treaty of Travendal. Any regard he may have had for the present establishment in England should have ceased, at the death of the prince, his uncle, without children; and now, instead of establishing an enemy, it depends entirely upon him to re-establish the King of England, his near relation, and thereby engage him still more strongly from a principle of gratitude and from ties of blood, to be invariably in his interest.

The elector of Brandenburg likewise may allow himself to be carried away by the hopes of having for his share Pomerania, to which he pretends a right of succession, as well as conveniency, and a powerful addition to support his royalty.

The elector of Saxony will require no other motive for entering into this plan, but revenge and an irreconcilable hatred.

It

1706.
September.

It is not to be doubted but the King of Sweden will be persuaded that these things merit serious reflections; and that he will find no other means so effectual for preventing the calamities with which he is threatened, as to employ all his force to re-establish the King of England; and there is reason to hope, that he will make no difficulty of contributing to this, when he will see that prudence, justice, and glory, concur in it.

The means of executing so great and so noble an enterprize will be explained, when the King of Sweden chooses to enter into a treaty.

November.

Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters, continued.

Nov. 21. "I Shall be glad to hear what the result will be of your next conference with Mr. Goulston [Godolphin], when you can obtain it, as to the several matters which have been proposed to him; which, I fear, will end only as you say, in procrastination, if not in a flat denial, as to the debts and quit-rents."

Dec. 12. "You may remember that Mr. Armsworth [Marlborough], once told you that there should be no money lent to Norly [the Scots], to carry on the lawsuit against Plessington [the King], in the behalf of Hanmer [Hannover]. Pray tell me in your next, whether you think that gentleman has been as good as his word. In the mean time, I must own myself much obliged to Mr. Goulston [Godolphin], for his protection offered to our young traveller. I am of your opinion, that should the match [union] be concluded between Norly [Scotland] and Wheatly [England], it would, in process of time, breed divisions in and between the two families."

HANNOVER

HANNOVER PAPERS.

1706.

1706.

THE Whigs, by intimidating Godolphin, had procured the influence of government in the elections for members of the new parliament, which met, for the first time, on the twenty-fifth of October, 1705. Finding themselves the majority, John Smith, one of their own party, was chosen speaker of the house of commons, notwithstanding the vehement opposition of the Tories. William Cowper, a man of heavy and confused parts, but who was attached to the same principles, was made, by their influence, keeper of the great seal; and in general, the whole current of preferment ran through the same channel. The Tories, vexed at the loss of their influence, acted a part which exhibited a curious specimen of that glaring inconsistency of conduct, into which the spirit of party has too often betrayed mankind. To harass their political opponents, they endeavoured to take possession of their ground; and though they were supposed to be enemies to the succession of the house of Hannover, the lord Haversham, as the mouth of the party, moved, in the house of lords, for an address to the Queen, to invite the princess Sophia into England. The motion was rejected by the Whigs, who then possessed the whole influence of government. There were, however, brought in two bills, which were deemed a great security to the protestant succession: the first, appointing a regency on the event of the Queen's death; and the second for naturalizing the princess Sophia, and the issue of her body, being protestants.

The opposition of the Whigs to the invitation to the princess Sophia, having raised suspicions against their attachment to the house of Hannover, the party endeavoured to take to themselves the whole merit of the

1706. securities in favour of the succession, which had passed in the present session of parliament. The lord Halifax, one of their number, was sent with the acts of regency and naturalization to Hannover; and he carried along with him letters from all the leaders of the Whigs, expressive of their sincere attachment to the succession of the electoral family. The increase in the correspondence with Hannover, together with the zeal expressed in the letters, form a kind of proof that the succession of the princess Sophia and her posterity, began then, for the first time, to acquire a degree of certainty. The Queen, perhaps justly, was suspected of having no intentions of that kind; and her minister, the lord Godolphin, had been uniformly in the interest of the exiled family, though, by a happy timidity, he at last, in a manner, ensured success to their rivals. He, however, was so true to his principles, that, though he aided, with all the weight of government, the acts of regency and naturalization, he never took merit to himself from that circumstance, nor entered into any correspondence with the house of Hannover. The principal events, connected with the correspondence of this year, are the complimentary embassy of the lord Halifax, the treaty guaranteeing the protestant succession concluded with the States General, the treaty of Union then carrying on between the two kingdoms, the battle of Ramillies, the subsequent conquest of Flanders, the victory before Turin, and the evacuation of Italy by the house of Bourbon.

Copy in an
unknown
hand.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 185.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Military operations.—The affair of the bishopric of Lubec.

Translation.

Hannover, January 15, 1706.

"I AM very much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken of informing me, by your letter of the 6th instant, of the project which you got approved of at the Hague, for putting King Charles and prince Eugene in a condition to act offensively the next campaign. It is certain that one cannot imagine any thing more advantageous to the common cause, and that the prudence, with which you have formed this project, joined to the care which you have taken to bring it to a happy conclusion,

conclusion, has added not a little to the great obligations which the public owes you already, and to the glory of the Queen, who continues to give such convincing proofs of her good intentions.

1706.

“ With regard to the affair of Lubec, you are too well informed not to see that it would be as much my interest as the interest of the rest of the allies, to see it terminated amicably, by an accommodation. But if this cannot be soon done, in a manner with which the administration may be satisfied, I leave you to judge if it will be possible to control the King of Sweden, and if I can dispense with fulfilling the engagements into which I entered personally, concerning the bishopric of Lubec, and those to which the guarantee of the treaty of Travendahl binds me. Being joined in this guarantee with her Majesty, and with Holland, I doubt not but in that case they will concur with me, in making the house of Gottorp sensible of its good effects, in an efficacious manner.

“ You have, no doubt, been informed already, that the troops have been withdrawn by both parties from the city of Eutin, and from the whole bishopric; and that the Danes are returned home, after having dislodged the troops of the administrator; so that the only thing to be done now is, to support that prince in the civil possession, and in the administration of the bishopric, under the guarantee of the same powers who are guarantees of the treaty of Travendahl. I hope that her Majesty will not only contribute to this, but also, by her influence, determine the States General to join her in so salutary an undertaking. I beseech you, Sir, to be so good as to give all your attentions to this, as the affair is of importance enough to deserve them; and to be persuaded that I shall never neglect an opportunity of showing you how much I am,

My Lord,

Your affectionate servant,

GEORGE LEWIS, Elector.”

The Elector to Queen Anne.

The affairs of Lubec, and of the house of Holstein Gottorp.

Translation.

M A D A M,

February 19, 1706.

“ I Received, with the utmost gratitude, the letters with which your Majesty honoured me, concerning the affair of Lubec. I entreat

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you

Robethon's.
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 27.

1706. you to be persuaded that on this, as on all occasions which can offer, I shall never have any thing more at heart than to conform myself to your intentions, and to give you proofs of my zeal for the common cause. It was with very great satisfaction I was informed, by Mr. Howe, of your Majesty's favourable sentiments for the interests of the house of Gottorp, and the instructions you was pleased to send on that affair to your minister at the Hague. I shall concur, on my part, with pleasure, in the expedients which, without prejudice to the incontestible rights of that house, may terminate amicably the differences now subsisting. I shall even employ myself, with all possible ardour, to reconcile the King of Sweden and the administrator to them. I wrote yesterday to the latter, to dispose him to this, and to represent to him that it is very just to give your Majesty and the States the time which is necessary for engaging Denmark to resolve to give their consent, that the administrator may be re-established in the possession of the bishopric, without which I assure your Majesty it will be no ways possible to control the King of Sweden. I doubt not but your Majesty, by your great influence at the Imperial court, will prevail with the Emperor to concur with you and with the states, in engaging Denmark to accept of such a reasonable expedient. This, in my opinion, is the only means of obtaining the end which your Majesty has in view; mine shall always be to give you proofs of the profound respect with which I am, &c.

GEORGE LEWIS, Elector."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

The affairs of the north, and military operations.

Translation.

March 19, 1706.

"I AM much obliged to you for the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me. You would have heard, after you had written it, that the King of Denmark had accepted of the expedient proposed. It is but just to ascribe this principally to the strong representations which the Queen was pleased to convey to him. I am overjoyed that this affair is in a state which gives room to believe that it will have no consequence hurtful to the interests of the common cause.

"It is very disagreeable that the prince of Baden should be silent, when he ought to concert with you the operations of a campaign which

is

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Draught.
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is already so near. It is to be hoped, that the imperial court, without delay, will take, in that respect, the necessary measures with her Majesty and with the states. Whatever may be the result of this, you may assure yourself, that I shall give to lieutenant general Bulau, the orders which you desire; and that the troops which I have in the Queen's pay will join your army, whether it acts in Brabant or in any part whatever of the empire. And I am inclined to hope at the same time, that if the States-general have troops in the army which you shall command, you will obtain from them, to have those which I have in their service.

"I do myself a very sensible pleasure, in giving on this, as on every other occasion, marks of the strong desire I have to conform myself to the Queen's intentions, and to show you the esteem I have for you, and how much I am, &c."

The duke of Marlborough to the Elector.*---He endeavours to convince him of the importance of the acts, passed in the last session of Parliament.

Translation.

March 26, 1706.

"THE dutchess of Marlborough shewed me a letter she received from Mrs. Howe, which appears to me to contain an affair of so much consequence, that I think myself obliged, as a good Englishman, and as a faithful servant to your Electoral Highness, to communicate it to you. It contains, that all that has been done in England this winter, for establishing the protestant succession, and for testifying respect and attentions to your electoral family, is, in the opinion of the electress, of so little consequence, that she considers it, at most, as a mere compliment; and that, for that reason, it will be more agreeable to her, that the acts of parliament may be sent to Hannover without any ceremony, and that the garter which the Queen has given to the electoral prince, may be sent merely by a herald.

"These sentiments, concerning what hath been done here, are altogether different from those, which every one in England, who has ever shewn

* The duke of Marlborough's letters to the house of Hannover, were written by his secretary, Mr. Cardonnel, as his grace himself could not write the French language. When he wishes to give weight to what he says, he transcribes Cardonnel's draughts with his own hand. But this innocent imposition ceased, when, upon the sickness of his secretary, he wrote to Robethon in English, excusing himself for not using the French language, by saying, "*poore Cardnall is sicke.*"

any

1706.

Copy in an unknown hand, Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 189.

1706. any zeal for the protestant succession, entertains of it. It is for this reason, I am not able to reflect upon this affair, without a great deal of uneasiness. The parliament have redressed several very essential defects in the laws, which regarded a protestant succession. They have provided against all accidents which human prudence could foresee, and they have put the government, in the time of the successor, on the same footing which it is at present, during the reign of the Queen. These things are considered here, as affairs of the last importance, and as the most real and essential marks that could be given of a true zeal for the protestant succession.

"With regard to the act of naturalization of the electoral family, it has been declared to be absolutely necessary, by the unanimous opinion of all the judges, who are the best guides in an affair of that nature. With regard to the proposal of inviting the electress over to England immediately, when it is considered, by what sort of men it was made, in what manner, and at what time, there was reason to hope, that a proposal of that nature would not be better received by the electress, than it has been in England. There is no one so capable of judging of all this affair, as your electoral Highness, and you only can set it before the electress in the proper light. This is what I beseech you to be pleased to do, for the good of England and of the protestant succession. I cannot make a better excuse for the liberty I have taken, than the true zeal and attachment which I have for your service, being with great respect and submission," &c.

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked Misc
cell. d'Etat.
2, No. 4.

The Earl of Portland to Robethon.—Conduct of the Tories.—News of the Electoral Prince's election, as Knight of the Garter.

Translation.

Whitehall, April 5, 1706.

"ALTHOUGH it is a long time since you heard from me, you must not believe that this proceeds from a forgetfulness of what I owe to my old friends. With regard to what concerns the service of the family, I am sure that the elector does me justice. But experience shews, that he has servants here as faithful as those who affected to give him an invitation, and intended to make a merit of it, after having seen that all their opposition to the succession was useless. What gives pain

to

to good men here, is a belief that you was mistaken. Such an opinion would have done great harm if it had continued, at the very time that the Queen and the majority of the parliament gave sensible proofs of their sincere intention to secure the succession. Yesterday the Queen summoned a chapter of the knights of the order, in which the electoral prince was chosen. I entreat you to believe, that I always am very truly, &c.

PORTLAND."

Extract of a letter from the Princess Sophia.—She disowns Sir Rowland Gwyne's letter, and professes an affection and esteem for the Queen.

Translation.

Hannover, April 6, 1706.

"I lately saw by the letter, which Mr. Harley, secretary of state, wrote to you, what the parliament did against Sir Rowland Gwyne, and the answer of the Queen to the parliament's address. You may assure Mr. Harley, that neither my son, the elector, nor I, take any part in that letter, and that my lord Stamford was the first who sent me a copy of it, which I found so long, that I had a difficulty in determining myself to read it. You should tell Mr. Secretary, from me, that I entreat him, to assure the Queen, in my name, that I was charmed to see the respect and affection which the parliament shewed to her Majesty, even in the smallest things, and that I wish her Majesty may confer upon me always the honour of her kindness, which I shall endeavour to deserve, by the respect and obedience which I shall have all my life-time for her sacred person, with a grateful acknowledgment of the affection which her Majesty has been so good as to express for me and for my family. It would be mistaking me entirely to believe, that Sir Rowland Gwyne's letter could hurt the good understanding between the Queen and me. You will tell him all this, in the best terms you can choose; for it is from the heart I speak, and I believe that it would be for the good of England and all Europe, that the Queen should live for a hundred years.

The following letter may serve as a specimen of Cowper's diction and abilities.

Cowper,

1706.
Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes. No.
38.

Cowper, the lord-keeper, to the Elector.

"May it please your Electoral Highness, London, April 11, 1706.

WHEN I was first, by her Majesty's great goodness, raised to the station I am now in, I could not persuade myself, that a subject of so little importance, would have then excused my presumption in troubling your electoral highness in this manner upon that occasion, though with the sincerest assurances, that my heart should ever continue most firmly devoted to the service of your E. H. and your E. H. serene house. But now, since I hope it is allowable for me, to express to your E. H. the very great satisfaction I have with every good Englishman, received from the effectual securities lately provided by the parliament, for the protestant succession to the crown of England; I beg leave humbly to present to your E. H. at the same time, his most faithful profession of a most ardent zeal for your E. H. prosperity, and promise never to neglect any thing in my little power, that may possibly conduce to it; being fully persuaded, it is impossible to be in the true interest of England and not to be a fast friend to that succession, which the sense of the kingdom hath so often declared to be its only defence from the most deplorable condition a people can be reduced to. I was one of those, who have had the honour, for a long time past, constantly to have adhered to that opinion, for excluding a Romish successor, even while it was unfashionable and decried by those that were in authority; and therefore, that the same persons should now continue firm to the same, when it is owned by the legislative authority and the general bent of the people, can admit, I think, of no question. This I chose to mention, as an evidence of my sincerity in what I profess, rather than multiply expressions, which are in every one's power to make; not that I am at all apprehensive of those endeavours which have been used to render your E. H. and your E. H. serene house disgusted, with those who have the truest concern for your service; since it is impossible, that so excellent a judgment as that of your E. H. should ever prefer the surprizing starts of a sudden unaccountable zeal, contrary to known principles, affected merely for popularity, and shewing itself in one particular only, (while all other means tending to the same are neglected) to a steady, uninterrupted;

rupted, and uniform course of acting for the protestant succession, and flowing from principles, that were owned, when most discountenanced. But these endeavours in me to give your E. H. any satisfaction of this kind, are perfectly unnecessary, since my lord Halifax, who is so able and thoroughly versed in all the affairs of this kingdom, and so acquainted with the inclinations and practices of all men in business here, is to be for some time, in your E. H.'s court, where none can so well disperse all unfair representations of facts; and when that is done, your E. H. cannot but make the wisest conclusion, and such as next, under the blessing of God, may best tend to make yet more effectual, those prudent provisions which the wisdom of this kingdom hath, on mature deliberation, thought fittest to be made for the interest and honour of your E. H.'s serene house and the public happiness. I am, &c.

WILLIAM COWPER."

Lord Somers to the Elector.—He professes his zeal for the interests of the Electoral family.—He justifies the proceedings of the last session of parliament, particularly the bill of naturalization.

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes, No.

SIR,

London, April 12, 1706. 39.

"THE hopes of having my letter presented to your Electoral Highness, by my lord Halifax, has encouraged me to the presumption of writing. I could not hope for a more favourable opportunity of making this humble tender of my duty, than by the hands of one, who has so eminently distinguished himself, upon all occasions, for the settling and establishing the succession of the crown of England, in your most serene family, and who will be a witness above exception, of my conduct, in every part of that affair. I confess I always depended upon it, that my public behaviour should be an abundant testimony for me, as to my zeal to the protestant succession, and for promoting the war, in order to reduce the power of France, which I take to be the most effectual security to that succession.

It is with infinite satisfaction we hear your Electoral Highness has been pleased to approve the measures taken in our parliament this last winter. My lord Halifax is able to give so perfect an account of every thing that has been done, and of the several means used to bring them all to bear, that I shall not pretend to enter further into that matter, than by saying,

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I hope

1706. I hope it will appear, that nothing is now wanting to the establishment of the succession that can be done by the provision of laws; and that the administration of the government, when the succession shall take place, will be upon the same foot that it is now in the Queen's reign.

It might have a strange appearance, that they, who by a long and steady series of acting, had shown themselves, beyond a possibility of dispute, the assertors of the succession, in the person of her Electoral Highness, the princess Sophia, should in the least hesitate to agree to a proposition, that it was necessary to have the next presumptive heir to the crown to reside in England; but I beg leave to suggest to your Electoral Highness's consideration, that if this had been allowed for a rule, it might possibly, in a little time, have pressed very inconvenient upon your Electoral Highness. It was not to be imagined you would leave dominions, where you were sovereign, to reside in England, before you were our king; and yet there would have been an inconveniency in rejecting an invitation of that nature, when the kingdom had before declared such a residence to be necessary. But the manner of making this proposal was, above all other things, the strongest objection to it. The speech with which it was introduced, is in print, and so cannot be misrepresented. The turn of it was to shew first, that we could go on no farther with the Dutch, (which was in effect to say, we must make peace) and next to say, the Queen's administration was hardly sufficient to help us in peace, at home, unless the next heir came over. The Queen was present at this discourse, and no one can judge so well as your E. H. whether this was a compliment proper to engage her Majesty, to enter willingly into the invitation; and if it had been assented to with reluctance, whether it might not have given rise to unkindnesses, that might in the end have proved very fatal.

They who were afraid of entering into such an invitation, (especially coming as it did from those, who never till then shewed any concern for the protestant succession) thought it proper to lay hold of that favourable conjuncture, to push in for those solid provisions, which were evidently wanting, and which we hope are brought to effect, by the act that is to be farther carried on by the negotiation entered into for engaging the allies to become guaranties of our succession, and by the treaty between

between the commissioners of England and Scotland, for a union of the two kingdoms, which seems to be the way now laid open, for obtaining the declaration of the same succession in Scotland, which is already effected in England. I believe there is a good disposition in the commissioners, on both sides. I can absolutely promise for one, the meanest of them, that as far as my capacity and application can go, nothing shall be wanting to bring this treaty to a happy issue.

Having already presumed to take so great a liberty, I humbly beg permission of your E. H. to mention another particular, the act of naturalization, which some have said was, at least, unnecessary, if not a diminution to your most serene family. If this be so, not only all our present judges, but all the lawyers of former ages have been in the wrong. There are but two ways of making any persons born out of the allegiance of the crown of England, capable of enjoying inheritances, honours, or offices in this kingdom; the one complete and perfect, which is a naturalization, by act of parliament; the other imperfect, which is by letters patent, of denization. That this is so, cannot be better proved, than by the instance of his highness prince Rupert. For when K. C. the First intended to create him D. of Cumberland, to make him capable of that title, it was found necessary, previously to make him a denizen, by the K.'s grant, under the great seal; the differences then subsisting between the King and his parliament, making it impossible to procure a naturalization. But the present act is attended with all possible marks of honour and respect, for the Queen and nation. It extends to all the posterity of her R. H. the princess Sophia, born, or hereafter to be born, and where-soever they are born, which is a privilege that was never yet granted in any case, till in this instance. It is only from your E. H.'s eminent goodness, that I can hope for pardon, for this tedious address. I am, with the most profound respect, &c.

SOMERS."

1706.
Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes. No.
32.

The Earl of Sunderland to the Elector, sent by Lord Halifax.

Sunderland had been sent last year, to compromise the differences between the Emperor and the Hungarians; and on his return from Vienna, passed through Hannover.

The same subject continued.

Translation.

May it please your Electoral Highness, April 12, 1706.
“YOUR Electoral Highness honoured me with so many marks of kindness, while I was at Hannover, that I presume to take the liberty of giving you assurances of my duty. Your Electoral Highness is undoubtedly acquainted with the character and merit of lord Halifax, whom the Queen sends upon this occasion, to your Electoral Highness; and I can assure you, Sir, that as there is none who has testified, on all occasions, more zeal for establishing and confirming the protestant succession in your electoral family, and who has more contributed toward it; so there is none who is more in the confidence of all those who are well affected to the protestant succession, and to the prosperity of England, or who is more capable of informing your E. H. of all the measures which have been taken in this affair, and of all those who have uniformly testified the truest zeal for the succession, as well as of those who have constantly opposed it. I entreat your E. H. to be persuaded, that I am, with an inviolable attachment, and with the most profound respect, &c.

SUNDERLAND.”

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes. No.
34.

The Duke of Bolton to the Elector, sent by Lord Halifax.

SIR, London, April 12, 1706.

“I Am glad of this favourable occasion to write, by this noble lord, to give your Electoral Highness an assurance of my zeale for your servise, and the interest of your family, which I shall always take hold of all opportunity to demonstrate, whenever I think it may tend to the establishing your succession to the crown of this kingdome. There is none that can informe you better how all things are here, and who they are that do trewly embrace your interest, than my lord Halifax, to

whome

whome you may give entire credit, he being very sincerely, a trew servant of your most serene family. I depend upon it, that he will assure your Electoral Highness, that no person living can be with greater truth and respect than mysele, &c.

BOLTON."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An answer to the Duke's Letter of March 26.—He is satisfied with the acts of parliament.—He denies the discourse said to have been held by the Electress with Mrs. How.

Translation.

My Lord,

April 13, 1706.

"I Am very much obliged to you for the letter which you have taken the trouble of writing to me. I consider it as a fresh proof of your zeal for the protestant succession, and for the interests of my family. I communicated its contents to the electress. She comprehends perfectly well the advantage of the two acts, and what obligations we owe the Queen, for having employed her influence, in getting them passed. We are also very sensible of the honour which she does to the electoral prince, in sending him the order of the garter. As you know, that I am naturally an enemy to ceremonies and compliments, you are undoubtedly persuaded, that it is from that very motive I have wished that Mr. How should be charged with that commission. I entreat you, my lord, to be so good, as to assure her Majesty of our sincere gratitude, and of the attention which we shall always employ, to cultivate the honour of her friendship. I flatter myself, that it is too solidly established to suffer any diminution, from the discourses attributed to the electress, which she certainly never held with Mrs. How; and which, having only come to the ears of that lady, at second hand, have been undoubtedly related to her in an unfaithful manner. I depend very much upon your affection, and upon your attentions, to maintain a friendship which is so very precious to us as that of the Queen; and I am, very sincerely, &c."

Queen

1706.

Robethon's draught.
Hannover Papers, vol. marked
Princes. Nov 190.

Robethon's draught.
Hannover Papers, vol. marked
Princes. Nov 190.

1706.
Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes. No.
28.

Queen Anne to the Elector.

Sent by Lord Halifax, to whom she refers for the sincerity of her good intentions to her protestant heirs.

Translation.

Hampton Court, April 20, 1706.

“MY brother and cousin. Knowing the inviolable attachment, which the intendant of my finances, that is to say, the auditor of the Exchequer, lord Halifax, has always testified for your person and your interests; I gave him orders to present to you authentic copies of three acts, which concern your family. The share which he has had in these acts, renders him very fit to explain to you, with what intention they have been formed; and, I doubt not, but you will agree with me, that nothing could more effectually secure the succession of your family. It is with this view I have given them my assent, having nothing in the world so much at heart, as to preserve our religion and the tranquillity of my subjects, by leaving these kingdoms to the mild dominion of my protestant heirs. I have given orders to lord Halifax, to assure you, that, on all occasions, I consider your interest as my own; and, as a small proof of my esteem and affection for your family, I have made my cousin, the electoral prince, knight of the order of the garter; which is a dignity, that my ancestors always conferred upon those whom they most esteemed, and of which the greatest princes in Europe are ambitious. The earnestness of my above-mentioned minister to obey my orders, and his zeal for his country, equally engage him to discharge this commission. I beseech you to be so good, as to honour him with your confidence, when he enters upon these subjects; and when he tells you, with what sincerity, I am,” &c.

Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes. No.
191.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.—He gives his opinion of a project of carrying the war into Italy; which was communicated to him by Marlborough.

Translation.

My Lord,

April 23, 1706.

“I Am much obliged to you, for the letter of the 26th of March, (5th of April, N. S.) which you was at the trouble of writing to me. I received, with the utmost gratitude, the communication of the design of

1706.

of finishing the war in Italy, with which the Queen was pleased to honour me. I judge it worthy of her Majesty's prudence, and of her zeal for the common good. I doubt not but you will execute it, in a manner, which will add a new lustre to the glory which you have already acquired, and a fresh obligation to those which the public owe you. I am very sorry, that the state of my affairs, the situation of my country, and the just diffidence which I must entertain of several of my neighbours, do not leave me the power to agree to send my troops to such a distance; and to put them beyond the reach of being of service to me, in case of need. You know, my lord, that I expressly reserved it to myself, by the treaty, the liberty of bringing them back, when I should find it requisite for my own defence; and that the fear of that want has induced me not to renew the treaty, but from year to year, and to specify the places where my troops should act. I doubt not, but before you begin the proposed march to Italy, you will take care to provide sufficiently for the safety of Holland; since a check upon that side might occasion irreparable losses to the common cause; and your being at such a distance, might put it absolutely out of your power to bring timely relief; and as it is impossible to provide for the defence of the frontiers of the republic, but by leaving in them a powerful army, I think the troops, which I have in the Queen's pay, may be allowed to serve in such an army. I am much obliged to you, for communicating to me the projects of the prince of Baden. I judge of them, in the same manner as you do; and I see no reason, that they should be attended to. I always am, very sincerely," &c.

The Earl of Rivers to the Elector, sent by lord Halifax.

Original.

"THE character of my lord Halifax, who does me the honour to present this letter, is so well known to your Electoral Highness, that I think, the best method I can take, is to refer myself entirely to his justice and friendship, for the account he will please to give of mee, to your Electoral Highness. He and I have bin so constantly united, in every thing that has bin set on foot, for promoting and securing the protestant succession, in your most serene family, and in carrying on the war, in order to the reducing the power of France, that he can speake of

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes. No.
35.

1706. mee as fully as of himself. The Queen has bin pleased to command me to serve this year; I can never wish for more honour and happiness, then to be capable of performing any thing, that may deserve your Electoral Highness's approbation. I am, with all possible respect, &c. *RIVERS.*"

After the act for the naturalization of the house of Hannover, and for the greater security of the protestant succession, was passed in parliament, the Queen sent over lord Halifax, as has been frequently mentioned in the preceding letters, to compliment the elector and the princess Sophia, and to carry the garter to the electoral prince. He went to Holland with the duke of Marlborough, and began to correspond with Robethon, from the Hague.

Lord Halifax to Robethon.

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked Misc.
cell. d'Etat.
2. No. 190.

SIR, Hague, May 7, 1706.
" I HAVE received the favour of your letter of the 30th, and should have returned my most humble acknowledgments, for the great honour his electoral highness and the electoral prince have done me, by the next post, had it not gone away earlier than I imagined. I have undertaken this journey, merely to pay my duty and respect to their electoral highnesses. I knew myself very unfit for any foreign business; but I would not refuse a commission, (though never so improper for myself) that might put me in a capacity of serving them. Sir, I beg the favour of you, that you would present my most humble duty to their electoral highnesses, and to the electoral prince, with the utmost respect; and assure them, that as I have been always devoted to their interest in England, I am now come abroad, only in hopes I may be some way useful to them. I bring them the greatest proofs, that the Queen and the nation can give them, of their affection and zeal, to preserve and maintain the succession in that illustrious family: and I hope the negociation, that my lord Marlborough is now carrying on in this place, will add a greater strength to our laws. Mr. Vanburgh is not yet come over; and I came away in such a hurry, that I left several things to follow me. When they arrive, I will set forward for Hannover. I have excused myself from bringing any young nobleman with me, but my lord Dorset is left
to

to my care, and I shall bring him with me. Monsieur Nariseau and Mr. Addison, two gentlemen of learning and business, give me their company, and I bring no more servants or liveries than I have at London. I am, &c.

1706.

HALIFAX.

"I am overjoyed that I shall have again the honour to renew our acquaintance; and you needed no recommendation to put an entire confidence in Mr. Robethon."

The Duke of Newcastle to the Elector.

SIR,

London, May 7, 1706.

"IT is with the greatest satisfaction imaginable that I give myself the honour of writing to your Electoral Highness upon this important occasion, wherein the security of the protestant religion, the prosperity of England, and the liberties of Europe, (which seem to be united to the interests of your most illustrious family *) are equally provided for by the act passed this last session of parliament. And since it has pleased the Queen to make choice of my lord Halifax (a person of great abilities, and entirely devoted to your Highness's service) to present you with that act, who is able, at the same time, to give a perfect account of the whole proceedings in this affair; I would not omit assuring you, that as I did in this, so shall I do in all things wherein your Highness's interest is concerned, testify with how much zeal, and profound respect, I am, &c.

NEWCASTLE."

The Electoral Prince to Lord Raby.

The following letter is in Mr. Robethon's hand. It was afterwards transcribed and sent by his Electoral Highness, as a specimen of his own progress in the English language.

My Lord,

May 8, 1706.

"I AM very much obliged to you for your letter, and your kind expressions about my concerns. You do me justice to be persuaded, that I am very sensible of the honour the Queen hath been pleased to

Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 36.

Robethon's
draught.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 47.

* His Grace, when earl of Clare, was quite of another opinion. Stuart Papers, 1694.

1706. bestow upon me, in giving me the garter. Your compliment upon that subject is infinitely agreeable to me. I wish I could deserve that which you make me upon my progress in the English language, and that I could be so great a master of it as to express perfectly the consideration I have for your person, and how much I am, &c.

Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 193.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

The operations of the campaign.

This letter was sent by lord Halifax.

Translation.

May it please your Electoral Highness, Hague, May 9, 1706.

“Quartermaster general Cadogan gave me the letter which your E. H. did me the honour to write to me the second instant; and I am very happy to learn that you entirely approve the project which I had concerted, as the most salutary for the common cause. But the bad news lately received from the Upper Rhine, has induced the gentlemen *here* to drop these measures; yet, still endeavours are used to march a corps of ten thousand men into Italy, with which, it is to be hoped, prince Eugene will be in a condition to re-establish his affairs, and to save his royal highness the duke of Savoy from the danger which threatens him.

Lord Halifax, who will have the honour of delivering this letter to your E. H. will likewise inform you of all that passed in England, having been one of the most zealous for your interests. His great capacity, and his knowledge, will give him also, I am sure, a favourable access to your E. H. All honest men, among us, applaud the choice which her Majesty has made of him. He has been so good as to charge himself with assurances of the attachment, and of the very submissive respect, with which I shall always be, &c.

Prince and Duke of MARLBOROUGH.”

Lord

Lord Wharton to the Elector.

Translation.

May it please your Electoral Highness,

May 10, 1706.

"I T is with confusion that I presume to address myself to your E. H. having no other merit, but that of having always endeavoured to serve my country well, and of having attached myself, with great zeal, to the interests of your E. H. and of your august family. I doubt not, Sir, but my lord Halifax, who has the honour of being sent to your E. H. will do me justice in that respect; and I am confident that you are so well informed of all that passes in England, that it would be unjust to you, if I should doubt that your E. H. was not perfectly acquainted with his merit, and with the earnestness which he always testified for your service. I am, with the most profound respect, &c.

WHARTON."

The Earl of Orford to the Elector.

S I R,

London, May 11, 1706.

"T H E pride and glory I take, to be accounted a very faithful and obedient servant to your most Serene Highness, will, I hope, be an excuse for this liberty, though it contains nothing, but the assurance of the utmost of my poore *servis* for the interest of your Highness and illustrious house *. Lord Halifax, who has bin so very instrumental in bringing this glorious work of the succession to the crown of England to a good conclusion, will, I am sure, give your Highness a very full, and, I hope, a satisfactory account, of all the *steps* and difficulties which are now so happily overcome; I therefore do not trouble your Highness with any particulars, but beg leave, with great submission, to assure your Highness, that I shall never be wanting, on all occasions, to express my duty and zeal, and that your Highness will honour me, in believing I am, with the greatest respect, Sir, &c.

ORFORD."

* Vide Stuart Papers passim, for a proof of his lordship's *invariable* attachment to the protestant succession.

1706.
Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 33.

Original.
Ibid. No. 37.

1706.
Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Strafford.

Duke of Buckingham to the Princess Sophia.

Buckingham joined in the motion of inviting the Princess to England, and gives his reasons in this letter.—He desires her to send over a person in whom he and his party can place confidence.

M A D A M,

St. James's Park, May 21, 1706.

“AFTER receiving those several copies of letters about such matters of importance, together with all those honours and favours your R. H. has done me; I must seem strangely negligent in not writing all this time †, either to yourself, or at least to some friend at Hannover, if I did not entirely depend on your great prudence, which will easily imagine the good reasons for it, after those extraordinary sort of proceedings we have had among us.

The truth is, I, with a great many more (as they have owned in conversation) have been this long while in a constant expectation of your appointing some person, either privately or publicly, to convey letters safely, and to be conversed with and confided in upon occasion; because, though I believe no body ever had a thought on this subject of your coming over hither either in the least disrespectful to the Queen, or even to the government, or which could justly be blamed by either of them, if discovered; yet it would be unmannerly to yourself, as well as imprudent, to venter letters to so great a person that are so liable to be intercepted as mine are at this time, though, God knows, without my least deserving it. And therefore, according to this notion, it was thought absolutely necessary long ago to acquaint your R. H. (once for all) with the necessity of such an agent; but since none has come, I must conclude the proposal never came to your hands, though sent inclosed several ways; which was a confirmation of the reasonableness of it: which has made me resolve to give your R. H. this one trouble more now at last, in hopes it may have better success, though inclosed for once to Mr. Davenant, but in a private packet, who, as devoted as possible to the house of Hannover, yet is by no means proper to convey a correspondence of this kind, which, as innocent as it is, must needs be exposed, every packet, to the under clerks of an office.

† His Grace's time was probably employed in writing to St. Germain's, which occasioned this negligence toward the princess Sophia. Vide Stuart Papers.

I must here most humbly take my leave of your R. H. this way, because, besides the being apprehensive of giving unnecessary troubles, I think it better to refer all to that time when you will be pleased to settle this so necessary method. I shall now only say that, in my conscience, I believe, and dare affirm myself sure, that the persons in both houses who appeared for your coming over, and against that bill which passed, not to present it, but as a security brought in the room of it, did it principally for the quiet and safety of the government, and more especially of the Queen's sacred person, whom, according to their obligations, they love and reverence above all things: and their next consideration was for fear that ill-disposed persons should interpose between the time of such a fatal accident of our losing her, and the protestant succession established, and might consequently wish for that sad day, in order to such their design; and this was my own reason, which I gave openly in parliament, before herself, taking God to witness the truth of it. I am, &c.

1706.

BUCKINGHAM."

The following letter is in Marlborough's own hand; and consequently a transcript of a copy written for him by Cardonnel, his secretary; his Grace having owned, in one of his letters, that he could not write French.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

He announces the victory of Ramillies.

Translation.

S I R,

Louvain, May 25, 1706.

"AS soon as we understood that the enemy, having withdrawn their troops from the fortified places, and collected together all their forces in the Low Countries, had passed the Geete at Tirlemont, and encamped between that place and Leane, with a design of giving us battle, we did not hesitate to advance toward them, placing our confidence in the blessing of heaven and the valour of our troops. Sunday last, we continued our march, at three o'clock in the morning, to gain the opening between the Mahain and the great Geete. We soon understood that the enemy were likewise in march; but, according to the report of the general officers who were our prisoners, their design was not to fight before.

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1706. before Monday; not believing that we would venture to come to them. The armies were in fight before noon; and all diligence was used on both sides to arrange the troops in order of battle, and to form the batteries, which began to play at one. And toward two o'clock, we ordered the village of Ramillies, which covered the right of their infantry, where they had their largest battery, with a great force, to be attacked.

The battle became hot, and continued long enough, with great fury; but at last, the enemy was obliged to give way. We took their cannon, and made many prisoners; and having continued the fight with the same vigour, (the infantry as well as the cavalry) until between four and five o'clock, when the enemy began to withdraw; we pursued them without intermission, fighting them as they retired, until the night was far advanced: so that God has given us a complete victory. We have taken forty-three pieces of cannon, the pontons, a great part of their baggage, and at least four thousand prisoners, besides their loss in the battle.

We only halted two hours in the night, and we began our march before day, in order to draw near the Dyle, of which we had determined to attempt the passage this morning at day-light: but the enemy saved us that trouble, having retired last night toward Brussels; so that we entered Louvain, and all our army passed the river without opposition. The French burnt their magazines in the town, but the Spaniards left theirs entire.

Your E. H. may easily judge, by this, of the loss of the enemy, and of the consternation in which they are. We propose, to-morrow, to advance toward Brussels, to take the advantage of this consternation; and to endeavour to attack them again, or to oblige them to retire further. Nothing could excuse us for fatiguing the troops so much, after so obstinate an engagement, but the necessity of driving them to the last extremity before the Marishal de Marsin joins them, which may happen in four days.

Your E. H. will forgive me for so long an account, which, I am sure, however, will be agreeable to you. You will allow me likewise, if you please, to felicitate you, upon this happy success, for the good of the common cause. I am, with the utmost respect, &c.

Prince and Duke of MARLBOROUGH."

The

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

The Prince of Baden asks the Elector's troops.—The Elector chuses they should serve under the Duke of Marlborough.

Translation.

My Lord,

May 26, 1706.

“I Thought it proper to inform you, by a messenger, that the prince of Baden continues to solicit lieutenant general Bulau to march to his assistance, with the corps of troops which I have in the Queen's service. He wrote to him from Rastadt, the 19th instant, by Mr. D'Avenant, the most pressing letter imaginable. It is true, I had permitted the lieutenant general to advance, on that side, with my troops, when there was any hopes of preventing the enemy from executing their project on the Upper Rhine. But, at present, where they have carried their point, when the Marshal de Marfin returns to the Maese with the detachment which he commands, and when the prince of Baden, having placed himself safely beyond the Rhine, has assembled there a force sufficient to prevent the passage of the French, I see no necessity of sending to him my troops. I know, if they once should advance on that side, the prince will find means of keeping them all the campaign, which is as contrary to my intentions as it is to the public service. I always reckoned that they were to serve in your army; and I don't see that there is any necessity of employing them elsewhere. You will therefore oblige me much, by sending them your orders without delay. They will follow them punctually. But I chuse to hope, that you will approve the strong reasons which I have, not to trust them to the prince of Baden; and that the interest of the common cause does not demand that I should. You will find means of employing my troops in places where they may serve more usefully. I shall never think them so well as under your orders; and I shall never be so well satisfied, as when they serve in a manner which will procure them your approbation. I am, very sincerely, &c.”

The Electoral Prince to the Duke of Marlborough.

He acknowledges himself obliged for the garter to the Duke.

Translation.

My Lord,

June 2, 1706.

“THE Lord Halifax delivered to me the letter which you gave him for me. You are in the right to believe that I am as sensible as I

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draught.
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draught.
Ibid.
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1706. ought to be of the honour which the Queen has been pleased to do me, by conferring upon me the order of the garter. I am not ignorant that I am principally obliged for this to your good offices. I entreat you to be persuaded that I shall be grateful for it all my life; and that I receive the order with so much the greater pleasure, that you wear it likewise, my lord; and that you honour it, daily, by such brilliant actions. The officer who will deliver you this letter, is the person who brought to us the agreeable news of your last victory; the consequences of which have been so considerable, and the success, every one allows, is chiefly to be ascribed to your conduct and valour. I take a greater share than any one in this addition to your glory; and I would have nothing farther to desire, in this respect, had I been a witness of it.

We consider, as a fresh obligation which we owe to her Majesty, that she sent hither a man of lord Halifax's merit. I hope that he will be as well satisfied with us as we are with him. I am always, my lord, entirely yours, &c."

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

He has sent a route to the Elector's troops.—He informs him of the progress of his Conquests.

Translation.

Camp at Nevelle, June 4, 1706.

S I R,
"I Received the letter which your E. H. did me the honour of writing to me the 26th of the last month; and I was informed, from other quarters, of the earnest representations which the prince of Baden continued to make to Mons. de Bulau, in order to engage him to march to his assistance. But there are more than ten days, since I sent positive orders to that general to come, with all speed, to the Low Countries; which he will undoubtedly communicate to your E. H. I am very glad to see, by this letter, that what I have done in this respect, is agreeable to the wishes of your E. H. I expect to learn, every moment, that the troops are on their march, having sent to them a route to come from Colblentz to Liege.

The prince of Baden should adhere to his orders, since, as your E. H. remarks, he has troops under his command of which he makes no use.

use. But as, according to the intelligence which we receive, the court of France must have given orders to Monsieur de Villars to march thirty battalions and forty squadrons to this side, the prince will be soon at liberty to act on his side: and I flatter myself that the court of Vienna will take care, that so large a body of troops, Monsieur de Bulau computing them at forty thousand men, besides the Hessians, shall not remain inactive during the campaign.

1706.

I did myself the honour to communicate to your E. H. on the 25th of the last month, the victory which we obtained over the enemy. We have not failed to pursue our blow; and the happy consequences which that has produced, are beyond whatever we could hope. It has never been heard, that so many places of strength, with entire provinces, surrendered in so short a time, especially as they were provided with garri-sons and magazines for a good defence. Oudenard, where there were three battalions, surrendered yesterday. I have ordered Antwerp and Ostend to be summoned, and I expect their answers every moment. We cannot take the proper measures, until we are masters of the first place. I flatter myself that all this will have a good effect elsewhere; and that if our troops upon the Upper Rhine will do their duty properly, the enemy will be even obliged to bring forces from Italy to their assistance; which will give relief to the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene, and may frustrate the designs of the enemy upon Turin. I am, with a most profound respect, &c.

Prince and Duke of MARLBOROUGH."

The Earl of Portland to the Elector.

Translation.

S I R,

Hague, June 9, 1706.

"I AM not disposed to trouble your E. H. with my letters; but I would imagine I failed in my duty, and in my gratitude, if I did not show you my sense of both, upon the subject concerning which you gave orders to Monsieur de Robethon to write to me. And as I doubt not but Monsieur Schutz has informed your E. H. of all my conduct, I shall only say, that your Highness may always depend upon my sincere zeal for your service. The great success which God has granted to the arms of the allies, and on which I heartily congratulate your E. H. will

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contribute

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1706. contribute not a little to establish your interests every where. I remain,
with the most profound respect, &c.

PORTLAND."

Original.
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Strafford.

The Duke of Buckingham to the Princess Sophia.

In the same strain with his letter of May 21.

M A D A M,

St. James's Park, June 9, 1706.

"H A V I N G written several letters since I had the honour of receiving any from Hannover; and such, as though no way prejudicial, were about matters of importance; I must therefore beg leave to renew only, at this time, the assurance I gave your R. Highness in those of the necessity, which was thought here, of some safer way of conveyance, and of some person from thence to be confided in. For your R. H. in the first place, and all those who have the honour of such a correspondence, are incapable of thinking, much less of writing, the least thing prejudicial to the Queen or the government. I have reason to believe all letters, not only opened, but stopt also, because there has been nothing done in so long a time, which was here thought so much of consequence to your interest, and so earnestly proposed by those who are devoted to it above all things, next the service of the Queen herself, and who, we cannot imagine, has any different from yours. This is enough to a person so prudent.

BUCKINGHAM."

Copy in Ro-
bethon's
hand.
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The Electoral Prince to the Queen.

Thanks for the order of the Garter.

Translation.

M A D A M,

Hannover, June 12, 1706.

"I Received, with the utmost gratitude, the letter which your Majesty was pleased to give in charge to my lord Halifax. I am penetrated with the mark of distinction with which you was so good as to honour me, by giving me the order of the Garter. I entreat your Majesty to be persuaded, that I desire nothing more ardently than to shew, by my actions, that I am not unworthy of entering into so illustrious a body. My lord Halifax did not fail to give me the most obliging assurances of your Majesty's sentiments full of goodness towards me. I flatter myself that, on his return to England, he will
make

make a faithful report of my perfect veneration for your Majesty, and of the profound respect with which I shall be, all my lifetime, Madam, &c."

1706.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Acknowledges his having received the Duke's letters, and congratulates him upon his victories.

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draught.
Hannover
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Translation.

My Lord,

Hannover, June 17, 1706.

"I Received the letter which you wrote to me by lord Halifax. His arrival here was very agreeable to me, having given me an opportunity of being acquainted with a man, whose merit was already well known to me. I am much obliged to you for the letter which you wrote to me from Louvain, the 25th of May; and for the trouble which you took, in the midst of so many important occupations, to give me an account of the victory with which God has blessed our arms. All the world agrees, that it is to be ascribed principally to your good conduct and to your valour. I entreat you, my lord, to be persuaded, that no one interests himself more than I do in this addition to your glory, and in the happy consequences which this great action has already produced, and which may be farther expected from it. I hope it will prevent the siege of Turin; and that, with the reinforcement of ten thousand men, which you mention to me, it will place the duke of Savoy in entire security.

I have likewise received the letter which you wrote to me the fourth instant, from the camp of Nevelle; and I am happy to see that the orders which I gave to my troops are agreeable to your intentions.

I wish you a continuance of your great success; and I always am, very sincerely, &c."

The Elector to the Queen.

A letter of thanks sent by Lord Halifax, when he returned from Hannover.

Robethon's
draught.
Ibid. No. 29.

Translation.

M A D A M,

June 28, 1706.

"MY lord Halifax delivered to me the letter which your Majesty was so good as to give him in charge for me. The three acts of parliament which he brought, are convincing proofs of the obliging atten-

1706. tions which your Majesty continues to pay to the interests of my family. I entreat you to be persuaded of the gratitude which I shall preserve for this all my lifetime. I am likewise sensible of the honour which you conferred on the Electoral Prince, by giving him the order of the Garter. My lord Halifax gave me all possible explanations with regard to the three acts: I am much obliged to your Majesty for the choice you made of a minister of such capacity and distinction to be the bearer of them. He acquitted himself of the commission with great zeal. I desire nothing more ardently than opportunities of convincing your Majesty to what degree I am penetrated with your goodness, and that I am, with a profound respect, Madam, &c.

GEORGE LEWIS, Elector."

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The Princess Sophia to the Queen.

Translation.

MADAM,

"THE favour which your Majesty was pleased to do me, by the embassy of my lord Halifax, who delivered me the letter with which you was pleased to honour me, as well as the acts which you passed in my favour, and in favour of my descendents, are such evident proofs to me of the honour of your favours, that I cannot sufficiently express my very humble acknowledgments for them, unless your Majesty will condescend to furnish me with opportunities, by honouring me with your commands. In expectation of such an advantage, I entreated my lord Halifax to testify to your Majesty how far the submission and zeal I have for your sacred person extends. He procured to himself the general esteem of every one; and I presume to entreat your Majesty most humbly to be so good as to believe the sentiments of veneration of which he will give you assurances from me, and of the respect with which I shall be all my lifetime, Madam, &c.

SOPHIA, Electress."

The Electoral Princess to Queen Anne.

Translation.

MADAM,

June 20, 1706.

"YOUR Majesty daily shews so much kindness for this family, that it is very just that I, having entered into it by my marriage with the Electoral Prince, take the liberty to assure you, that I have not
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a less lively and respectful gratitude with regard to your Majesty, than the princes who belong to it. I was very sensible of the honour which your Majesty did the Prince, my husband, by conferring on him the order of the Garter. I should think I failed in my duty, if I permitted the lord Halifax to depart without offering my humble thanks to your Majesty, and without recommending myself to your kindness. I entreat you to believe that it is impossible to be, with more respect than I am, &c."

1706.

The Elector to the Earl of Portland.

Translation.

My Lord,

June 26, 1706.

"I AM much obliged to you for the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me, and for the assurances which it contains of your zeal for the interests of my family. My minister at London gave me an exact account of all the measures which you took, on different occasions, for establishing and confirming the protestant succession. I entreat you to believe, that I lay great stress upon your affection; that I am very sensible of the proofs of it which you have given me; and that I shall be always very happy to find opportunities of shewing you how much I am, &c."

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draught.
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The Elector to the Earl of Sunderland.

Translation.

My Lord,

Hannover, June 20, 1706.

"I AM much obliged to you for the letter which the lord Halifax delivered to me from you. There was no necessity of being informed by him of what you had done on different occasions, to establish and confirm the protestant succession. I am as sensible, as I ought to be, of these marks of your zeal for the interest of my family. They are so much the more agreeable to me, that they come from a person whose merit is perfectly known to me; and who, under a Queen so well informed as her Majesty is, cannot fail to attain to the most important employments. I am persuaded that she cannot place them in better hands; and entreat you to believe that I am sincerely, &c."

Robethon's
draught.
Ibid. No. 42.

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draught.
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No. 45.

The Elector to Lord Somers.

Translation.

My Lord,

June 20, 1706.

“THE lord Halifax delivered to me the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me. I am much obliged to you for the lights which it gives concerning the affairs of England; but especially for the part which you have had in all that has been done there in favour of my family. The testimony of my lord Halifax was not necessary to inform me of this. He could give you no other, in this respect, but that which is due to you by all good Englishmen, who love their religion and their country. I am not ignorant of what influence you have among them, nor of the manner in which you have employed it. Nothing can give me a better opinion of the English nation, than the justice which they do your merit. My sentiments concerning the invitation of the successor, are entirely conformed to yours; and I put all the value I ought upon the acts which the lord Halifax brought us. He has convinced us of their importance; and he hath discharged his commission as a man equally zealous for the prosperity of England, and for the interests of my family. I shall always look for opportunities of shewing you how much I am, &c.”

Robethon's
draught.
Ibid.

The Elector to Cowper, the Lord Keeper.

Translation.

My Lord,

June 20, 1706.

“I AM very much obliged to you for the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me; and for the assurances which it contains of your affection for me, and of your zeal for the interests of my family. I approve, more than any one, of the choice which the Queen made of a man of your merit, for an employment so considerable as that which she trusted to you. I am already sufficiently acquainted with your principles, and with the constancy with which you followed them in the most difficult times, to be persuaded that her Majesty could not place that employment in better hands. You are in the right to believe, that it will be always easy for me to distinguish those who are truly zealous for the protestant succession. I know the rank which you hold among them, and the confidence which they place in you; and I shall be always very happy

happy to find opportunities of shewing you how much I am, my Lord, &c." 1706.

The Elector to the Earl of Orford.

Translation.

My Lord,

June 20, 1706.

"I Have read, with a great deal of pleasure, the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me. I am very much obliged to you for the assurances which it contains of your zeal for the interests of my family. I know the part which you have had in all that hath been done for confirming the succession in the protestant line; and I am no stranger to the influence which you have acquired in the nation, by your merit and by your brilliant actions. The testimony which the lord Halifax did himself the pleasure of bearing of you was not necessary for me in this respect. He will not fail to tell you what are my sentiments concerning you, and how much I am, my Lord, &c."

Robethon's draught.
Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 45.

The Elector to the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Privy Seal.

Translation.

My Lord,

June 20, 1706.

"I Received, with all possible satisfaction, the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me. I entreat you to believe that I am very grateful for all that you have done for the interests of my family; and that I consider, as a great advantage to it, that a person of so great distinction as you, and of a probity so generally acknowledged, should give us so many marks of his affection. I approved, with all good Englishmen, of the choice which the Queen made of you, for an employment so considerable as that which she trusted to you; and I wish nothing so much as opportunities of shewing you how much I am, my Lord, &c."

Robethon's draught.
Ibid.

The Elector to the Duke of Bolton.

Translation.

My Lord,

June 20, 1706.

"I Received, with a great deal of satisfaction, by the lord Halifax, the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me. Your good intentions for the interests of my family were already known to me, by your past conduct. I entreat you to believe that I am as sensible of them as I ought to be; and that I am not ignorant neither of the influence which

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Ibid.

1706. which you possess in England, nor how much you deserve it. The lord Halifax will not fail to tell you, what are my sentiments for your person, and how much I am, My Lord, &c."

Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
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No. 45.

The Elector to the Earl of Rivers.

Translation.

My Lord,

June 20, 1706.

"I Read, with a great deal of pleasure, the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me. I am much obliged to you for all you have done for the interests of my family. I was already informed of it, and I was very happy to be confirmed by lord Halifax, in the sentiments of esteem and regard which I had already conceived for you. I approved, with all good Englishmen, of the choice which the Queen made of you, to serve this campaign. I doubt not, but you will acquit yourself in your station, in a manner equally useful to the common cause and glorious for yourself. I shall always be very much disposed to show you, how much I am, &c."

Robethon's
draught.
Ibid.

The Elector to Lord Wharton.

Translation.

My Lord,

June 20, 1706.

"I Received, with a great deal of pleasure, by the lord Halifax, the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me. I am very grateful for all that you have done, on different occasions, for the interest of my family. I was already informed of it; and I was not ignorant, that if you had acquired, by your merit, a great deal of credit in the nation, you never employed it but for its advantage. I entreat you to believe, that I have for your person all possible regard, and that I am, My Lord, &c."

Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
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The Elector to Lord Halifax.

Thanks him for his pains to finish the treaty of Guarantee.

Translation.

My lord,

Hannover, July 20, 1706.

"I Read with a great deal of satisfaction, the letter of the 19th instant, which you was at the trouble of writing to me. I am very sensible of the attentions which you give, to bring the treaty of Guarantee to a happy

happy conclusion. The manner, in which you write about it to the pensionary, is perfectly agreeable to my intentions, and to the deference which I propose to shew to the Queen, during the course of this negotiation. I agree with you, that we ought to be satisfied with the 6th article, as you have sent it; and, as I am persuaded that this affair can never be in better hands than yours, I repose myself entirely upon you, for all that must be done to facilitate its success. I shall be always very happy to receive your letters. You may assure yourself, that I shall pay them all the attention which they deserve; and that I shall keep them in all possible secrecy. I shall put the electress in mind of dispatching, without further delay, the instruments of nomination.

I think that the King of Spain has very well understood his interests, in trusting to the duke of Marlborough, the government of the Low Countries. I thank you for having communicated this to me; and I entreat you to believe, that as your merit and your affection for my family are perfectly well known to me, I shall always do myself a pleasure, in giving you marks of the regard which I have for your person, and of the sincerity with which I am, &c."

The Earl of Scarborough to the Elector.

Recommends his son, and the son of Mr. Smith, Speaker of the House of Commons, who had set out on their travels.

July 22, 1706.

"YOUR Electorall Highnes will, I hope, pardon this liberty I take, by my second son, who having finished his studies, I have ordered to begin his travelling, with paying his earliest respect and duty to your Electorall Highnes. The favors I have formerly received from your Electorall Highnes, obliges me to make all my familie sensible of your greates goodnes. Mr. Smith, eldest son to the speaker of the house of commons, begins his travells with my son, in order to pay his respect and duty to your Electorall Highnes. May all prosperity attend your Electorall Highnes and princely familie, which shall be the constant prayer of your Electorall Highnes

Most devoted, obedient, and most faithfull, humble servant,

SCARBOROUGH."

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The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Thanks for felicitations on the Princess's Marriage to the King of Prussia.

Translation.

My Lord,

July 23, 1706.

"I Am much obliged to you for the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me, the 10th instant; and for the manner full of affection, in which you shew me that you interest yourself in the marriage of the princess, my daughter. After the proofs, which you have given, upon so many occasions, of your attachment and your zeal for my family, I doubt not but you will see, with pleasure, whatever happens agreeable or advantageous to it. I entreat you to believe, that I, on my part, interest myself very particularly in whatever regards you; and, that no one wishes you more than I do, a continuation of the great success, which adds daily, a new lustre to the glory you have acquired. I am, very sincerely, My Lord, &c."

Mr. Addison to Mr. Lewis.

Original.

SIR,

July 26th, 1706.

"I Thank you for yours of the 2d, which I received at the duke of Marlborough's camp. Mr. Cardonnel will give you a better account of all transactions here than I can doe. The duke of Marlborough received a letter from prince Eugene, on Saturday last, that confirms his passing the Adige, and gives very great hopes of further successes. He tells his Grace, that the duke of Orleans was arrived in those parts, to command the French army; if he had resolution enough to enter on such a post, when his army was in such a situation. The duke of Vendome, they say, this morning, is got among the French troupes, on this side. A trumpet from the enemy says, that three lieutenant-generals are broken, for misbehaviour, at Ramellies. Their names are, counts Guiscard, d'Artagnan, and Monsieur d'Etain. All agree here, that the last battle was gained, purely by the conduct of our general. I am, Sir, &c."

J. ADDISON."

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The Electoral Prince to the Duke of Marlborough.

Thanks for felicitations on his Sister's Marriage.

Translation.

My Lord,

July 27, 1706.

" I Received, with a great deal of gratitude, the letter which you was at the trouble to write to me. I am much obliged to you for the compliments which it contains, upon the marriage of my sister, and for the wishes, which you add to them, for the happy delivery of the electoral princess. You have given, on so many occasions, proofs of your affection for this family, and of your attachment to its interests, that it is impossible to doubt, that you see with pleasure, whatever happens to it, either agreeable or advantageous. Accordingly, you may depend upon it, that all the princes, who belong to it, entertain for you, sentiments full of esteem and regard. But I flatter myself, that you do me justice enough to be persuaded, that none of them has sentiments so lively as mine, nor interests himself, in a more distinguished manner, in whatever concerns you. I am, very sincerely, My Lord, &c."

1706.
Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 199.

The Electoral Prince to Mr. Cresset.

The same subject.

Translation.

Hannover, August 3, 1706.

" I Received, Sir, with a great deal of satisfaction, the obliging letter which you wrote to me, on the subject of my sister's marriage. I am very much persuaded of the sincerity of your wishes, for the happy consequences from this marriage and from my own. You have given, on so many occasions, such effectual proofs of your affection for this family, that it is not possible to doubt, but that the good sentiments which you entertain for us, proceed from your heart. It is just, Sir, that we should entertain similar sentiments for you. I entreat you to believe, that mine are very distinguished; and that I shall always be very happy to show, that I am, &c."

Robethon's
Draught.
Ibid. No. 50.

1706.
Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 51.

The Elector to Mr. Cresset.

The same subject.

Translation.

Hannover, August 6, 1706.

" I Am very sensible, Sir, of the manner full of affection, in which you interest yourself in the marriage of the princess, my daughter, I know too well the sincerity of your affection for me and for my family, not to be persuaded, that you offer hearty vows for its prosperity; and that you take a very particular part, in whatever of advantage happens to it. Of this, you gave us, on various occasions, very effectual proofs. You may be assured, that I shall never forget, and I shall do myself a real pleasure, in finding opportunities of shewing you, that I am, &c."

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked Misc.
cell. d'Etat.
2. No. 190.

Lord Halifax to Robethon.

The title of the Electoral Prince, as a Peer of England.—The treaty of Guarantee with the States.

SIR,

Hague, August 12, 1706.

" AT my return to this place, Monsieur Bothmer gave me your letter of the 23d July, which gave me a great deal of satisfaction. I did not understand, why the nomination was delayed so long; and I am confident, that it was more proper that it should be dispatched. I shall not fail to write to the archbishop and my lord Keeper, and I do not imagine, they will make any difficulty of waiting on Monsieur Schutz, if he is not able to go abroad; but Monsieur Schutz must have his credentials enrolled in Chancery, before he is capable of acting; if I am in England before the instruments are delivered, I will be there, if that shall be thought proper; but in my own opinion it is not. When I was at the camp, I spoke to the duke of Marlborough about the title, and he is very ready to join in that, or any thing that may be agreeable to the prince. When I come into England, I shall not fail to represent it to the Queen. I intended to have gone to England by Ostend, but the pensioner writ to have me come this way, to satisfy some scruples that were raised against our treaty; all the towns in this province have
agreed

agreed to it, but Leyden. I have been this morning with Monsieur Van Lewen, their deputy; and I hope he is so well satisfied, that he will not make any opposition longer; if he does, it will not obstruct above a day or two. I am, &c.

1706.

HALIFAX."

Lord Halifax to the Elector.

The treaty of guarantee.—The union of the two kingdoms.—He gave the Queen an account of his favourable reception at Hannover.

Translation.

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 53.

SIR,

August 23, 1706.

"I Found myself so very desirous of embracing the opportunity of the convoy, from the Texel, that I was not able to inform your Electoral Highness of the manner in which the province of Holland consented to the treaty. I send now a copy of it to your Electoral Highness, in order that I may have the honour of receiving such remarks or instructions, as your Electoral Highness will think proper to communicate to me, on the subject. Your Electoral Highness will find the guarantee of the succession drawn up nearly in the same terms, as I mentioned in my last letter. But their demands, with regard to the barrier, which they wish to have, are so extravagant, that I doubt whether they will be consented to, as they have projected them. I represented this very amply to the ministers in Holland; and it appears to me, that they have made this proposal concerning a barrier, altogether like merchants. They know very well, that their demands are exorbitant; but they hope to obtain the better bargain, by lowering a great deal of their pretensions. The pensionary is so convinced of this, that he entreated me to send him, in writing, the objections which I made to them. I will not fail to do so. Although this method of acting is not just, for it will greatly retard the conclusion of the treaty. Several efforts have been made from many places, for breaking off this negociation. But I hope that we shall surmount all these obstacles.

We have all the reason to promise ourselves success, in our union with Scotland. All the letters from that country give us great hopes, that it will be accepted by their parliament. This treaty has had its effect in advancing the other; and when the last hand is put to the union,
and

1706.

and there shall be no further means of preventing it, certain gentlemen in Holland, will not show so much coldness for the treaty of guarantee.

I gave an account to the Queen, of the favourable reception which I met with in Hannover; and her Majesty is extremely satisfied with the friendship and esteem, which your Electoral Highness testified for her. She has commanded me to renew all the assurances which I gave to your Electoral Highness, that she will do every thing in her power, for advancing the interests of your Electoral Highness, and of your family; and I believe you will receive, very soon, some fresh marks of her zeal for their honour and interest, which, as I hope, will be very agreeable to your Electoral Highness."

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
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Princes.
No. 200.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector, after the taking of Menin.

Translation.

SIR,

Camp at Helchin, August 23, 1706.

"I Do myself the honour to congratulate your Electoral Highness, upon the great success which it hath pleased God to give to the arms of the high allies, by the taking of the town of Menin; one of the strongest the enemy had in this country. The garrison was obliged to capitulate yesterday. This morning we were put in possession of one of their gates; and Wednesday, the garrison is to march out, and to be conducted to Douay. Mr. de Bulau will, undoubtedly, have communicated to your Electoral Highness, from time to time, all that passed at the siege; so that all that I shall have to add, will be to recommend myself to your kindness, and to assure you of the respect, and of the very submissive attachment, with which I have the honour to be, Sir, &c."

Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 201.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An Answer to the preceding.

Translation.

My Lord,

September 3, 1706.

"I Am much obliged to you for the trouble you was at of informing me yourself, of the fresh success which God hath lately granted to the arms of the allies, by the taking of Menin. You are in the right

to believe, that I am much interested in it; no one having a more lively sense than I have of the Queen's glory and of yours. You could not more effectually crown the great events of such a glorious campaign, than by the conquest of such an important place. I heartily wish you a continuance of your great success, and am, entirely, My Lord," &c.

The Elector to the Earl of Scarborough.

An Answer to his Letter of July 22.

Translation.

My Lord,

September 3, 1706.

"THE letter which you gave your son was very agreeable to me. I am much obliged to you for the assurances which it contains, of your affection for me and for my family. I shall take care, that your son and Mr. Smith's will have reason to be satisfied with their stay. Mr. Smith's merit has been long known to me. I know how much he deserves the important post he fills. I shall be very happy, to meet with opportunities of shewing you, what esteem and regard I have for your person; and that I am, very sincerely, My Lord," &c.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector, after the taking of Dendermonde.

Translation.

SIR,

Camp of Termond, September 5, 1706.

"YOUR Electoral Highness will be pleased to approve of the liberty which I take, of congratulating you upon the taking of Termond, the garrison of which beat the chamade this morning, about 10 o'clock, to ask leave to march out upon honourable terms; which having been refused to them, they were at last obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war; and about five of the clock, this evening, they delivered up to us the gate of Mechlin. And, as I am persuaded that your Electoral Highness will be greatly interested in this event, so advantageous to the good of the common cause, I did not chuse to delay to communicate it to you; being with the utmost respect and attachment, Sir, &c."

Lord

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Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
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No. 202.

1706.
Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked Mis-
cell. d'Etat.
2. No. 190.

Lord Halifax to Robethon.

The Electoral Prince made Duke of Cambridge.

SIR,

September 6, 1706.

" I Have had so much business, at my arrival here, after a long absence, that I have too long delayed answering yours of the 27th of August, which I received there. Monsieur Gaugin is out of town with the duke of Somerset, that I could not speak to him of the salvers; but that is all one; if you order me to pay the value of 49 ecus, to Monsieur Schutz here, or any body else, it shall be done. You will have heard, that the Queen has signed the warrant, for making the electoral prince duke of Cambridge; it was done in the best manner here, upon the first representation I made; and I hope will be to the satisfaction of your court. I am, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An Answer to his Letter of the 5th of September.

Translation.

My Lord,

September 14, 1706.

" I Am very much obliged to you for the trouble which you took, in informing me of the taking of Dendermond. It gave me the greater pleasure, that I know the importance of that place, and how troublesome it would have been, that it should have remained in the hands of the enemy. I congratulate you, with all my heart, upon this fresh conquest; and I wish a similar success to all your enterprises; being very sincerely, My Lord, &c."

Lord Halifax to the Elector.

The Barrier Treaty.—Proposals of Peace, by France.—The conduct of the Ministry.

Translation.

SIR,

September 20, 1706.

" AS soon as I arrived in England, I did myself the honour of writing to your Electoral Highness; but I learned just now, that the packet boat which carried my letter was unfortunately lost. It is for this reason, I take the liberty of sending a copy of it to your Electoral Highness,

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Highness, with the treaty which was inclosed in it, in order to shew you, that I did not neglect to give you an account of this negociation, as well as of the manner in which the Queen received it, upon my return from the court of your Electoral Highness. Since that time, I had occasion to know the sentiments of others, on the proposal, concerning the barrier; and every one agrees, that nothing can be more extravagant than such a demand. I delayed to write to the pensionary, not knowing but I ought first to receive the instructions of your Electoral Highness upon the subject; and being in expectations of receiving news from foreign countrys, which are, at length, happily arrived.

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September;

“The surprising turn, which the affairs of Italy have taken, will redress every thing. But before that happened, the Dutch were so disposed to listen to terms of peace, that it was nowise proper, to declare oneself too openly against their extravagant hopes. It is certain, that France has made them as advantageous offers, as they propose; which makes it the more delicate and difficult to tell them, that we believe they themselves propose too much. I can tell your Electoral Highness, that the Queen’s ministers have acted as wise men and men of honour, with regard to the offers of France for a peace. They plainly declared to the Dutch, on what terms they could consent to it, which are such as cannot fail to satisfy all the allies: and they insisted particularly, that we could never believe, that it was honourable to treat of a peace, while one who pretended to be King of England, remained in France. I am, with a profound respect, &c.”

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Affairs of the North.

Translation.

My Lord,

September 21, 1706.

“I Received the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me, concerning the entry of the King of Sweden into Saxony. You will undoubtedly know already, that that prince has declared, at Berlin and elsewhere, that his design was not to disturb the Empire, nor to cause any prejudice to the allies: and as it appears certain, that he has no treaty with the King of France, there is reason to hope, that he will not go farther than Saxony; and, that he only proposes to deprive King Au-

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gustus of the succours of men and money, which he hitherto drew from that country. It appears therefore, to me, that the wisest part, is to discover no diffidence of that prince, and to take no measures against him; for that would be the means of hurrying him into engagements with France, and into designs against the empire; of which, there is reason to believe, he does not think.

As for my part, I shall spare neither care nor pains, to appease the troubles of Saxony, and to prevent them from being prejudicial to the interests of the common cause, and from interrupting the course of the glorious successes, which God continues to grant to the arms of the Queen and of her allies. It is with this view, that I sent to his Swedish Majesty, baron D'Oberg, one of my ministers of state. I informed the Queen and the States-general of his embassy; and I shall not fail to acquaint them with the answer of the King of Sweden, and the dispositions which he will discover.

I shall do myself a pleasure in sending to you, my lord, the same information; and then it will be easier to take proper measures. I shall always esteem myself very happy, to be able to concur, in whatever will be agreeable to the Queen and useful to the good cause. You will oblige me, by assuring her Majesty of this, and by believing that I am, very sincerely, My Lord, &c."

Original.
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No. 206.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

After the taking of Ath.

Translation:

SIR,

Camp at Grame, October 3,^d 1706.

"THE Almighty continuing to bless the arms of the high allies, gives me another opportunity of renewing my very humble congratulations to your Electoral Highness: it is upon the taking of the fortress of Ath, whose garrison, consisting of five battalions of infantry, were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war: it is much to be regretted, that the bad weather and the advanced season, gives no prospect of undertaking any thing else, this campaign; but if there can be any chance, your Electoral Highness may be assured, that nothing will be neglected for the good of the common cause. I entreat your Highness

Highness likewise, to do me the honour to be persuaded, of the respect, and very sincere attachment, with which I am, &c."

1706.
October.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

The Affairs of the North.—The intentions of the King of Sweden.

Translation.

My Lord,

October 8, 1706.

"I Am very much obliged to you for the letter of the 29th of the last month, which you was at the trouble of writing to me, and for your having communicated to me, that which you received from the King of Prussia, concerning a project of a triple alliance. Lieutenant-general Bulau will give you, in this respect, all the light which you desire: he will inform you of the inconveniencies of this project, and that the King of Sweden, far from being the author of it, does not show any eagerness to conclude it, having even desired, that this affair might be negociated, not at Berlin, but at Stockholm.

The most essential circumstance in my opinion is, that the allies should not discover any diffidence of the King of Sweden. I have reason to be thoroughly persuaded, by the report of the minister whom I sent to him, that he has not entered into any concert with France, and that he only proposes to finish the war of Poland with advantage. You will render, my lord, a very signal service to the common cause, if you will prevent this prince's being irritated by menaces, which may, besides, divert King Augustus from concurring in an accommodation. I am always, very sincerely, My Lord, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An Answer to the Duke's letter of the 3d of October.

Translation.

My Lord,

October 14, 1706.

"I Am very much obliged to you for the trouble you took to inform me of the taking of Ath. You finish gloriously, by this important conquest, a campaign replete with such memorable events, for which all those who interest themselves in the common cause, ought to hold to you an eternal obligation. I entreat you to believe, that no one enters

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Robethon's
Draught.
Ibid. 207.

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deeper into these sentiments than I doe, and that whatever augments your glory, will give me a very singular satisfaction. I am, very sincerely,
My Lord, &c."

Original.
Hannover
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marked
Strafford.

Lord Halifax to the Princess Sophia.

The title of the Electoral Prince.—He sends her a copy of the treaty of Union.

MADAM,

October 15, 1706.

"I Have received the honour of your Royal Highness's letter of the 12th, and am extremely pleased, that my zeal to serve your Highness and your family, has been so well received; and I shall make it the business of my life to merit the continuance of your favour. The patent for the title of the electoral prince, is now dispatched. We were a great while looking for titles, that were anciently in the royal family, for the earldom and the marquissate; but most of the old titles have been since given away, especially to the natural sons of King Charles; and at last, it was thought best, to create him Marquis and Duke of Cambridge, that if your Royal Highness and the Elector please, the young prince, when he shall be born*, may be called marquis of Cambridge. The duke of York his sons were called so, when he was nearer in degree to the crown, and it would certainly please the English, if he took that name. I send your Royal Highness the articles of the Union, as they are printed in Scotland. They have been kept very private, till they were laid before the parliament; by all accounts from thence, there is great reason to hope they will be approved; there has been little done hitherto, but the appearances are promising; the Jacobites there, are so apprehensive that the Union will be carried, that they are willing to come into the proposition which the opposing party talk of making, which is, to settle the succession on your Royal Highness, with limitations, and a communication of trade; they think this the most plausible way of baffling the union; but it is so well understood, that this offer comes too late now, which might willingly have been received some months ago. But your Royal Highness will give me leave to observe, that we have managed the opportunities we have had with some skill, when things are brought to that pass, that the very Jacobites are for settling the protes-

* His lordship, it seems, was determined, that the unborn child should be a boy.

tant succession one way, to avoid establishing it more effectually another. And we have this further to say, that, if this Union is made, it will be the first instance in history of this kind; for there never was, at any time or in any place, an example of two sovereign kingdoms incorporating themselves in such a manner."

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Lord Halifax to Robethon.

The treaty of Union and of Guarantee.

Original.
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S I R,

October 18th, 1706.

"A Ccording to your desire, I have paid to Mr. Schutz 9 l. 4 s. sterling, which I hope you will give to Mons. Lubieres; 'tis a pretty good rate for looking upon two salvers, but 'tis no matter. I can now tell you, very confidently, that the Union will be agreed to in Scotland; we have letters from thence, of the 14th, which say, that the opposing party have made their effort two ways; they would first have put off the consideration of it for three months, that they might consult their constituents; but that was carried against them, by a great majority: then they proposed a general fast, which would have taken up three weeks, but that was waved, because the Assembly of the kirk had not asked it; and when it was moved there, it was rejected, and the assembly has directed the ministers to offer up prayers for the success of the union. And now the clergy have made this step, it cannot fail of succeeding. By letters I have from Holland, I have no doubt of the success of our treaty there, though there will be some difficulty in adjusting their barrier. I think now, we may be all allowed to boast, that nothing was ever better pushed, than the establishment of our succession has been, since we had a parliament to promote it. And if you can but take care of hindering your northern hero from breaking our measures, we will make France own, both the Electorate and the succession of the House of Hannover. I am, &c."

The Elector to Lord Halifax.

Thanks for the Treaty of Guarantee.

Translation.

My Lord,

Herrenhausen, Oct. 19th, 1706.

"I Am very much obliged to you for the letter of the 20th of September, which you was at the trouble of writing to me, and for the copy which you joined to it of your letter of the 23d of August, which

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was

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was lost with the packet-boat. I have likewise reason to thank you for your communicating to me the resolution of the States with regard to the guarantee of the succession in the protestant line. I am very sensible of the attentions which you gave, and which you continue to give, to bring this affair to a happy issue. It is to be hoped, that the States General will soften their pretensions, which are so extravagant, that they appear to be intended to hinder the conclusion of the business. You are already informed, my lord, of the strong reasons which I had for not entering into this treaty as a principal party, and for leaving the entire direction of it to her Majesty: she has begun so well, that there is reason to believe she will overcome all the obstacles which still remain. I acknowledge very gratefully the proofs of kindness which she continues to show for me and for my family on all occasions. You cannot confer a greater obligation upon me, than by testifying to her how sensible I am of this. I entreat you to believe, that I have all possible esteem and regard for you, and that I am very sincerely, &c."

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The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Thanks for the communication of the proposals of peace made by France.

Translation.

My Lord,

November 5, 1706.

"I Am very much obliged to you for the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me, the 26th of the last month, and for the confidence which you shew me, by the communication of the two letters which were inclosed in it. Their contents are so important, that it is impossible to pay too much attention to them. I consider, as a great happiness to the allies, that France addresses herself to a person whose good intentions are so well known, and whose understanding is proof against every artifice.

I agree with you, my lord, that it is necessary to be very much on one's guard, and to be diffident of whatever comes from such a suspicious quarter. It appears to me, that it is to be avoided, above all things, to take any step which may give umbrage to such of the allies to whom France has made no overture; and, as the two letters which you communicated to me bear, that that crown does not choose to exclude, from the negociation which it proposes, any of the powers which are at war with it, nothing, in my opinion, is more natural than to answer,

That,

That, the Queen and the States being obliged to act in concert with the Emperor and the principal allies in this great affair, it is necessary for you to begin, by communicating to them what hath been addressed to you, and to know their sentiments, before you can give any positive answer.

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By this means, you will gain all the time necessary for discovering if France acts sincerely, or if she wants to lay snares; and you will persuade, more and more, the Emperor and the other allies of the rectitude with which the Queen and the States act with them. This will strengthen the union of the confederated powers, which ought never to be closer, than when it is proposed to treat of a peace. I order the Baron de Bothmar to be thoroughly instructed, as well in this affair as in others which are at present on the carpet; entreating you to place an intire confidence in him; and to be persuaded, that I shall never use any reserve with regard to you; and that I am, very sincerely, &c."

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

The same subject continued.

Translation.

SIR,

Hague, Nov. 24, 1706.

"I Did not do myself the honour of sending to your Electoral Highness the copy of the answers which were made to the Elector of Bavaria, upon the propositions which he made on the part of the King of France, since they were immediately communicated to all the ministers at the Hague, and Mons. de Bothmar was so good as to take it upon himself. But your Electoral Highness will find inclosed a project of preliminaries, which I concerted with some members of the States, who were commissioned for that purpose, without being obliged to make a report of them, or to communicate them to the assembly, in order that the secret might be so much the more effectually kept. And I entreat your Highness likewise, to be so good as to keep it. These commissioners entreated me to assure the Queen, on my return, that unless France chuses to subscribe to such terms, they will never pay the smallest attention to whatever that court may endeavour to insinuate to them; so that your Electoral Highness may depend upon another campaign. And providing the empire likewise exerts itself upon the Rhine, I flatter myself, that with the blessing of Heaven, we shall be able, at last, to oblige the enemy to accept of reasonable terms,

Copy in Ro-
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hand.
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We have been agreeably surprized, by the treaty concluded between the King of Sweden and King Augustus, to which I am persuaded the good offices of your Electoral Highness have greatly contributed. We expect soon to hear of its good effects. Mons. de Bothmar will inform your Electoral Highness, that we have renewed the convention for your troops for the next year, and that our treasurer has paid the 50,000 florins which were due for extraordinaries.

I propose to embark to-morrow for England, where I entreat your Electoral Highness to be so good as to honour me with your orders; and to be persuaded of the very zealous attachment with which I shall always be, &c."

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The Princess Sophia to Queen Anne.

Recommending Mr. Weind to a place.

Translation.

MADAM,

Hannover, Dec. 3, 1706.

"IF I did not know that your Majesty takes pleasure in obliging and in doing good to those whom you believe worthy of it, I would never have presumed to take the liberty of recommending to your clemency a very honest gentleman, who has served me for a long time, called Weind, whose ancestors lost a great deal for having been loyal to the late King Charles the First. Your Majesty has so many places to give without inconvenience, that his parents and he would think themselves well recompensed, if your Majesty should be pleased to give him one; and by that means you would render my mind very easy about him, by being able to provide for him in his own country, before death shall hinder me from taking care of him in this. This is a favour which I take the liberty of demanding of your Majesty with all possible submission, there being none alive who wishes more to see herself honoured with your Majesty's commands, in order to show by my obedience, that it is impossible to be with more respect and attachment than I shall be all my lifetime, &c."

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The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

His opinion of the French proposals.—The affairs of the North.

Translation.

My Lord,

Hannover, Dec. 14, 1706.

"I Received the letter of the 24th of November, which youw as at the trouble of writing to me. I am extremely obliged to you for the confidence,

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confidence which you continue to shew me, by the communication of the preliminary articles, on which you agreed with some members of the States. You may assure yourself, that they shall be kept inviolably secret. If the next campaign, which you reckon you shall serve, is as successful as this, as there is reason to hope, there is no doubt but the enemy will be obliged to accept of a reasonable peace.

King Augustus is expected every moment in Saxony, where affairs will discover themselves wholly after his arrival. I continue to give them all the attention, which the interest of the allies requires. Hitherto one sees nothing, that is contrary to the declarations the King of Sweden has made; that he did not enter Saxony, but to finish the war of Poland. And it is certain, that he is not in any concert with France.

Baron de Bothmar sent me the treaty which he renewed with you. I shall dispatch the ratification of it instantly. I have you to thank, for the care which you took of the payment of the 50,000 florins. I wish nothing more ardently, than to find opportunities of shewing how sensible I am of all the marks of affection which you give me, and that I am very sincerely, &c."

"P. S. I believe it very material to stipulate, in the strongest and most solemn manner, that neither the crown of Spain, nor any of its dependencies, can ever be possessed by a prince of the royal family of France; whether elder or younger, whether in a direct or a collateral line: and that all the dispositions which can be made to the contrary hereafter, by will, by contract of marriage, or by any manner whatever, will be absolutely null: and that in all the cases which can arise, that is to say, whether there are any princes of the house of Austria, whether there are but princesses, or whether that house shall be entirely extinct. For, without this precaution, it may happen, that in case the Emperor and King Charles the Third shall die without male descendants, France may draw a pretext from thence of beginning a new war, and of forming fresh pretensions to the crown of Spain.

I leave you likewise to consider, my lord, if, in order to take away a pretext from France, ever ready to excite new troubles in the empire, it would not be proper to stipulate, with that crown, the recognition of the ninth electorate."

STUART PAPERS.

1707.

THOUGH Great Britain derived the benefits of the Revolution from the folly and enthusiasm of James the Second, it owed the continuance of that system of government to the happy ignorance and confined policy of Lewis the Fourteenth. The justness of this observation is partly established by the secret negotiations of the present year. The Union of the kingdoms had raised a resentment, and even a degree of fury, among the nobility and gentry, as well as among the vulgar in Scotland, that threatened the worst consequences. They wanted but a show of succours from France, to take up arms against England. Many of the nobility and chiefs of clans were enthusiastically attached to the excluded family; and they pressed, with eagerness, for the presence of the Pretender in Scotland, were it only with a body of men sufficient to protect him against the officers of justice in the kingdom, till they could join him with their vassals. The French King, though apprized of this state of affairs in Scotland, either through want of comprehension in himself, or the fortunate ignorance of foreign affairs, which always prevailed in the counsels of France, declined to send the demanded supplies, and thus discouraged a diversion to the arms of the most powerful of the allies, which, in all likelihood, would have procured the peace which was so necessary to his distressed subjects.

To amuse, however, the Scots, he resolved to send colonel Hooke again into their country. The object of this man's expedition was to induce the malecontents to take arms, without subjecting the French King to any engagements on his side. When Hooke arrived in Scotland, he found the malecontents distracted among themselves. The duke of Hamilton, who had been for many years considered as the head

of the Jacobites, and was much followed by the Presbyterians, had lost the affection and confidence of both, by his impenetrable conduct in parliament. The two parties were equally averse to the Union; and they ascribed the misfortune, as they called it, of that measure, either to the timidity or treachery of the duke. In this state of affairs, it was not likely that, if even France had sent the aid required, the enemies of the Union could make any formidable figure in the field. But the court of St. Germain, who perceived that there was no serious intention to favour their own cause, informed their friends in Scotland, that no succours were to be sent; and that, therefore, they ought to take care of themselves. The chief part of the correspondence of the present year relates to these circumstances. The servants of the Pretender, who had been unreasonably sanguine on many other occasions, seemed to have derived no hopes, either from Hooke's negotiations, or the intrigues of their agents in England, with the duke of Marlborough and the earl of Godolphin. They, however, continued their intercourse with the Jacobites in Britain, to preserve them in their principles and hopes, for a more favourable conjuncture.

1707.
January.

Extracts from Lord Caryll's Letters.

"I Find no ground at all for the reports you mention, of the merchants Manly [the King] and Wisely's [Queen] removing from the place, where they have so long traded, and fixing elsewhere; so that I look upon such rumours, whether well or ill meant, to be but idle speculations. I am also of your opinion, that a good construction may possibly be made of Armsworth's [Marlborough's] intentions in the bargain which is now making between Wheatly [England] and Norly [Scotland], because it may bring on a necessity of Henly's continuing in his post; for it has always been my opinion, that Armsworth [Marlborough] without the assistance of Henly would never be able to pay his old debts. But on the other hand, I very much question whether at this present that merchant and his partners have such honest thoughts. I am very apprehensive that he intends only to support himself, in supporting Henly, and little thinks of his former engagements. But these matters must be left to time and to providence."

Lord Caryll's
Letters,
vol. v. fol.
Scotch Col-
lege.
Jan. 13.

1707.

Jan. 27.

——“As to what you writ concerning those two merchants, Goulston [Godolphin] and Armsworth [Marlborough], they are so full of mystery in their dealings, that it is hard to judge of their intentions and designs.”

February.

The Jacobites have generally, and with some reason, suspected, that the court of France regarded no further the interest of the Pretender, than only when it was subservient to their own. Lewis the Fourteenth himself seems frequently to have been sincere in his professions to the excluded family. His ministers, however, justly judging that they could have only the uncertain gratitude of the person whom they should serve for the expence and hazard of an expedition, were extremely backward in making any effectual efforts for invading Britain. Besides, it was natural for them, considering their own attachment to monarchy, to suppose, that they derived great advantage from having in their hands the person whom they supposed to have an hereditary right to the British crown. The attempts, therefore, which were, from time to time, made for invading this island, were rather intended to engage the nation in a civil war, than to contribute effectually to restore the family of Stuart. The languor and caution of its court increased with the misfortunes of France in the present war. Happily for Britain, the court of Versailles were most inattentive and negligent, when they most stood in need of spirited efforts, and when the state of these kingdoms were most exposed to revolution and change. It was, for example, with great caution and reluctance, as appears from the following letters, that the French ministry yielded to the vehement applications of the court of St. Germain, to take advantage of the violent discontents excited in Scotland, in the present year, by the Union between the kingdoms.

Nairne's
papers,
vol. viii. 4to.
No. 37.

The Earl of Middleton to Colonel Hooke.

He is uncertain about the intentions of the court of France.

Feb. 8, 1707.

“THEIR Majesties have commanded me to tell you, Sir, that the letters you proposed should be written as soon as can be. The Queen's to the great man will be sent to-morrow. The only difficulty was, lest it be ill taken, which is hard to foresee; and, in this case, you will endeavour to set them right.

Their

Their Majesties desire, that you would make draughts of the commissions and instructions, as being the shortest way, and the most conformable to what the court of France designs, which we are not apprized of. I have marked the articles in your paper, which I send you back, lest you have kept no copy of it. It is certain, that the King can give no declaration, but in his own name; the other way can only be an instruction to be exacted, by the advice of his friends, on the place."

The Earl of Middleton to M. de Chamillart.

He endeavours to reconcile him to the intended expedition into Scotland.

Translation.

February 11, 1707.

"I Have given an account to their Britannic Majesties, of what you did me the honour to tell me. They are highly satisfied with it, and have commanded me to thank you, in their name; and, although they will not urge you further on the subject, they think it proper to propose to you these doubts, by way of explanations, of which you will be the best judge; and they refer themselves entirely to you.

First, If the person who receives instructions from you, finds all the dispositions in the country which are favourable to your design, would it not be better to set them in motion immediately, in order to gain time to take advantage of their first fervour, and to prevent the exportation of corn, since, without that, a great part of the summer may pass in performing uncertain expeditions at sea; and delays often cause discoveries?

Secondly, If this is agreed to, would it not be necessary to send some money, not as much as will be necessary to support the war, but to be distributed among the leaders of the parties, in order to put them in a condition of acting; which money might be brought back to you, in case things were not circumstanced, as one could wish?

Thirdly, But in case that cannot be done, would it not be better not to send any warlike stores, till the treaty is finished; because that might alarm the enemies, and give umbrage to the well affected, who would fear, perhaps, that they had nothing further to expect?

In the mean time, the King, my master, is at work with his dispatches, which will be ready in a few days."

1707.
February.

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. viii. 4to.
No. 37.

1707.
February.
Nairne's
Papers,
vol. viii. 4to.
No. 37.

The Earl of Middleton to M. de Chamillart.

He endeavours still to reconcile him to the expedition.

Translation.

February 13, 1707.

"I Have given the Queen your letter, and the instructions you prepared for colonel Hooke, from whom I received them. Her Majesty commands me to represent to you, that there is a year and a half since Hooke was sent upon the same business; that those whom he saw were scrupulous to answer immediately, being willing to examine first, the state of things, in the different countries, and promising to send an exact account by a man of confidence; accordingly, some months thereafter, Mr. Fleming came in their name, and presented to you a memorial from them, which is now referred to. If you find any parts of it which are not sufficiently clear, he is here, and will wait of you when you order him, to give a satisfactory answer to all the questions that shall be proposed to him; but you may be assured, before hand, that you will find nothing in it, but what regards men who have good intentions, and something about corn, meat, drink, and a certain quantity of swords and guns, though it is not sufficient for so extraordinary and important an occasion. The Queen has likewise observed, that the succours, that the Scots may expect from the King, are not specified; and therefore, that they will agree to nothing, upon such a general and ambiguous proposal."

The Earl of Middleton to Colonel Hooke, of the same date.

Translation.

"ALTHOUGH I hope to have the honour of seeing you on Wednesday, I did not choose to delay to send you back your instructions; and, at the same time, you will receive a copy of my letter to Monsieur de Chamillart. The Queen imagined it would be sufficient to show the inutility of your journey, without opposing it formally, lest they should accuse her of breaking of the project, and of chusing to conceal the state of that country, which is very far from being her intentions. I write to you in French, that you may show this letter, with a copy of the letter inclosed, to M. de Torcy."

The

The Earl of Middleton to Colonel Hooke.

The French are by no means sanguine.

February 16, 1707.

"THE task you sent me, Sir, could not be got ready so soon as you reckoned; so I delayed my coming this morning, when I received this letter, of which I send you a copy, to be shown to M. de Torcy; and it being so very positive, I need neither go nor write any more about that matter, in which we are humbly to acquiesce. I hope to see, on Sunday morning, to wish you a happy return; but I am afraid you will leave them in worse humour than you find them. But this I am sure of, that your courage and zeal can never be sufficiently commended and recompensed. I am, Sir, &c."

The Earl of Middleton to M. de Chamillart.

Lewis XIV. is not yet reconciled to the scheme.

February 16, 1707.

"I Have shown to the King and Queen of England, the letter which you did me the honour to write to me this morning, and they have commanded me to assure you, that they consent, with pleasure, to all that the King judges necessary to give him satisfaction, concerning the affairs of Scotland; and they find themselves much obliged to you, for the good offices you have rendered them, on this as on all other occasions, on which they will always depend."

The French court resolving to send colonel Hooke to Scotland, M. de Chamillart gave him the following instructions, which may serve, at once, for a specimen of the extreme ignorance of the French ministry, and their insincerity in the cause of the Pretender. Chamillart, it seems, had the weakness to suppose, that the Scottish nobility would rise in arms, and maintain a regular war against England. He speaks with familiarity of campaigns, as if the populace of Scotland had already been formed into regular armies, and their leaders provided with finances, to support a long series of hostilities.

Instructions

1707.
February.
Nairne's
Papers,
vol. viii.
4to. No. 37.

Ibid.

1707.
February.
Nairne's
Papers,
vol. viii.
4to. No. 37.

Instructions from M. de Chamillart to colonel Hooke.

Translation.

February, 1707:

“**T**O be certain of making a diversion in Scotland, which will embarrass the English, and oblige them to bring back a considerable body of troops to England; the Scottish nobility must be in a condition to assemble 25 or 30,000 men, and to clothe, arm, equip, and maintain them, during the campaign; i. e. at least, six months, to commence at the beginning of May.

The favourable dispositions of the nobility, leave no room to doubt, but they will make their utmost efforts, to withdraw themselves from the yoke which the English nation intends to impose upon them. Before a revolution, which should end in the restoration of the lawful sovereign, is begun, it is necessary to enter into a particular detail of the forces and means which the Scotch can employ to accomplish it, and of the succours which they may promise themselves from the protection of the King, who is no less interested in the success of this enterprise, than his Britannic Majesty. It is for these considerations, that his Majesty hath judged it proper, before he makes any positive promise to the Scots, to send over Mr. Hooke, in order to acquire, upon the spot, a perfect knowledge of the state of things, to form a well digested plan with the nobility, to reduce it to writing, and to get it signed by the principal men of the country; giving them assurances of his Majesty's sincere desire and his dispositions to send them the succours, which may be necessary for them; and his Majesty recommends, in a very particular manner, to Mr. Hooke, not to engage him in expences, which those he is obliged to lay out elsewhere will not allow him to support, nor to give them any room to hope for more than he can furnish.

The articles which are to be the principal objects of his attention, are first, to inform himself, with certainty, of the number of troops of which the army shall be composed, and of the generals and other officers, who are in the country, to command them: if they stand in need of some of those which are in France: of what rank, and how many: the particular places where those men, who voluntarily engage shall assemble, and the place of general rendezvous afterwards.

To

1707.
February.

To know who will clothe, arm and equip them: if they have cloth in the country, and if they are able to pay for it: who will furnish fuses, bayonets, swords, belts, bandeliers, and powder-flasks, linen, stockings, shoes, hats, and other utensils, such as hatchets, pickaxes, and spades.

If they have any artillery; of what size, and what quantity.

If they have stocks and carriages for cannon.

If they have officers of artillery, cannoniers, bombardiers, and miners.

If they have mortars, bullets, bombs, grenades, and in what quantity.

If they have powder and ball, whether for cannon or for muskets.

What they want of these things, and what they demand as absolutely necessary for them; acquainting them that it is not their interest to demand too much.

It will not be sufficient to be informed, with certainty, that they are able to assemble a considerable army: it likewise is necessary to know further, the means by which the nobility intend to subsist them, while they are in the field; and by which they can form magazines, and assemble waggons to follow the army, wherever the generals think it may be proper to order it to march.

The same inquiry must be made about the equipage for the artillery; for the use of which it will be necessary to have a certain number of horses, in proportion to the train which they think they should bring into the field.

They must not persuade themselves that the mere good will of the nobility, and the blind obedience of their vassals, in doing whatever they choose, are sufficient to oblige them to remain too long from home, when they are furnished only with bread; they must have meat and spirits, or, at least, vegetables, with some other drink than water, the use of which is not common in that country.

It is of importance to be assured of the manner in which the grain and drink shall be furnished; of the assessment which shall be made; of the contingent which each nobleman shall contribute in grain, drink, and other provisions; of the number of men they will give, and if they shall be clothed, armed, and equipped. In short, to enter into such an exact

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February.

detail, that nothing will remain to be done, but to take a final resolution concerning the project which Mr. Hooke shall form, in order to secure its success.

It is supposed it may be demanded further, that the person who shall command the army, should explain himself, as to the use he intends to make of it. There will be several other things to be added, which the experience and good sense of Mr. Hooke will suggest to him."

M. de Chamillart discovers in these instructions, that he was ignorant of the real state of Scotland; but Mr. Hooke adhered strictly to some parts of them. It appears, from his own account of his negociations, that he had address enough to persuade the Scots to bring themselves under several engagements, while the King of France declined to oblige himself to do any thing.

Nairne's Pa-
pers, vol. viii.
4to. No. 37.

"A declaration of war, with instructions to Colonel Hooke, Feb. 1707."

JAMES the Eighth, by the Grace of God, King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith: to all our loving subjects, of our ancient kingdom of Scotland, greeting.

Whereas we are firmly resolved to repair to our said kingdom, and there to assert and vindicate our undoubted right; and to deliver all our good subjects from the oppression and tyranny they groan under, for above these eighteen years past, and to protect and maintain them in their independency, and all their just privileges, which they so happily enjoyed, under our royal ancestors, as soon as they have declared for us. We do, therefore, hereby empower, authorise, and require all our loving subjects to declare for us, and to assemble together in arms, and to join the person whom we have appointed to be captain general of our forces, when required by him, and to obey him, and all others under his command, in every thing relating to our service; to seize the government, and all forts and castles, and to use all acts of hostility against those who shall traiterously presume to oppose our authority, and to lay hold and make use of what is necessary for the arming, mounting, and subsisting our forces, and obstructing the designs of our enemies; for all which you are hereby fully warranted and indemnified."

*Instructions for Colonel Hooke.*1707.
February.

“ 1. YOU are forthwith to repair to Scotland, and to endeavour to meet with as many of our friends as you can, to deliver to them our letters respectively, by which they are to give credit to what you propose to them in our name.

2. You are to expose to them the necessity of laying hold of this opportunity of vindicating our right, and their privileges and independency, which, if neglected, may never be retrieved.

3. That, as soon as they appear in arms, and have declared for us, we design to come in person to their assistance, with the succours promised us by the most Christian King, which cannot be obtained till they have given that evidence of their dispositions.

4. You are to explain to them, that the declaration of war you carry with you, is only a summons to rise in arms, reserving to bring along with us an ample declaration for pacifying the minds of our people, and the false and malicious suggestions of our enemies, of which we desire they would send us a draught; in the mean time, you may assure them of our unalterable resolution of securing to them their religion, laws, liberties, and independency.

5. If you find that a party is disposed to rise in arms, on what pretence whatsoever, without directly owning our authority, you are to acquaint our friends, that we allow and approve of their joining with, and assisting them against our common enemy.

6. Our commission of general is designed for the earl of Arran; but in case he declines it, our friends are to name another, whose name is to be inserted. But neither this commission, nor that for levying of war, either in Scotland or Ireland, to be published, except you find them immediately disposed to take the field; though our letter to him in Ireland may be sent, when it can be safely conveyed.

7. You are to assure each of our friends, in particular, of the true sense we have of his loyalty, and sufferings on that account, which we think ourselves bound, in honour and interest, to reward to the utmost of our power.”

1707.

Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters continued.

Lord Caryll's Letters,
vol. v. fol.
Scotch College.
Feb. 17.

"WE may now hope, if ever, that Mr. Armsworth [Marlborough] and his partners will pay the old debt, so justly due upon accounts to us; and it will not be want of ability, but of honesty, should they fail doing it. I shall be glad to hear, that you have had an opportunity of speaking to Mr. Goulston [Godolphin] about these matters, and also about the quit-rents and your cousin's debts; for, by that merchant's manner of behaving himself, much may be guessed of their good or bad intentions."

The Earl of Middleton to Colonel Hooke.

He tells him, that he is only to negotiate a treaty with the Scots.

St. Germain, March 11, 1707.

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. viii. 4to.
No. 37.

"I Wrote you an answer, Sir, to what you said concerning Mr. Fleming, which I directed to Mr. Cantillons, as you desired me; and so, I suppose, you received it. I was sorry not to be here to take leave of you. I send you his Majesty's letters, with a copy of M. de Chamillart's, though you have seen it already, that you may clearly perceive it is not his intention that the Scots should stir, though they were inclined to it, till the treaty was finished; a consideration founded on good sense and good nature. Therefore, the King our master thinks his *courir sus* would be at this time both useless and inconvenient; because the errand is only to treat, and his friends might think he has little regard for their safety, and apprehend that he might be offended at their disobedience. Once more I wish you a happy return, which is all that can be expected.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

MIDDLETON.

Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters continued.

Lord Caryll's
Letters,
vol. v. fol.
Scotch College.
March 20.

"WHAT you tell me of your acquaintance Mr. Goulston [Godolphin], that he appears out of humour, notwithstanding his plentiful fortune, does not much surprise me; for I always thought him hypochondrical in his temper, which increaseth with age. I am only sorry that this sourness of humour will make him unfit to be applied to in your cousin Wisely's [the pretender's] affair, at least at present; and as for Mr.

Armsworth [Marlborough], I believe he has so much business of his own upon his hands, that notwithstanding all former engagements, he will hardly have the leisure, perhaps not the will, to mind old promises.

1707.

I am very glad to hear what has lately been imparted to you by some of Mr. Kenfy's [the Tories] relations, that they are not now averse from having the concurrence of Mr. Manning [the King of France] in Pleffington's [the King's] affair; for though we cannot expect to bring that cause speedily to a trial, yet Kenfy [the Tories] and his partners ought to be managed and kept in good humour. In the mean time, I believe he is irreconcilable with our chief adversary Wanly [the Whigs]; and that you may perhaps make him firm to us; and it is upon a like account that we may reckon to have friends in Mr. Norly's [Scotland] family, who can never pardon what our adversary Brag [parliament] has done against them; but these are seeds which must have time to grow."

"As to our affair about the cause depending between Wheatly [England] and Manning [France], I believe that what Mr. Armsworth [Marlborough] told captain Gordon is very true, viz. that Manning [France] has offered to bring the whole cause to arbitration, without any salvo to your cousin's [the King's] interest: which being so, I hope there will be no mention made of it on either side, but that it will be left as now it is.

April 7.

I am glad to find that your friend the captain has so good an opinion of Mr. Gurny's [Marlborough's] honest intentions to pay the old debt, when able. As to his ability, there are few people that doubt of it; but as to his sincerity, I find there are many who doubt of it.

I perceive there are great animosities between these two merchants, Kenfy [Tories] and Wanly [Whigs], which may possibly break out into suits at law; nor is there much more peace and quiet in Norly's [Scotland] family, about stating their accounts. Now, I perceive, that if they proceed to a trial at law, discoveries may be made very advantageous to your cousin's interest, as having been formerly joined in commerce with them.

I shall be glad to hear what a second conference between our captain and Mr. Armsworth [Marlborough] will produce, which you seem to intimate."

* You

1707.
May 1.

"You tell me, that the hasty departure of Mr. Rysehoven [Marlborough] out of town disappointed you of speaking to him, of which the loss, I think, is not very great; for I think he would have said no more to you than he lately said to captain Gordon, of paying of the old debt; and than what he hath formerly so often said upon that subject, without any effect. But you have no reason from thence to think yourself an unprofitable servant, in the concerns of your friends, and to take upon yourself the faults and failings of others. However, it will not be amiss to receive good words, as often as we can from that merchant; hoping, that, in time, whatever it may be now, things may so fall out, that he may have a good meaning, joined to good words. The same thing is to be hoped from Mr. Travers [Tunstal] and his partners Kensy [Tories], though these two at present, I think, have more sincerity than the former, in what they say, whether it be out of spite on one side, or out of friendship on the other. What Mr. Travers [Tunstal] has promised you, of keeping his hold, in his trust for your cousin Wisely, is a mark of his good intentions; and I hope Mr. Goulston [Godolphin] will do the same, that justice at last may take place."

Nairne's
papers,
vol. viii. 4to.
No. 39.

The Earl of Middleton to M. de Chamillart.

Colonel Hooke is come back to France, and gives an account of the offers of the Scots.—Middleton endeavours to persuade Chamillart to send them succours, and has great hopes of the success of an invasion.

Translation.

27th July, 1707.

"THE King my master has commanded me to tell you, that Mr. Hooke has been here now, for seven days, to inform him of the success of his journey.

I do not pretend to trouble you with tales of antiquity, but to remark what we ourselves see. What embarrassment have not the Hungarians given to the Emperor? Who would have believed that a few peasants in the Cevannes, without any succours, could have occupied so many regular troops, commanded by marshals of France, for three years? The King of Sweden, always favoured by fortune, during five years in Poland, has been convinced, that he could never finish the war without entering into Saxony; and his enemy, after having obtained a victory, has been obliged to renounce his dignity, in order to save his own patrimony;

trimony; and the enemies in Germany, who fled before the mareschal de Villars, by their return to Philippsburgh, have obliged that general to return, by a forced march, in order to cover Alsace. The King, by his great conquests, has extended the frontier of his kingdom farther than all his ancestors. We see, however, that all the art of our enemies have been employed to carry the war into his dominions; of this, their efforts in Spain, their attempts upon the Moselle, their project of a descent, and the invasion of the duke of Savoy, for the second time, are very sensible proofs.

1707.
July.

Mr. Hooke has informed us of the good disposition of the Scots, whose fidelity and capacity are known to you. They demand their King, who wishes ardently to join them. If the affairs of the King are urgent here, that pleads strongly for the project in Scotland. If a small part of the money and of the troops which are employed here, would finish the business there, it would be wrong to hesitate; and what would be formerly prudent and glorious, becomes now absolutely necessary.

The King of England beseeches you to examine and to weigh deliberately this important affair, and to be pleased to represent it to the King; it being undoubtedly the most important and most useful that can happen in his reign."

Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters, continued.

"WHAT you write concerning Mr. Travers [Tunstal], does not much surprise me, considering his temper, and the provocation given him; but that to accomplish his revenge against his adversaries, he should bring in Adamson, and consequently Plessington [the King]; and, in a manner, make a sacrifice of them who have done him no injury, seems not consistent with that morality of which he has formerly made profession. I am confident, should Travers [Tunstal] gain his point, in bringing Hanmer [Hannover] to join and cohabit with Wheatly [England,] he will not be the man to rule the roast; but that Wanly's family [Whigs] will be the persons most relied upon, who are for him, not out of spite, but affection. However, it's not impossible but Providence may make use of these wrangles to make right take place.

Lord Caryll's
Letters,
vol. v. fol.
Scotch Col-
lege.
August 1.

I am glad to hear, that Mr. Travers's [Tunstal's] designs, in concert with an agent of Mr. Hanmer's [Hannover's], are prevented; which will be ease to our partners, and enable them, if willing, to pay their old debts."

Sept. 12.

HAN-

HANNOVER PAPERS.

1707.

1707.

THE Whigs in England had paid their court to the family of Hanover in the preceding year, by repealing, in the bill of regency, the limitations imposed upon the successor to the crown, by the act of settlement. Their leaders had, in various letters, expressed their attachment, and enumerated their services. Some Tories also endeavoured to gain the favour of the presumptive heirs, by explaining the invariable attachment of their party to the prerogatives of the crown. In the present year nothing happened that could give a pretence to either party to renew their correspondence. The duke of Marlborough and the earl of Sunderland, are the only persons of rank whose letters deserve to be inserted.

The Hannover correspondence of this year, regards chiefly the birth of a son to the Electoral Prince, and his being created duke of Cambridge; together with the journey of the duke of Marlborough into Saxony; and the Elector's taking upon himself the command of the army on the Upper Rhine.

The Electoral Prince to Queen Anne.

Notifies the birth of his son, the late Prince of Wales.

Translation.

MADAM,

February 4, 1707.

AFTER having received so many marks of kindness from your Majesty, I should have reason to reproach myself, if I did not do myself the honour of informing you the first of the birth of the son, which God has been pleased to give me. I take the liberty of recommending him,

Robethon's
draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 60.

him, and myself, at the same time, to your royal protection; and to assure your Majesty, that my greatest care shall be to educate him in the sentiments of respect and gratitude, which all the princes of this family owe to you. I entreat your Majesty to believe that none of them is, with greater respect than I am, Madam, &c."

1707.
February.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

He asks the Elector's advice about his going to Saxony to gain the King of Sweden.—He sends compliments on the Princess's delivery (of his late Royal Highness Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales, father of his present Majesty.)

Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 212.

Translation.

February 11, 1706-7.

"THE assurances which we receive from time to time from your Electoral Highness, of the good intentions of the King of Sweden, to engage in no enterprise which may be of the smallest prejudice to the High Allies, give the Queen and the ministers here all the satisfaction which her Majesty can wish, as she relies entirely upon the attentions and zeal of your Electoral Highness for the good of the common cause; yet I see, by my letters from Vienna, from Holland, and from other places, that they have not the same confidence in that prince, but that on the contrary he makes them very uneasy. They even insinuate to me, that they would be very happy that I should take a tour to Saxony before the opening of the campaign, in order to renew to the King the assurances of the Queen's sincere friendship, and of the attention which her Majesty will, at all times, pay to his interests, from a belief that this may have a good effect. But I took care to give no attention to this, without being previously informed of your Electoral Highness's sentiments concerning it, which I humbly beseech you to be pleased to communicate to me as soon as possible. If you approve of it, I shall undertake the journey with so much the greater pleasure, that it will furnish me with an opportunity of throwing myself at your feet.

Some days ago I begged of Monsieur de Bulau to testify to your Electoral Highness, the joy with which I received the news of the safe delivery of the princess. I beseech you to believe that no one interests himself more warmly in this than I do, or can be with a more sincere veneration than I am,

May it please your Highness, &c."

1707.
February.
Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 213.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Consults him about the pension which the Queen should offer to the King of Sweden's Ministers.

Translation.

February 14, 1707.

S I R,

"I Did myself the honour of writing to your Electoral Highness the 11th instant, asking your opinion of the journey to Saxony, which I am desired to undertake. If your Highness approve of it, I beseech you to be pleased likewise to acquaint me what pension you think I should offer from the Queen to Count Piper and Mr. Harmaline, in order to engage them to enter effectually into the interests of the High Allies. I beg pardon, most humbly, for this liberty; but I take it, because the sentiments of your Electoral Highness will have so much influence with her Majesty, that I shall find less difficulty in inducing her to give the sum which you will propose. I am, with all possible attachment and respect,

May it please your Highness, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An answer to his letters of the 11th and 14th of February.

Translation.

March.
Robethon's
draught.
Ibid.
No. 214.

My Lord,

March 18, 1707.

"I Received at once your letters of the 11th and of the 14th of February. I am always in the hopes, that the King of Sweden will adhere, in preference to every thing, to the prosecution of the war against the Czar; and that if her Majesty and the States General proceed to a recognition of King Stanislaus, and charge themselves with the guarantee of the peace of Saxony, without exacting any condition or declaration from the King of Sweden: and that, on the other hand, an end is put to the affair of the renunciation of prince Charles, and ministers are sent to Hamburgh to regulate there, what is still wanting to the entire execution of the treaty of Travandahl, there will be no apprehensions of any trouble.

I doubt not but the journey to the King of Sweden, which is proposed to you, will produce very good effects; knowing the great regard which he has for the Queen, and his very particular esteem for you. I shall rejoice

rejoice at it, for my part, because this journey will procure me the pleasure of seeing you again. You will judge better, when you cross the sea, if it will be necessary for you to undertake it; and if you can do so without any prejudice to the operations of the campaign. I believe it is extremely necessary that you should give all your attentions to secure Piper and Harmelin. My opinion is, that a pension of 2000 l. sterling may be offered to the first, and of 1000 l. to the second; of which the first year may be paid to them in advance. And that if you do not go to Saxony, it will, in my opinion, be very proper to give this commission to Mr. Robinson, while he is at hand, to execute it; for it will be very difficult for him to do so, if it is delayed until the King of Sweden marches: besides that, there is a risk of being prevented by the new minister from France, who is come to the court of that prince; and who, undoubtedly, has very positive orders to make considerable offers to the two ministers in question. I am, my Lord, &c."

1707.
March.

The Electoral Prince to Queen Anne.

Thanks for his patent as Duke of Cambridge, sent to him by Mr. How.

Translation.

MADAM,

April 8, 1707.

"MR. HOW did not fail to deliver to me the letter with which your Majesty honoured me, with the patent of Duke of Cambridge, which you was so good as to grant me. I humbly entreat your Majesty to be persuaded that I received both the one and the other with the utmost gratitude, and that it is impossible to put a greater value upon this dignity than I do, nor to be more sensible than I am, of the obliging manner in which your Majesty conferred it upon me. I shall endeavour to make a suitable return to it, by the most perfect veneration, and by the most zealous and respectful sentiments. I flatter myself your Majesty will not take it amiss, if I embrace so favourable an opportunity of expressing to you the part I take in the great work you have lately accomplished, by putting the finishing hand to the union of the two kingdoms. This is such a glorious period of your reign, though it hath been but one continued series of wonders and great events, that it seems to have been necessary to exhibit, in all its proper lights, the indefatigable attentions with which your Majesty applies yourself to establish, upon unshaken

April.
Robethon's
draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 64.

1707.
April.

foundations, the happiness of your subjects. I am with a very profound respect, Madam, &c."

The following is an answer to a very tedious, mean, and flattering letter, sent by Sir Rowland Gwyne to the Elector. Gwyne had rendered himself justly obnoxious to all the friends of the protestant succession, by his letter to the earl of Stamford, printed in England, and animadverted upon by the parliament. He had lived for some time at the court of Hannover: but when lord Halifax was expected there, in the preceding year, the Elector ordered Gwyne to retire, for fear of his giving offence to the Whigs. He, accordingly, went to Hamburgh; and, after having continued in that city ten months, he wrote to the Elector, requesting leave to return to Hannover, and enumerating his own pretended services to the family. The Elector, however, seemed not to have been so well pleased with his company before, as to permit him again to return.

The Elector to Sir Rowland Gwyne.

An Answer to his Letter of the second of April.

Translation.

Hannover, April 12, 1707.

"I Received, Sir, the letter which you wrote to me from Hamburgh.

I know what you did in parliament for establishing the protestant succession; and I am very sensible of the marks which you gave, on different occasions, of your attachment to the interest of my family. But I could have wished very much, that when you was at Hannover, you had not meddled in public affairs. I do not think it proper, that you should return again, after the noise which your printed letter occasioned last year. I shall be very happy to be able to show you, in some other manner, the esteem which I have for you; and that I am, &c."

A Mr. Scot, who seems to have been a dependant on the Electoral family, had waited upon lord Halifax and other persons of consequence, at London, and had officiously given them reasons, for the Elector's declining the command of the army of the Empire. He wrote, at the same time, a letter to the Elector himself, giving his advice on the state of affairs in
England,

Robethon's
draught.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 66.

England, and finding fault with M. Schutz, his Highness's envoy at London. The length, and perhaps, impertinence of the letter, drew from the Elector the following answer.

The Elector to Mr. Scot.

Translation.

July 20, 1707.

“ I Received, Sir, the letter which you wrote to me; and I was surprised, that having no order or commission from me, you meddled in such delicate affairs. I did not, therefore, choose to delay to tell you myself, that I have a minister at London, with whom I am satisfied, who is instructed in my intentions. It is to him you ought to have referred the persons who spoke to you on these subjects. With regard to myself, I wish that you would not meddle, in any respect, with whatever may have the least regard to an invitation or to an annual pension. As to the rest, if your own business will oblige you to remain still in England, you may do so; but without taking any step whatsoever in my affairs. I am, &c.”

July.
Robethon's
draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.,
No. 69.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

He undertakes the Command of the Army of the Empire.

Translation.

My Lord,

July 26, 1707.

“ I Thought I should not delay to acquaint you, that I sent baron Gortz to Metz, and to the army of the empire, in order to make an exact report to me of the state of that army; and that, as soon as he shall make that report, I may take my final resolution, with regard to the command which is so unanimously offered to me; I can assure you, that one of the strongest reasons which can determine me to undertake it, is the desire which her Majesty, the Queen, shows for it, and the persuasion in which I am, that you will always contribute, by your great influence, to the measures which it will be necessary to take in concert, for the good of the common cause. I have too many proofs of your zeal for the public and of your affection for me, to be able to doubt of this. It is, therefore, with an entire confidence that I write to you this letter, to inform you, that, by the lists which the Elector of Metz and the Elector Palatine communicated to me, of the state of the army, and of the reinforcements which it may receive, it appears, that there will be nearly a sufficient
number

Robethon's
Draught.
Ibid, No. 216.

1708.
July.

number of infantry, but that cavalry and dragoons will be wanted : so that, even though one could be assured of the goodness of the cavalry which there are, (a thing which does not appear to me) it is certain, that they are not sufficiently numerous, for attempting to show themselves, before those of Marshal de Villars ; besides that, he is within reach of being joined, by the reinforcement which the duke of Vendôme sent him.

It is this very apparent necessity, which obliges me, my lord, to order, as soon as possible, Bothmer's regiment of dragoons to march to the Rhine ; and to be so good as to send us besides, 1000 good cavalry. The reinforcement is so much the more indispensable, that it is certain, that the cavalry which King Augustus offers, is not in a condition to serve this campaign, and that there are no more cavalry remaining in Germany which one can employ. I shall be very particularly obliged to you for this ; and I entreat you to be persuaded, that if I undertake the command, I shall do myself a very great pleasure, in maintaining an exact correspondence, and in acting with you in the most perfect concert. I am always very sincerely, &c."

September.
Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Miscell.
d'Etat. 2.
No. 186.

The Earl of Sunderland to Robethon.

Translation.

SIR,

Whitehall, September 30, 1707.

" I Have been long in the country, this Summer, for my health, which hindered me from thanking you sooner for the honour of your letter which I received some time ago ; but I could not prevail with myself not to take this opportunity of congratulating you, on his Electoral Highness's successful beginning on the Rhine, where he no sooner arrived, than we have had greater success, than we have had, for many years, on that side. I consider this as a good omen of what will follow ; and I doubt not, but the Elector will recover affairs, which have suffered so much by the bad success of this year.

I am very well pleased, that Monsieur Shutts does not leave us, as he proposed to do ; nevertheless, if you will honour me, from time to time, with your correspondence, you will do me a very great pleasure. I hope you do me the justice to believe, that I am, with great esteem, Sir, &c."

The

The Electoral Prince to the Duke of Marlborough.

Thanks for compliments on recovering from sickness.

Translation.

My Lord,

Hannover, October 7, 1707.

"I Am much obliged to you for the letter which you was at the trouble of writing me, the 15th of the last month, and for the part which you shew me you take in my recovery. It is to me a very great satisfaction to learn, that the nation interests itself in it, since, on my part, I shall never have any thing more at heart, than to contribute as much as shall be in my power, to render them happy.

I cannot blame the French for stationing themselves, all the campaign, in inaccessible camps. They know what it hath cost them, not to have had always the same prudence.

The princess is very sensible of the honour of your remembrance; and I entreat you to believe the perfect regard I have for your person, and the desire which I have to be able to give you proofs of it. I am, very sincerely, my Lord, &c."

The Elector to Queen Anne.

He undertakes the command of the Army of the Empire, at her desire.

Translation.

MADAM,

October 26, 1707.

"I Receiv'd with the utmost gratitude the letter with which your Majesty honoured me: the goodness you have to interest yourself in the misfortunes of the Empire, should give us hopes of a redress of them: I venture to assure your Majesty, that I shall spare neither my pains nor my person, in order to contribute to this, and to make a suitable return to the obliging sentiments which you discover to me. I entreat your Majesty to be persuaded, that I have nothing so much at heart, in the command which I have undertaken, as to acquit myself in it, in a manner which will merit your approbation, and give you new proofs of my zeal for the good cause, and of the profound respect with which I am, Madam, &c."

1708.
September.
Robethon's
draught.
Hannover
papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 217.

October.
Copy in
Robethon's
hand.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 71.

The

1707.
November.
Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes. No.
218.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Military operations.

Translation.

Hague, November 9, 1707.

SIR,

“ON my arrival at the Hague, I communicated to the grand Pensionary all that passed at Francfort, and particularly the sentiments of your Electoral Highness, with regard to the operations on the Moselle; whence he immediately comprehended the necessity of being, in that case, on the defensive in the Low Countries; and as he was of opinion, that this proposal may have a bad effect, by discouraging the gentlemen here, who will believe themselves too much exposed thereby, he advised me not to make the proposal at present; so that I have not spoke of it to any, but to the count de Wrattislow and to Monsieur de Bothmar, who are instructed in the particulars of all that passed, during my stay at the Hague. The first is to give an exact account of it to your Electoral Highness, when he will have the honour of saluting you at Hannover; as Mr. de Bothmar will do by writing.

I am sorry, however, to be obliged to tell you, that I do not find the minds of people so well disposed for the augmentation of their troops, as in the last journey I made to this place: but I continue to do every thing in my power to incline them to it; and I flatter myself, that when they will reflect maturely upon the great efforts of France, and upon the new levies which they propose to make, they will return to their former sentiments, and take salutary measures, according to the necessity of the conjuncture.

I have put every thing on board, and I wait only for the first fair wind to go over to England, from whence I will do myself the honour of writing to your Electoral Highness, beseeching you to accept of my very humble acknowledgments, for the kindness which you shewed me at Francfort; and to be persuaded of the respectful attachment with which I shall always be, Sir, your Electoral Highness's, &c.”

A George Murray, who is afterwards mentioned in the correspondence of the house of Hannover, wrote a letter to the Elector, dated, at London, October the 7th, 1707, requesting his Highness to recommend

I

him

him to the duke of Marlborough, for a commission, in a regiment of cavalry, to be raised, during the winter. The following is the Elector's answer.

1707.
November.

The Elector to George Murray.

Translation.

November 20, 1707.

“ I Received, Sir, the letter which you wrote to me. I shall always be well pleased to contribute to your advancement; but as the Electress has already written in your favour to the Duke of Marlborough, I doubt not, but, if what you demand is practicable, he will pay regard to her recommendation, and that mine will not be necessary: besides, that he might find it strange to be urged, upon the same business, by two successive letters. I shall wait, therefore, for some other occasion, of shewing you the esteem which I have for you, and a desire which I have to do you a pleasure. I am, &c.”

Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 74.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An Answer to the Duke's Letter of the 9th.

Translation.

November 25, 1707.

My Lord,
“ I Am very much obliged to you for the trouble you was at in writing to me, from the Hague. I was willing to delay thanking you for it, until I had conversed with the count de Wrattislaw. I see, by the report which he made to me, and by that of Monsieur de Bothmar, that things are still in a state of uncertainty, with regard to an augmentation of the troops and the operations of the next campaign. I chuse to hope, my lord, that your presence in England will produce such effects, that the parliament will give the example to the other allies, by vigorous resolutions, and that Holland cannot refuse to follow it. I wish that the empire may do the same, on their side; and I shall neglect nothing that depends upon me, for disposing to this, the minds of men. I entreat you to be persuaded of this, and of the sincerity with which I am, My Lord, &c.”

Robethon's
Draught.
Ibid, No. 219.

STUART PAPERS.

1708.
February.

1708.

THE attempt made towards an invasion of Scotland, in the beginning of the present year, seems to have been, in a manner, extorted from the French ministry, by the repeated and earnest solicitations of the court of St. Germain. Ascribing the flattering accounts, received from Scotland, to the zeal of the Jacobites in France, they were unwilling to hazard either their ships or their troops upon so slender a foundation. The discontents, in Scotland, though, perhaps, not magnified beyond their real bounds, were represented as too great to be implicitly believed. This caution, on the part of France, has been, upon many occasions, highly fortunate for Great Britain; but at no period more fortunate, than in the year 1708. Towards the beginning of February, M. de Chamillart and his brethren in office began to issue orders, for an expedition from Dunkirk. The Pretender, when he perceived, that something serious was intended in his favour, resolved to acquaint his friends in Scotland, of the intentions of the court of France, and to give them directions to prepare themselves for an insurrection. The person appointed for this service, was Charles Fleming, brother to the earl of Wigton. The following were the instructions given him upon this occasion.

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. viii. 4to.
No. 41.

"Instructions to ———, going by our order to Scotland. Given at our court, at St. Germain, the 24th day of February, 1708; and in the seventh year of our reign."

In Nairne's hand.

"AS soon as you have received these our instructions, you are forthwith to repair, with what convenient speed you can, to our ancient kingdom

kingdom of Scotland; and there, to address yourself to such of our friends, as we have named to you; but cannot safely name them here, for fear of accidents.

1708.
February.

1st, You are to assure them, that we are coming, with all possible diligence, to assert our right, and to protect our subjects, in their religion, liberties, and trade, conform to their laws; and that we bring with us a sufficient force, a good sum of money, arms, ammunition, and other provisions, as was required in their memoire.

2dly, You are likewise to assure them, that, upon our being put in possession of the throne by their assistance, our dearest brother, the most Christian King will restore the Scots to their ancient privileges in France, and will also use his endeavours to have them included in all treaties of peace.

3dly, You are to give our positive orders to a select number of the nobility and gentry, to seize suspected persons, with their horses, arms, and other provisions for war; and to tell them, that we do hereby allow and authorize them, to grant warrants to others for the same effect, when they judge the proper time to do it, without discovering the secret which we recommend to them above all things.

4thly, You are to tell those who are trusted, that upon the first appearance of the fleet, that brings us, or upon the first account they have of our landing, we order them to cause to proclaim us King, in all the countrys where they have any interest, and to raise all their sensible men, with their best horses and arms, and that they hinder all meetings, that may be made by those who dare continue in their rebellion, and seize as many of them as they can.

5thly, That those of our friends, who have had any correspondence in the north of England or in Ireland, may renew it, by sending some trusty persons, to persuade our friends, in those parts, to take arms, at the same time, which will be of great advantage, for many reasons that are obvious.

6thly, You are to give orders from us to our friends, to have a gentleman ready, on the east coast of the Lothians, and others on the coasts of Fife, Angus, and Mearns, that upon a signal, which shall be agreed on, and will be given from the first ship that appears, they may be ready

1708.
February.

to come off with full accounts of the state of the country, and may bring along with them some knowing pilots, who understand the depth along the coast.

7thly, You are also to tell our friends to give orders, that all the public moneys be kept within the shires, as also provisions of all kinds unfold, and not sent away; and, that they inquire what provisions may be about Edinburgh or Leith, or in any of the shires above mentioned; but with great precaution in regard to the secret.

8thly, Those who are trusted, may take their own private methods; to renew any correspondence they have had within the forts and garrisons; and to secure, upon the landing, any places of strength fit for magazines. All which is to be considered, with a special regard to the keeping of the secret, it being much safer that several things be omitted, which might be very useful, than that any thing be recommended, which may be a means of discovery.

9th, Lastly, you are to tell our friends, that we could not, with safety, trust to these written instructions, the name of the general who is to command our forces under us, nor the particular places where we intend to land; but that, as soon as it shall be proper and necessary, we will fully satisfy them upon these two heads, as well as upon all other matters."

April.

The Pretender sailed from Dunkirk, on the 17th of March, N. S. 1708. Lockhart, in his Memoirs, supposes, with great probability, that Lewis the XIVth never designed he should land in Scotland; and that Fourbin had secret orders from his master, which he did not communicate. It is, at least, certain, that there are many circumstances which seem to justify this supposition; and that, if they had landed the troops, as they might have done, the greatest part of the nation would have joined the standard of the Pretender. Their pretended excuse for returning, as they received no signal from shore, is either a proof of this, or of the happy ignorance of the French, in every thing regarding Britain, in the only period in which they could hurt this island. The fleet returned to Dunkirk, on the 7th of April. The Pretender, before he went to Flanders to serve the campaign, renewed his correspondence with his adherents in Scotland.

“Instructions”

“Instructions to Charles Farquharson, going by our Order to SCOTLAND, Given at our court, at St. Germain, the TWENTY-FIFTH day of APRIL, 1708; and in the seventh year of our reign.”

1708.

April.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 22.

They are the original instructions, and in Nairne's hand. The words in capitals are in the Pretender's own hand. For Charles Farquharson, he had first inserted James Ogilvie of Boyne: but the pen is drawn through Ogilvie's name, by Nairne, and Charles Farquharson written above. The instructions are signed by the Pretender, and his seal still remains.

JAMES R.

“YOU are to show these instructions to such as we have ordered you, and whose names, for their security, we will not here insert.

1st, You are to assure them of the concern and trouble we are in, on their account, as well as on our own, that this last enterprize has failed, occasioned by our sickness, the mistake of the pilates, and other unforeseen accidents, which gave the enemy the opportunity of preventing our landing, in the firth; while on the other side, violent contrary winds, the dispersing of the fleet, the ignorance we were in of the coasts, and want of provision, hindered our landing in any other place.

2dly, You are to assure them of the concern and pain we are in for them, to know their present condition, fearing they may have been brought into trouble after this enterprize has failed.

3dly, You are to assure them, that far from being discouraged with what has happened, we are resolved to move heaven and earth, and to leave no stone unturned to free ourselves and them; and to that end, we propose to come ourselves into the Highlands, with money, arms, and ammunition, and to put ourselves at the head of our good subjects, if they are in arms for us; and if not, we do exhort them to rise, with all convenient speed, upon the expectation of our arrival, which we intend shall be as soon as possible, after we have had an answer to this, by this honest messenger, who is entirely trusted by us; and since we are so desirous of venturing of our person, we hope they will follow our example, this being a critical time which ought not to be neglected.

4thly, The most Christian King has likewise promised to support this undertaking, with a sufficient number of troops, as soon as they can be transported.

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April.

transported with security. In the mean time, we will stay in the Highlands, unless we be invited and encouraged by our friends in the Lowlands, to go to them.

5thly, We desire they would consider this project, and, with all diligence, send back this bearer, well informed of their opinion concerning it; as also with an account of the state of the nation, of what troops are in it, of what country, and how inclined, and what number of men they can bring into the field for us.

6thly, And in case they approve this our project, and promise to stand by us, we desire that all means may be used to get possession of the fort of Inverlochy, and that they would inform us of the fittest place in the Highlands for our landing, and send along with the bearer two or more able pilots, who know these places and can conduct us into them.

7thly, And, in case they prove instrumental to our restoration, by doing what is here proposed to them, we promise to give them particular and essential marks of our kindness, and of the sense we have of all they have done and suffered on our accounts.

J. R."

Nairne's Papers, D. N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 51.

" *A memorial concerning the instructions which the King of England proposes to give to the person his Majesty intends to send to the Highlanders of Scotland.*"

This is a French copy, in Nairne's hand, of only a part of these instructions; which was probably intended for the information of the French ministry. The name of the person sent to Scotland this year was Ferguson.

Translation.

April, 1708.

" **I**T is evident, that it is the interest of his Majesty, as well as of the King of England, to do every thing that is possible for fomenting a civil war in Scotland; since the very rumours of the last enterprise had already such an effect in England, that, from the eagerness of every one to withdraw his money, the princess of Denmark would have had great difficulty to play the game, if the affair had been prolonged for never so short a time: at least, it is certain, that far from sending any succours to the allies, she would have been obliged to recall the greatest part of her troops for her own defence.

The

The signatures of the most considerable Scotch noblemen are an evident proof of their loyalty, and they have given no room to call it in question, although the public may think otherwise, being ignorant of the orders which his Majesty had given them, to undertake nothing before the arrival and landing of the King of England, and especially to keep the secret, preferable to every other consideration.

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April.

The King of England, far from being discouraged by the last enterprise, finds himself more animated and determined by it never to spare his person; but to leave no means untried for recovering his dominions. It is with this design that he prepares immediately to send one to the Highlanders of Scotland with the following instructions:

To assure them, in case he finds them in arms, that his Britannic Majesty will come immediately to put himself at their head, and to bring them arms, ammunition, and money. If they are not in arms, to propose to them to rise, with the like assurances, that the King of England is ready to go in person to join them, in expectation that his most Christian Majesty may send some troops to follow him, which will be done the instant they can be transported with safety. Lastly, to know, from them, what they can do, and what they wish may be done here to assist them.

The same person must likewise concert the different places of landing, and bring pilots along with him."

The Pretender appears to have had great hopes at this time that his next attempt would be more successful, and began already to exercise acts of sovereignty. In the month of May he issued orders to his attorney-general or solicitor-general for the time being, to prepare a bill in due form of law, containing a grant to Herbert Roettiers to be engraver-general of the mint in Scotland, and gave Roettiers his orders about the several species of gold and silver which he was to coin.

Nairne's papers, D. N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 71, & 76.

Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters continued.

"I Find that, having had lately a conference with Mr. Armsworth [Marlborough], you are still left in your former doubts and uncertainties of that merchant's real intentions of paying the old debt. He hath

Lord Caryll's letters, vol. v.
fol. Scotch College.
May 20.

1708. hath no reason to complain that his partners went shares in the Manly galley [the King], without acquainting him therewith, since he himself formerly told Mr. Eagle, that they should not neglect any good bargain offered to them for advancing their trade, though they should not have an opportunity of consulting him about it. And he has great reason to be well pleased with what has been endeavoured to do, for had not this voyage by cross accidents been rendered unsuccessful, it would have put him in a way of more easily paying those debts, of which he has so long and so often promised payment. None ought to mistrust Maning's [the King of France] upright inclinations, in joining stocks with Plesington [the King]; for it was his interest to be just to him: and all that know that young merchant and have been witness of his actions, give him this character, that no man of his age, upon the whole Exchange, is better qualified, than he is, as to capacity, diligence and upright dealing, or more likely to prove an eminent dealer."

Mr. Carte's
Memorandum book,
marked vol.
xi. 4to.
p. 27.

*An Anecdote concerning a letter of Lord Godolphin's to the court of St. Ger-
mains, and Lord Wharton's machinations thereon.*

"**M**ARQUIS of Annandale having got into his hand an original letter of lord treasurer Godolphin to the court of St. Germans, he, about 1708, petitioned against the election of the earl of Sutherland, one of the 16 peers returned; and the latter was turned out to make room for him. Lord Wharton treated with him for this letter, and got it into his hands, and then forced lord Godolphin to make him lord lieutenant of Ireland, &c. Ch. Cæsar had at this time been sent to the Tower, for saying, in the house of commons, that lord Godolphin kept a correspondence with the said court; and this letter being a proof thereof, Lord Godolphin durst refuse the junto nothing; but, at the latter end of the session, pressed, in March, lord Wharton to go for Ireland; and the other expressing a design to stay till the end of the session, he assured him all the business was over, and nothing but form left, so that there was no occasion for his stay. Upon which, Wharton went; but the first news he heard there, was, that an act of grace was passed in the parliament of England, where few things were pardoned, but all correspondence with the court of St. Germans was very particularly. Then he saw himself bit, and lord Godolphin got out of his clutches."

HAN-

HANNOVER PAPERS.

1708.

THE correspondence of the house of Hannover, during the present year, consists entirely of letters, concerning transactions already publickly known. The military operations, mentioned in the letters, are the Pretender's attempt to invade Scotland in the month of March, the battle of Oudenarde on the eleventh of July, the surrender of the city of Lisle on the twenty-third of October, the passage of the Scheld and the raising of the siege of Bruffels in November, the surrender of the citadel of Lisle on the eighth of December, and the retaking of Ghent on the thirtieth of the same month.

The duke of Berri and the Pretender, who, since his expedition to the coast of Scotland, assumed the name of the Chevalier de St. George, served the campaign, under the dukes of Burgundy and Vendôme. George Augustus, Electoral Prince of Hannover, served, at the same time, under the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene. Prince George of Denmark, the husband of Queen Anne, died on the twenty-eighth of October, in the present year. This abridgment of the facts, to which the letters relate, will throw all the necessary light on the correspondence of the year.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Affairs of the Empire.

Translation.

SIR,

St. James's, Feb. 14, 1708.

“YOUR Electoral Highness will have been already informed by Baron Schutz, how much the Queen has the affairs of the Empire at heart; and that her Majesty wishes, that means may be found of furnishing

VOL. II.

P

nishing

1708.

February.
Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 221.

1708.
February.

nishing the million of crowns for the operations on the Upper Rhine. It is not therefore necessary that I should write on that subject to your Highness.

I do myself the honour, now, of writing to you this letter, by major general Palmes, whom the Queen sends to the duke of Savoy. He is to pass through Hannover, to converse with your Electoral Highness about the orders with which he is charged; and, at the same time, to receive your instructions concerning every thing which may contribute to the advancement of the interests of the common cause, as well at Turin as at Vienna, and other courts of Germany through which he is to pass. I am sure he will acquit himself, in every thing which your Electoral Highness will think proper to give him in charge, with all the zeal and application which you can wish. He has likewise orders to maintain an exact correspondence with the person whom your Highness shall appoint; in order that your Electoral Highness may be informed, from time to time, and directly, of the success of his negotiations; being persuaded that you will be satisfied with his conduct. I am, with great respect, &c."

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes. No.
84.

Queen Anne to the Elector.

She solicits him to accept the command of the army of the Empire.

Translation.

Kensington, Feb. 16, 1708.

BROTHER,

"THE public will feel such beneficial consequences from your presence with the army on the Upper Rhine; and there is so much to fear, unless you join it soon, that I cannot refuse to join my entreaties to those of so many princes and states, who desire earnestly that you were upon the spot, to exercise there with more advantage the necessary functions of your important command. I leave to Mr. Palmes to tell you, more fully, how much I have that at heart. I have nothing to add, but assurances that I am, very truly, &c.

ANNE, R."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Public affairs.

Translation.

Hannover, Feb. 28, 1708.

My Lord,

"I Received your obliging letter of the 23d of January, with the memorial of the Emperor's Resident at London, and the answer which

Robethon's
draught.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 220.

which was made to it. You know, my Lord, that I wished very much, at Francfort, that a concert for the operations of the next campaign might be agreed upon; that we reasoned a good deal upon the subject, and that Mr. Hartch committed to writing what appeared feasible to us. I communicated this project to the prince of Savoy, who shewed to me, that he believed it was the best that could be done.

1708.
February.

As you could not make them relish that plan at the Hague, I believe, my lord, it will be very difficult to find another, whatever trouble we may give ourselves to reason upon the subject; so that all the satisfaction that would accrue to me from our interview would be that of embracing you. It appears to me, from the answer which you gave to Mr. Hoffman, that it is likewise the opinion with you, that the conference would be of no great service. I shall, however, be much obliged to you, if you will be so good as to take the trouble of informing me of whatever you judge necessary to be done the next campaign.

As to the rest, my lord, you know already, that it is impossible to break the resolution which the imperial court has taken of sending the count Starenberg into Spain, and that he has received his last instructions, with orders to set out in a few days.

I entreat you, my lord, to be persuaded, that it is impossible to be more sensible than I am of the marks of affection and confidence which you give me; and that I shall always answer them by suitable sentiments, being very sincerely, &c."

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

An answer to his letter of the 28th of February.—The duke is to go to meet prince Eugene at the Hague.—French preparations at Dunkirk.

Translation.

Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 222.

SIR,

St. James's, March 2, 1708.

"I Received the letter which your Electoral Highness did me the honour of writing to me the 28th of last month. You will have learned, since that the prince of Savoy, according to the Emperor's orders, is to repair immediately to the Hague, in order to concert the operations of the campaign. And as his Imperial Majesty's minister has just now given us notice, that the prince may arrive there toward the

1708.
March.

26th instant, the Queen has been pleased to permit me to go over, for four or five days. Accordingly, I propose to repair thither at the same time; and I entreat your Electoral Highness to be pleased to make M. de Bothmar acquainted with your sentiments; that I may the better conform myself to them. I will not fail likewise to give to your Highness an ample detail of whatever will be agreed upon for the interests of the common cause, in order that I may receive your Highness's ultimate orders.

We were a little alarmed by the preparations of the enemy at Dunkirk; but as we have, at present, a superior force at sea, we doubt not, with the blessing of heaven, to defeat their designs very soon. I am, with all possible respect, Sir, &c."

Robethon's
draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes,
No. 223.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An answer to the Duke's letter of 2d of March.

Translation.

My Lord,

March 27th, 1708.

"I Received very thankfully the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me ¹³/₂ instant, by which you was so good as to inform me of the time fixed for your interview, at the Hague, with the prince of Savoy. I shall not fail, on my part, to give instructions to the Baron de Bothmar; and I shall be very much obliged to you, if you will be so good to hear with attention what he will have the honour to tell you, and to speak to him with confidence concerning what will be concerted in that interview; assuring you, that it shall be kept as secret as you could wish.

It is with great pleasure I have seen with what dispatch the Queen has opposed a numerous fleet to the French Squadron, destined to transport troops to Scotland. It is impossible to be more sincerely interested than I am, in all that happens advantageously and gloriously to her Majesty. I flatter myself, that she is persuaded of this, and that you are so likewise of the distinguished sentiments which I have for you. I am very sincerely, &c."

The

*The Elector to Queen Anne.**An answer to her Majesty's letter of 16th February.*

Translation.

MADAM,

28th March, 1708.

" I Received, with the utmost gratitude, your Majesty's letter, which was delivered to me by major general Palmes. I see, with great pleasure, the goodness you have, to interest yourself in what regards the operations on the Rhine. I entreat your Majesty to be persuaded, that I neglect nothing of what depends upon me, to put matters there on a proper footing; and that the moment they are so, I shall not fail to repair thither, with all possible dispatch; being determined to spare neither my pains nor my person to serve the public, and to merit the approbation of your Majesty. I am, with a profound respect, Madam, &c.

GEORGE LEWIS, Elector."

*The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.**An answer to the Duke's letter of the 14th February.*

Translation.

My Lord,

29th March, 1708.

" I AM much obliged to you, for your letter of the 14th February, which was delivered to me by major general Palmes. I am very sensible of the Queen's goodness, in ordering him to pass through this place; and to second, at the courts to which he is to go, the business which I negotiate there at present. I take the liberty to make use of the permission which her Majesty gives me in that respect. The correspondence which she chuses that he should maintain with me, when he is with the duke of Savoy's army, will be very agreeable to me. I shall preserve, all my life time, the utmost gratitude for the attention which her Majesty condescends to give to whatever concerns me, and to whatever may contribute to the good of the allies; and to establish a perfect concert between the commanders of their armies. I shall neglect nothing that depends upon me, for contributing thereto likewise, on my part; and for shewing you the entire confidence with which I shall always make the suitable returns to the marks of affection which you give me. I am, very sincerely, my Lord, &c.

GEORGE LEWIS, Elector."

The

1708.

March.

Copy in Robethon's hand.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes.

No. 85. And in the Elector's penes.

Sir John Dalrymple.

Robethon's draught.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes.

No. 224.

1708.
April.
Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 88.

The Earl of Peterborough to the Elector.

Mentions the threatened invasion.—Proposes to wait in person on the Elector.

Translation.

3d April, 1708.

“IF the French has given us uneasiness, by their very extraordinary enterprise, they have also given us this pleasure, that all men of honour are of the same opinion, with regard to the only remedy against such designs.

I shall look out for the first opportunities of assuring you in person of my inviolable attachment to your service. It is of importance that your *Royal Highness* should provide for your own interest and ours. Matters are upon a very changeable footing with us. This is properly the country of inconstancy. I hope that your *Royal Highness's* campaign will produce happy effects for Europe, and of those who flatter themselves, one day, with the happiness of being your subjects.

Of your *Royal Highness*,

The very humble, and very obedient servant,

PETERBOROUGH.”

Robethon's
Draught.
Ibid. 90.

The Elector to the Earl of Peterborough.

Thanks him for his apprehensions from the French invasion.—Dissuades him from coming to pay him a visit.

Translation.

My Lord,

May 26th, 1708.

“I Received the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me; and I read that which you wrote to the Electress. I am much obliged to you for the new proofs which you there give me of your attachment to the interests of my family; and of the fear which you shew you have had, that the enterprises of the French against Scotland might be of some prejudice to it. As to the rest, you might have discovered, my lord, during your stay here, that I have adopted, for a constant maxim, to take no steps concerning the affairs of Great Britain, but in concert with the Queen and with her ministry; being persuaded that nothing can be more contrary to the designs of the disaffected, than a perfect understanding between her Majesty and my family. I leave you then to judge, my lord, if there would be no reason to fear, that,
2
having

having as much merit as you possess, the journey which you would make to Hannover, and to the army which I command, would not give umbrage, and be a subject of sinister interpretations: otherwise, I would have a very sensible pleasure in seeing you, and in giving you marks of the regard which I have for you. I am, very sincerely, my Lord, &c.

1708.
May.

GEORGE LEWIS, Elector."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Recommending the Electoral Prince to the Duke.

Translation.

My Lord,

May 27th, 1708.

"I Would not permit the Electoral Prince, my son, to go to make the campaign with you, without recommending him to you; and without shewing to you the joy which I have in seeing him beginning the art of war under so great a captain. You will oblige me much, my lord, if you will be so good as to give him advice, when he shall have occasion for it; it being just that he should conduct him according to the advice of a person so well enlightened as you, and so well affected to the interests of my family. I send, along with him, baron d'Eltz, one of my ministers of state, in whom I entreat you to place an entire confidence, when he shall say to you any thing from me, or when you shall have any thing to communicate to me, during the course of this campaign. I wish it may be as glorious to you as any of the preceding; and I always am, very sincerely, my Lord, &c.

GEORGE LEWIS, Elector."

Lord Halifax to Sophia, Electress of Hannover.

Congratulates her on the bravery shewn by the Electoral Prince, at the battle of Oudenarde.

MADAM,

July 6th, 1708.

"I AM not willing to trouble your Royal Highness upon many occasions; but I cannot forbear congratulating your Royal Highness upon the glorious victory in Flanders, and the brave part the Electoral Prince had in it. We know not all the particulars of that great action yet, but lord Stairs, who brought the news, is very full of the praises of the Electoral Prince, and the bravery he shewed at the head of the Elector's troops.

It

Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 225:

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Strafford.

1708.
July.

It is with the utmost joy and satisfaction that we talk of this here, and make a comparison between the behaviour of his Highness and of the Princes of France and the Pretender, who, as we hear, never came into danger, but were spectators of their own disgrace at a distance. I hope this last stroke will finish the work, and help us to a good peace and a firm settlement of the protestant succession in a little time: and I hope the defeat of this army will oblige the French to make such great detachments from the Rhine, that his Electoral Highness may make a glorious campaign.

We were here under great uneasiness upon the taking of Ghent and Bruges; but the French have paid very dear for those towns. Since we are successful abroad, we have nothing to apprehend at home; for the new parliament is entirely well inclined to the interest of the allies and the protestant succession. I am, &c."

Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes,
No. 226.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

After the taking of Lisle.

Translation.

SIR,

Camp at Rousleir, 25 October, 1708.

"I Make use of the opportunity offered by Mr. Craggs, who has an ardent desire of throwing himself at the feet of your Electoral Highness, to give you the news of, and to congratulate you, at the same time, upon, the surrender of the important town of Lisle. I have likewise opened myself to him, upon the present situation of our affairs here, in order that he may have the honour to inform your Electoral Highness of it more amply, by word of mouth, than I dare do by letter. I therefore entreat your Highness to approve, that I refer myself to what he shall tell you from me; and to be persuaded of the very submissive attachment and respect with which I am, Sir, &c."

Robethon's
draught.
Ibid. No. 227.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An answer to the Duke's letter of 25th October.

Translation.

My Lord,

Hannover, 12th Nov. 1708.

"MR. Craggs delivered to me the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me from the camp at Rousleir, the 25th of October;

tober; and he did not fail to make me an exact report of the state of affairs, and of every thing with which you judged proper to trust him. I took a great part in such an important conquest as that of Lisle; and I hope for the speedy surrender of the citadel. Mr. Craggs will have the honour to give you an account of what I said to him, concerning the proposals with which you had charged him. I entreat you, Sir, to approve that I refer myself to what he will write to you about them. I wish you a happy conclusion to such a glorious campaign; and I always am, very sincerely, my Lord, &c."

1708.
November.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

After the passage of the Schelde and relieving Brussels.

Translation.

Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 228.

SIR,

Camp at Oudenarde, 27 Nov. 1708.

"MONSIEUR de Bulau will inform your Electoral Highness, that we have just forced the passage of the Scheld, notwithstanding all the menaces of the enemy, who were obliged to retire with loss. I take the liberty to congratulate your Highness on this happy beginning, which, I hope, will prove the way for us to a happy conclusion of the campaign. To-morrow the prince of Savoy will return, with the troops which he brought, to continue the siege of the citadel of Lisle; and we advance, at the same time, to relieve Brussels; where we hope to arrive Thursday evening. I am, with a very respectful attachment, Sir, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An answer to the Duke's letter of 27th November.

Translation.

Robethon's
draught.
Ibid. No. 229.

My Lord,

December 7th, 1708.

"I AM very much obliged to you, for the trouble which you was so good as to take, the very day you passed the Scheld, in communicating to me an event so important to the common cause. It was not possible to finish so fine a campaign in a more glorious manner. You ought, by no means, to doubt that I share greatly in it; and that all that heightens your glory, does me a real pleasure. I am, very sincerely, my Lord, &c."

1708.
December.
Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 230.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Upon the surrender of the citadel of Lisle.

Translation.

SIR,

Camp Beirleghem, 10 Dec. 1708.

"I AM very happy, that, after waiting so long, I can have the honour of congratulating your Electoral Highness upon the taking of the citadel of Lille. The prince of Savoy, writing to me just now, that the Mareschal de Boufflers is to deliver up to him one of the gates to-day; so that the siege being happily finished, I march to-morrow to draw near to Ghent, which we are determined to attack, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, in the hopes of being able even to retake Bruges before the troops are sent to quarters; having, for their greater relief, erected magazines of hay and oats, which will be delivered to them, during the rest of the campaign. I am, with great respect, Sir, &c."

Robethon's
draught.
Ibid. No. 89.

The Electoral Princess to Queen Anne.

Compliments of condolence upon the death of the Prince of Denmark.

Translation.

MADAM,

December 12th, 1708.

"I Would think I failed in the respect which I shall have all my life for your Majesty, and in the gratitude which is due to you for all you have done for this family, if I did not take the liberty to shew you, that I interest myself very sensibly in the loss which you have lately suffered. That piety of which your Majesty has given so many illustrious marks, could not have been put to a more melancholy trial. I pray God, that he himself may be the comforter of your Majesty; and that he may long preserve a life so precious to England, and so necessary to the good of Europe. I am, with a great deal of respect, Madam, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Ibid. No. 231.

An answer to the Duke's letter of the 10th December.

Translation.

My Lord,

December 24th, 1708.

"I AM very much obliged to you for the trouble which you took to inform me of the surrender of the citadel of Lisle. I see that, after the happy success of this famous siege, the advanced season does not hinder

hinder you from forming new enterprises. I doubt not but, under your directions, they will succeed as speedily as one should wish. It was impossible to finish more gloriously so fine a campaign. I entreat you to be persuaded of the part which I take, in whatever will heighten the lustre of your glory, and of the sincerity with which I am, my Lord, &c."

1708.
December.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Upon the surrender of the town of Ghent.

Translation.

SIR,

Camp at Meerlebeck, Dec. 31st, 1708.

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes,
No. 232.

"I DO myself the honour to congratulate your Electoral Highness upon the recovery of the town of Ghent, the garrison of which is, according to the capitulation, to go out the day after to-morrow. It is a success so important, and so necessary to the success of the High Allies, that I flatter myself that they will be satisfied with the length of the campaign, which it has occasioned. Your Electoral Highness will permit me to refer myself to Monsieur de Bulau, for a detail of what passed, and for the share which your troops have had in this enterprise. I am, with a very submissive respect, Sir, &c."

STUART PAPERS.

1709.

1709.

THE violent Jacobites in Scotland complained, without reason, that they were deserted by the prince whom they called to the throne. The Pretender was not his own master, when he was carried to the coast of Britain, in a French bottom. He had, with tears in his eyes, solicited M. de Fourbin, to land him on the coast of North Britain, were it even with his domestics only. But it seems, that the French admiral had received secret orders, not to permit the Pretender to slip from his hands, though it is difficult to say what use the court of Versailles could make of that unfortunate prince, except the making a diversion, for a few months, to the British arms. When the pretended prince returned to France, he accompanied the duke of Burgundy into Flanders, and served the campaign. The discontented Scots continued their solicitations to the person whom they called their King, and he and his servants were equally earnest with the court of Versailles, to prepare another expedition into North Britain.

Lewis, for some time, listened with attention to the representations of the Pretender. But a winter uncommonly severe, which destroyed the fruits of the earth, added the misfortune of famine to the numerous distresses brought on his people by the war. He, therefore, plainly told the Pretender, that he was so far from being in a condition to invade the territories of his enemies, that he was afraid he could not defend his own. The discontented Scots were strangers to the low state of France; and they endeavoured, as in the following state of the Highland clans, to induce Lewis the Fourteenth to send aid, by representing their own power. Nothing in the paper appears to have been exaggerated, though its manifest design was to encourage a French invasion.

“ An

"An account of the Highland clans in Scotland, with a short narrative of the services they have rendered the crown, and the number of armed men they may bring to the field for the King's service."

1709.
Nairne's
papers,
D. N. vol. ii.
fol. No. 23.

THE Highlanders are used to arms from their infancy, and may be reckoned as good as their equal number of the best regular troops in Europe; and they have, on all occasions, (particularly under the command of the marquis of Montrose for King Charles the First, and the viscount of Dundee for King James the Seventh) in several battles defeated above double their number of old regular troops; and it is hardly possible to sustain their charge, if they be rightly led on; they being superior both in their arms and manner of fighting to any other troops.

The clans are here mentioned, with five hundred men to a regiment. It is true, that some of them can bring more men to the field, and others fewer; but, computing them one with another, they may be reckoned so.

The three great branches of the M'Donalds, viz.

CLANRANALD.—GLENGARIE.—SIR DONALD M'DONALD of Sleat.

The captains of Clanranald's family have still been loyal, and had a good regiment in the fields for King Charles I. and II. and this present captain, at fourteen years of age, was, with 500 men, at the battle of Killicranky for King James VII. This family has suffered much for their loyalty, by the oppressions of the family of Argyle, who have been rebels for four generations by-past.

Clanranald's family and their followers are Catholics.

Glengarie his predecessor, the late lord M'Donald, had still a regiment for the service of King Charles I. and II. and this present Glengarie had the same for King James VII.

This family has suffered much also by the family of Argyle. Both he and his followers are Catholics.

Sir Donald M'Donald of Sleat was with his regiment at the battle of Killicranky, for King James VII. and continues still very loyal.

These three branches of the M'Donalds, including other lesser branches of that name, may bring to the field, of very good men, 1500.

The

1709.

The three great branches of M'Duff or Clanchattan, viz.

FARQUHARSONS.—M'INTOSHES.—M'PHERSONS.

The Farquharsons have still been loyal: for Findlay Farquharson of Braemar and Inverey was killed carrying the royal banner at the battle of Pinkie, in the year 1547, against the English. His grand-child, James Farquharson of Inverey was, at 70 years of age, kept two years prisoner at Edinburgh for his loyalty; and was forced to pay a considerable fine before he was released. His son, colonel William Farquharson of Inverey, had still a good regiment for the service of King Charles I. and II. under the command of the marquises of Huntley and Montrose, and the earls of Glencairn and Middleton; and being still without pay, and at his own charges, mortgaged all his estate for the said service, worth about 500*l.* sterling a-year. Yet his son, colonel John Farquharson of Inverey, was among the first who took arms for King James VII.; and after all the other Highlanders had given over coming to the field, he raised betwixt eight and nine hundred men, and sustained the small party of the King's officers a whole campaign, acting offensively as well as defensive; for which he had six parishes (belonging to him and his relations) entirely burnt and destroyed, which was procured by the lord Forbes and his family; one of the most rebellious in Scotland, and their next neighbours. Witnesses of their last services and sufferings are colonel Rattrey, major Holmes, lieutenant colonel Fitzsimons, and several others present in France. Many of the name of Farquharson and their followers are Catholics.

The M'Intoshes and M'Phersons, although they did not rise to arms all of them, yet they still sent men to the field, both for the services of Kings Charles I. and II. and for King James VII.; and are all of them at present loyal. These three fore-mentioned branches, including others lesser about them, can bring to the field, of very good men, 1500.

The M'Leans have still been loyal; their chief and 500 of his name being killed at Inverkething, for King Charles II. by Cromwell. They have been also in the field for King Charles I. and they had, at the battle of Killcranky, for King James VII. five hundred men, and will be found very ready, when the King shall have use for them. They are mightily oppressed by the family of Argyle. They can bring to the field, of very good men, 500.

The Camerons have still been loyal, and have still had a good regiment in the fields, for Kings Charles I. and II. and for King James VII. and continue very loyal; and may bring to the field, of very good men, 500.

1709.

The Stuarts and Robertsons of Athol have still been loyal, and have still taken the field for the Kings Charles I. and II. and for King James VII. notwithstanding the present marquis of Athol who was superior to the most part of them, was then for the prince of Orange; but it is now the better, that he himself is loyal at present. They may bring to the field, of good men, 1000.

The M'Naughtons and Stuarts of Appin have still been loyal to the Kings Charles I. and II. and to King James VII. and were in the fields for them: as was also M'Neil of Barra, who, with his men, are all Catholics. They may raise, of very good men, 500.

The Drummonds' loyalty is not to be doubted; since they will certainly follow their chief the duke of Perth, or his son the earl of Drummond. They may bring to the field, of very good men, 500.

The M'Kenzies are neither to be doubted; since they will follow their chief the marquis of Seaforth. They, with other little names about them, may bring to the field, of indifferent good men, 1000.

The Frasers are loyally inclined; and may bring to the field, of very good men, 500.

The M'Leods are loyally inclined; and may bring to the field, of very good men, 500.

The Sinclairs are esteemed loyal; and may bring to the field, of indifferent good men, 500.

The M'Kays and the Highlanders of Strathnaver; their superiors are not loyal; yet their commons can be brought to the field, and may do good service, being joined with others; they may make, of very good men, 500.

The Rosses of Balnagowan; their chief is not loyal, yet his clan might be brought to the field; and they may make, of none of the best men, 500.

The Grants; their chief has been very violent against the late King, and raised a regiment against him, and entertained it three years at his own charges; yet his clan must be called to the field, and joined to others

1609. others of unquestioned loyalty. They may raise, of none of the best of men, 500.

The Campbells of Breadalbin; their superior, the earl of Breadalbin, is a very cunning man; yet still pretends to be very loyal. They may bring to the field, of indifferent good men, 500.

The Grahams of Menteeth and Stuarts of Down are loyal; and may bring to the field, of very good men, 500.

The M'Neils of Galchyle, M'Lauchlans, M'Kinnons, M'Aulays, M'Nabs, M'Gregors, M'Gibbons, M'Echins of Dumbarton; Argyle and Stirling shires are loyal; and may bring to the field, amongst them all, of very good men, 1000.

The number of all the men is 12,000.

That which is commonly objected against the Highlanders is, that they do not keep discipline, and that they plunder.

To which it may be easily answered, that at all the times the Highlanders were in the fields, they neither had pay nor provisions, but what Providence sent them from day to day; and each soldier being obliged to go and search for himself, it was impossible to send an officer with each of them: so abuses could not be prevented; and, were the most regular troops in Europe in the same circumstances, they might be found as ill, if not worse, than the Highlanders.

Most part of all Lowlanders are their inveterate enemies, and seldom or never speak or write favourably of them, and that from mere envy; because a Highland clan is capable to render the King better service than some of their first nobility; and, as to their lesser, a dozen and more of them cannot bring so many men to the field as one clan.

The King might likewise expect from the low countries of Scotland, at least, 20,000 men; for the King hath generally, all the nation over, three for him, for one against him. But supposing he hath but half, as certainly he hath more, the militia of Scotland being 22,000 men, that half has but to double their militia, which they may easily do, will make above 20,000 men. But the King must carry arms for them.

Whereas the Highlanders are generally well armed of themselves; and, at most, will not want above a fourth part of their arms.

The Lowlanders will likewise want officers.

“ An

"An answer proposed to be sent to the Scots in April 1709."

Translation.

THE King of Great Britain has been very sensibly chagrined that his friends in Scotland have been kept so long in suspense, concerning a second expedition into that country; but it was impossible to come to any certain determination about it sooner, although the affair was pressed with all possible earnestness. At last, his Majesty has received, within a few days, a decisive answer, and he commands me to communicate it to you from him.

I shall tell you then, that the project of a second expedition into Scotland has been proposed to his most Christian Majesty, in a very ample memorial, in which nothing was omitted to engage him to enter into the scheme, and to convince him, that the enterprize was as much for his interest as for the interest of his Britannic Majesty. That his most Christian Majesty has been pleased to enter very cordially into the affair when it was proposed to him; and that he has taken time to consider the project, and has testified a sincere desire to make every effort for putting it in execution: but, after having duly weighed all things, and considered the present situation of his affairs, his last answer has been, that, in the present conjuncture, the thing was not practicable, considering that it was absolutely impossible for him, at this time, to furnish all that was necessary for such an expedition.

It is his Britannic Majesty's desire that you communicate this to all the well-affected in Scotland, in order that they may take their measures to preserve themselves to a more favourable time. The King did not demand of his most Christian Majesty but 8000 men, with money, arms, and ammunition in proportion. But that could neither be granted nor transported, with safety, in the present state of the affairs of France. When they are in a better situation, I hope the King of Great Britain will feel the effects of it. But whatever may happen, he is determined never to discontinue his efforts for the recovery of his dominions; and, I doubt not, but soon or late he will succeed, although it is not easy to foresee either the time or the manner. In the mean time, he recommends to all his loyal subjects to take as much care as they can of their own preservation. Every one knows the state of his own affairs, and what is

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most suitable for him to do for his own safety in this conjuncture; therefore, in that respect, there are no rules to be prescribed to them. But his Majesty always depends upon the continuance of their loyalty; and he is thoroughly persuaded, that he will always find them well disposed to give him proofs of their zeal and affection, every time he shall have occasion for their assistance."

The States General having informed the courts of Vienna and Great Britain, that the president Rouillè was come to them from France, with general offers of peace, prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough were sent, by their respective courts, to the Hague, in the beginning of April, 1709. To these generals, who were buoyed up with the hopes of penetrating into France the next campaign, the overtures made on the part of Lewis XIV. seemed not to be satisfactory; and the duke of Marlborough came back to London on the 17th of April. His professed design was to acquaint the Queen that the French overtures were rejected, and that the allies were determined to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. In the meantime, Rouillè dispatched a courier to Paris for further instructions; and Lewis immediately sent the marquis de Torcy, his secretary for foreign affairs, with fresh offers to the Hague. In all the conferences held to settle the preliminaries of peace, it was demanded by the allies, and granted by Lewis, that he should abandon the Pretender, and dismiss him from his dominions. This produced the following letter and memorial to the marquis de Torcy, about a place of security for the Pretender, a dowry for his mother, and an indemnity for their adherents.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

A copy in Middleton's own hand.

Translation.

St. Germain, April 30, 1709.

"I HAVE the honour to send you a memorial concerning the interests of the King, my master; and I hope you will approve of the method which I have taken, of inserting nothing in it but what might serve for an instruction to your negociator, in case the King approves it, reserving

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reserving to myself to explain to you here the sentiments of the King of England, because that mixture might occasion some confusion.

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Although France is the only country in which his Britannic Majesty can find any consolation, out of his own country, yet, since the enemy insist upon his leaving it, he asks the King's permission to do so, as the only means of giving him a testimony of his gratitude. The ecclesiastical state is excluded, for reasons too evident to be specified; and likewise the Swiss Cantons, because there he would be deprived of the society of men, and at too great a distance from what he ought never to lose sight of; and he would have no neighbours there but goats, who could walk out and resist the rigour of the winter. The Spanish Low Countries are named only in preference.

I acknowledge that sentiments are divided here about the article of the indemnity. Some say that those who are at home will complain, with justice, that they are abandoned to the fury of their enemies; and that those who are here, will exclaim that they are neglected, that they might subsist at home, if they could return in safety, and that this court will be delivered from a number of troublesome people, who will die of hunger after our departure. Others think, that a security for the past will render them useless for the future; that self-love is a powerful motive for exciting the generality of men to perform their duty; that several may return from thence full of ill-humour, and in order to be well received, will become informers, which would produce very bad effects; and also, that this would weaken the Irish regiments in the service, many of whom will be seized with the sickness of the Swiss. It is hoped the King will be pleased to decide upon this diversity of opinions.

With regard to the Queen's dowry, her Majesty orders me to tell you, that after her death, and the restoration of the King, her son, she gives the million in the town-house to his Majesty, to refund, in part, some small share of his bounty. But above all, his Britannic Majesty insists most earnestly not to be named in the article which concerns the Queen; for, although there should be no express condition, all the world will suppose that his honour will be deeply wounded by it. He will be abandoned by all his good subjects, and will find himself exposed to the contempt of every one, which such a suspicion will infallibly draw upon him."

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Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 29.

A Memorial sent with the preceding letter to the Marquis de Torcy.

Translation.

“ALL that regards the King of England's interest in the present conjuncture, may be reduced to three articles.

In case the enemy insist that the King of England leaves France, nothing will be more natural and reasonable than to ask them a security for him. It is to be wished it may be general. If, however, this meets with difficulties, let them grant it, at least, in a country that suits them. For there are countries where he will never put his foot, such as the Pope's territories, and the Swiss cantons. The Spanish Low Countries appear to be the most commodious, from their situation, and because there will be no occasion for a security but from the Dutch, and from the sovereign of the country, who must oblige himself to allow the King to live at full liberty, with a permission of travelling through all his dominions, of choosing the place of his residence, and of changing it, and of leaving his territories and coming back again, without being obliged to take passports, or to give any explanations of the motives of his journies. A prince cannot be too delicate in such a case; and they cannot, if they act sincerely, refuse him the privileges which the law of nations gives to private persons in time of peace.

It is proposed likewise, that his Majesty may be pleased to solicit earnestly for an indemnity to all those who have followed the late King of England, and the King's son, as well as for those who find themselves exposed to troublesome enquiries at home, for having done their duty since the revolution in England. If they make the same demand for the Hugonots, it will be a mere evasion; for they are desirous of keeping them, designing, by a general act of naturalization, to draw to them every one who is not a Roman Catholic.

It is not believed that they will make great difficulty about the Queen's dowry for the future, but about her arrears, although they cannot deny but they are due for upwards of twenty years. If that cannot be obtained, we must propose the time of the peace of Ryfwick, when the dowry was granted, and when the prince of Orange broke his word; although he received from his parliament a fund for keeping it, he always found pretences for doing so. There is another term, which is common

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to all widows, and that is the death of their husbands, and the right ceases at the death of the Queen. But when the worst comes to the worst, we must accept it as they will choose to give it. It may be likewise proposed, that in case they pay the Queen all the arrears, which amount to a million sterling, her Majesty will renounce absolutely her dowry, the revenue of that sum being precisely 50,000 l. sterling, at five per cent. By this means several embarrassments will be avoided, her Majesty will be assured of her revenue, without authorizing any one in England to receive it, and without disputing about the form of discharges; for they may exact such as she never will grant, much less will she seek redress in their courts of justice; and to answer the chicane, which was used after the peace of Ryswick, that this money might be employed against them, his Majesty may oblige himself to place the sum immediately in the town-house of Paris."

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Extracts from Lord Caryll's Letters.

"**H**ERE we talk much of a peace likely to be soon concluded. I should be glad to know, whether you, in England, be of the same opinion. Upon this occasion I must not omit to let you know, that I find your friend Mr. Plessington [the King] in some doubt, whether or not, in case of a peace, it would be best for him to continue his trade, in Amsterdam [Paris], where there are so many dealers in his way of trading, or to remove to some other town, where he may find more business. I am of opinion, that none could advise him better in this matter, than his old partners, Mr. Armsworth [Marlborough] and Mr. Goulston [Godolphin]: so that, if you could conveniently meet with these two merchants, or with either of them, and learn their opinion in this matter, you will certainly very much oblige your friend Plessington [the King.]

Lord Caryll's
Letters,
vol. v. fol.
Scotch Col-
lege.
March 21.

The marquis de Torcy came to the Hague in the beginning of May; but he could make no progress in a negociation with the States, until the duke of Marlborough returned from England. Conferences were then begun; and in proportion as the French minister made concessions, in the name of his sovereign, the deputies of the States and prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough became exorbitant in their demands.

May.

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May.

mands. The part of de Torcy's negociation, which concerned the court of St. Germain, is contained in the following letters.

Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. iii.
4to. No. 50.

*"Copy of a Letter from the Duke de Beauvilliers to the Earl of Middleton,
May 27, 1709."*

In Nairne's hand.

Translation.

"I Imagined I had the honour of seeing you after the council yesterday; but not being able to join you, I delayed to write to you, until the arrival of a courier, which we expected in the course of the day. His departure from the Hague being delayed, as he is not yet arrived here, I must inform you, Sir, of the contents of Mr. de Torcy's dispatches to the King, which were delivered to me the day before yesterday, in order that you may give an account of them to the King, your master, and to the Queen. He had a long conference with lord Churchill and Mr. Townsend, about the interests of the King of England. After great difficulties, which they imagined to find in obtaining payment of the Queen's dowry, which they allege is contrary to the laws of England, they confined themselves, at last, to say, that they would desist from their demand of the King's changing his place of abode; or, if they were obliged to insist upon his leaving France, that it would be just, in that case, his expence should fall upon them, and that his Majesty might choose his place of abode, remain there in all security and change from place to place, as would suit his conveniency *. Having now complied with my duty, in giving you this account, I shall finish, with assuring you, of the profound respect with which I am, &c."

Copy

Memoirs
of the Mar-
quis de
Torcy, vol. i.

* De Torcy himself, in a letter to Lewis XIV, dated from the Hague, the 12th of May, gave the following account of his conference with the duke of Marlborough on this subject.

"He, the duke of Marlborough, added, that this same lord (meaning lord Townsend) had orders concerning the King of England, whom he stiled Prince of Wales. He expressed a strong desire of being in a capacity to serve him, as the son of a King, for whom, he told me afterwards, he would have spilt the last drop of his blood. That he believed it was his interest to remove out of France; and when I asked him, to what country he should retire, and in what manner he was to subsist, he agreed, in respect to the first article, that this prince should be at liberty to fix his residence wherever he chose, should enjoy perfect security, and be his own master, to go wherever he judged proper.

"Copy of Lord Middleton's Answer to the Duke de Beauvilliers, May 27, 1709."

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Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. iii. 4to.

In Nairne's hand.

Translation.

I Have shown to the King, my master, and to the Queen, the letter which you did me the honour to write to me, to-day; upon which their Majesties have commanded me, to beg of you to remark three things:

1st, With regard to their saying, that they cannot pay the Queen's dowry, as being contrary to the laws of England. In that they are not sincere; for, although they have converted the fund to other purposes, there never was any legal decision against her Majesty or her pretensions; and the parliament, after the peace of Ryswick, acknowledged them so fully, that they granted, without any difficulty, the whole sum, which the prince of Orange received, and detained upon an ill founded chicane.

2dly, Their offer to charge themselves with the maintainance of the King, my master, in case he leaves France, is to be suspected; and indeed one may easily perceive, that the malicious design of it, is to make the world believe, that he renounced his pretensions, on account of this pension, and at the same time, to have it in their power to reduce him to the last extremity, which his Majesty will rather endure, than expose himself to be suspected of such meanness. I had set forth in a memorial all I now say, and explained it more fully in a letter I sent to M. de Torcy, the evening before he set out.

3dly, The King of England is highly pleased, that a general security is agreed to, in case they insist on his changing his place of abode. But it ought to be considered, whether the word of these two English gentlemen

The article of his subsistence met with greater obstacles. I proposed to him the expedient of the Queen's dowry. He said, that the laws of England rendered the payment of that sum extremely difficult: however, he begged of me to insist strenuously on this article, when my lord Townsend and he came to speak to me about it, in the conferences. This lord, he said, is a kind of an inspector over me; though he is a very honest man who has been chosen through my means, and of the Whig party, before him I must speak like an obstinate Englishman; but I wish, with all my heart, I was able to serve the prince of Wales, and that your solicitations afforded me an opportunity of doing it."

may

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May.

may be depended on: for, it would be better to have a written deed, signed by all the confederates, to be inserted by the mediator, among the acts of the treaty.

I am very unhappy, Sir, to have missed the honour of seeing you, every time I have been at Versailles; and I entreat you to believe me to be, Sir, &c."

June.

The French Ministers pretended to submit to the preliminaries, which were to serve as a foundation for a general peace; and before it was publickly known that their master would refuse his ratification of them, the court of St. Germain's concerted the measures which they were to follow, during the negociation, and proposed to send an agent to appear for them, in the congress at the Hague.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 50.

" *A minute of what was proposed at St. Germain's, in case the congress at the Hague was continued. June, 1709.*"

" **T**HE first step to be made, is to endeavour to persuade the King of France, to use his interest, by his ministers, at the treaty, to have leave and security for a person to appear there from the King, only to give in a memorial in the King's name to the mediator, representing his just pretension, and protesting against any thing that may be agreed upon in the general peace, contrary to the right and title he has to his crown; which, as it will not hinder the plenipotentiaries to conclude the peace, as they shall agree upon it together, so it is hoped they have no interest to refuse to an injured prince, the satisfaction, at least, of giving this public testimony to the world, of his not renouncing his right, or acquiescing to any thing that may be done in this treaty to his prejudice, which is all the benefit required. To facilitate his demand, it may be represented, that the King does not require the person he sends should be owned as a plenipotentiary in form from the King of England; but only that he should have security to go and return, and not be refused access to the mediator, to deliver his message and protestation, from the King and in the King's name, leaving to the mediator the liberty, in his answer, to give or refuse the title to the King, as he shall think fit, only that he be obliged to enter the fact in his protocolle, that such a message, memorial, or protestation was delivered to him, such

such a day, by such a one, in the name of the Pretender to the crown of England, if he will not directly give the King his title.

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If this cannot be obtained, at least it may be proposed, that the protestations be given by one of the French plenipotentiaries, and entered, as given by him in the name of the King, because he could not have leave and security for a minister of his own to go and deliver it.

If even that be refused, there is no other method left, but to send the protestation in blank covers, by the post, to all the plenipotentiaries, and publishing it in gazettes and otherwise, and mentioning, at the same time, that the King asked a passport, for a person to go in his name to protest in the formal manner, and was refused.

As for any thing that may be treated about the Queen's jointure, or other things relating to the security of the King's person, in case of his memorial from France, if Monsieur de Torcy pleases, he can always obtain a pass for a private agent of the King's, to attend Mr. Rouillé, and be at hand to represent the King's interest to him, and answer the objections the English may make to him, and furnish him with memorials and arguments, according as shall be concerted with the court of France; and this person being an Englishman, and a person of known trust, prudence, and integrity, may be of use as an interpreter with the French minister, and may also, being under the security of public faith, be able to insinuate and disperse fit memorials, to move and persuade the English or others, that it is neither theirs nor the public interest of Europe, to exclude the King from his right, and prefer Hannover."

Extracts from Lord Caryll's Letters continued.

"THE account which captain Gourdon's relation has brought of what passed, in a conference between him and Mr. Armsworth [Marlborough], about paying the debt so long due from that merchant, shews, at least, the captain's zeal and concern, that justice may be done to our friend Mr. Mathew [the King]; and, though nothing was concluded upon, at that meeting, as to the speedy payment of that debt, yet there is, at least, an entrance made towards it, and I know the captain will let slip no opportunity of bringing that matter to a fair conclusion."

Lord Caryll's
letters, vol. v.
fol. Scotch
college.
June 13.

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June.
Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 30.

"A Memorial, shewing the advantage of sending a person, in whom confidence may be placed, to the Hague, to take care of the interests of his Britannic Majesty."

In Nairne's hand.

Translation.

June 4, 1709.

THE King of England believes that it would be necessary for his service, and useful to his most Christian Majesty, to send to the Hague, in the present conjuncture, one of his subjects who is a man of abilities and fidelity, who is well instructed in his affairs and capable of carrying on a negociation, who would have a communication with the French plenipotentiaries, and act in concert with them in all things, for the common interest, and in conformity to the instructions with which he shall be intrusted, without giving him any character.

This man, having no public character, would not be subjected to ceremonies, and might insinuate himself and have access every where as a private man, without being suspected to be of any party; and understanding the language, laws, customs, and manners of the English, he might by frequenting them, discover their secret sentiments, and inform the French plenipotentiaries of many things very useful, in the course of the negociation, it being very much the humour of the greatest part of the English, who may be very reserved with the French, to open themselves to, and place their confidence willingly in, a countryman, who will appear to enter into their sentiments, and have the address, by discovering their different tempers, to insinuate himself into their favour prudently and reasonably.

This secret agent, by going early to the Hague, before the opening of the congress, will have time to renew the old acquaintances he formerly had in that country, and to form new ones, to contract intimacies, and manage intrigues and secret cabals, with the public ministers and other men of credit of all the different nations, who may meet there in the present conjuncture, and of whom he may contribute to gain over some to the interest of France, and to abate the violent opposition of others, by undeceiving them in many wrong impressions with which they are prepossessed. He will be able to inform himself, thoroughly and at leisure, of the different interests of the plenipotentiaries, and of their cabals and divisions

divisions among themselves, that he may take the advantage of them; and, being of the same nation, he will have a more particular facility in discovering the inclinations, designs, and schemes of the English plenipotentiaries, of whatever sect of religion they are, whose creatures they are, and to what party in England they are attached; and, thus, knowing their strength and their weakness, he will be able to give, from time to time, excellent memorials concerning these things to the French plenipotentiaries.

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And when the concerns of the King of England are in agitation, he will be at hand to give informations to the said plenipotentiaries, concerning the intentions and real interests of his Britannic Majesty; and, when the English object the difficulties and chicanery of their laws, as they have done already, without any foundation, in the affair of the Queen's dowry, he will be able to tell the French plenipotentiaries, with certainty, what is true or false in the allegations of the English, concerning their laws, or the facts, which shall be contested, and to give them ample explanations, on the spot by memorials, which will refute the chicanery of the English, and hinder them from imposing ambiguous expressions and advancing as truths facts which are notoriously false.

The advantage of sending this man early to the Hague is evident; for, in order to negotiate with success, he must be on the spot before they begin to treat in form, in order to acquaint himself thoroughly with the different characters of those with whom he may have to do, to study their humours, their public and private interests, and to tamper with those who have credit with the principal ministers, endeavouring, in that manner, to discover their sentiments, and to find means of gaining them, or at least of appeasing them, on several articles, from motives of personal interest, joined to all the other reasons of justice and equity which can be suggested to them. Now, all this cannot be done, but slowly and by degrees. Their minds must be previously disposed, and their prejudices removed, and a number of emissaries must be employed, in order to be well instructed in every thing that happens, and to be always ready to seize every favourable opportunity. He must begin in time, and spare nothing to gain over favourites, in order that he may have free access to their superiors, and find means of insinuating himself into their confidence, and of disposing them insensibly for a favourable

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vourable treaty; and, if all these intrigues and attentions are not begun, and even carried some length before the congress opens, it will be very difficult to begin them, with any hopes of success, during its continuance: for then all the plenipotentiaries will be so occupied, with receiving and sending of dispatches, with attendance on all the public and private conferences, with receiving and returning visits, and discharging the ceremonial and essential duties of their commission, that they will have so little spare time as will render access to them very difficult; and as the part they are to act will be determined by that time, and all or most of the essential articles agreed upon, it will be too late then to hope to carry on a negotiation of any importance for the service of France, or for that of his Britannic Majesty."

When the congress broke off at the Hague, the court of St. Germain began to think again of an invasion; and lord Lovat found means of sending intelligence of their designs to Scotland.

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. viii.
4to. No. 51.

Lord Lovat to the Earl of Leven.

My most dear Lord,

August 20th, N. S. 1709.

"**T**HOUGH you neglect me very much, and that you never send me any answer to my letters, yet the love I have for your person and interest makes me embrace all the occasions I can find to serve you. As I told you last year to take care of your affairs in Scotland, so I tell you now not to be less diligent. I am informed by several persons, that there is a design of going to see you towards the latter end of the campaign; but I believe that depends upon the peace. If it is done, you will see nobody; but if the war continues, you will most surely have the visit that you missed last year. If that happens, be fully persuaded, that you will see me soon after, to live and die with you, at the head of some brave fellows, that will follow me in spite of all mankind. I wrote, two months ago, to your lordship by a French officer of the English guards. This letter is only to acquaint you of the design in hand. If I have entire certainty of the time it should be executed, I will send off the young lad to acquaint you, who was seven years ago in your house, with a belted plaid, with whom you left my dear lord Balgony to keep company to, till you came home. I think my letter will be plain enough to your lordship; and I beg you may believe me your faithful
servant,

servant, and that I will be still ready to venture, to the last drop of my blood, for you."

1709.
August.

In France,
20th August, 1709, N. S.

Lovat's letter was intercepted, and returned to St. Germain's*. The earl of Middleton sent a translation of it to the Marquis de Torcy, in the following letter, dated the 8th March 1711.

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Papers,
vol. viii.
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Translation.

"IT is long since my sentiments of the pretended lord Lovat were known to you. An original letter, written by him to lord Leven, is come back to us from England. We have compared the hand-writing with that which we have from him; there is an exact resemblance, and the subject and style do not belie their author. I send you a literal translation of it. Balgony is my lord Leven's son; the young man in the Highland dress, is Lovat's brother, who I believe was in France. Here, Sir, is a spy of consequence unmasked, and we know very well the means of preventing this correspondence for the future."

Nairne, who was under-secretary of state at St. Germain's, from the Revolution until the seals were given to Sir Thomas Higgon upon the resignation of the earl of Middleton in December 1713, kept regular entries of the letters written from the office. There is a thin quarto volume, entitled, "Entries of some letters writ to England to Abram and Berry, &c.; from 1709 to 1713 inclusive."

D. N. vol. ii.
fol. vol. i. &
viii. 4to.

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. ix. 4to.

These letters are in Nairne's hand. He generally gives the earl of Middleton's letters entire; but he, sometimes, recites only the contents of his own. They are mostly allegorical; but some of them are explained, and serve as a key to the meaning of others.

Berry carried on the duke of Marlborough's correspondence with the court of St. Germain's. His name, which appears to be a real one, hath already occurred, and will frequently occur again in this volume. The

* This is the letter mentioned in Nairne's Entry-book of letters: "Nairne to Abram, 8th March, 1711. To return to him Lovat's letter, and answer his of the 19th of February."

Nairne's
papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
p. 18.

1709. real name of Abram, as appears by a letter from Middleton to the abbé
November. de Polignac, was Menzies.

Nairne's
papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
p. 2.

The Earl of Middleton to Abram.

November 28th, 1709.

There are cant names in this letter, which are no where explained in the course of the correspondence; but it appears from it, that Middleton had an apprehension "of Abram's falling under Edgebury's [the Emperor's] displeasure, which may prevent the visit he designed to make to him, which was thought necessary, by their best friends, though never so short. But it is by no means adviseable to expose himself to an affront, but to be ruled by the advice of his friends in that family;" and that if there was to be a congress for Mr. Phipps [a peace], Abram was to be employed to take care of the King's interest.

Ibid. page 4.

It is seen plainly, by another letter from that lord to Abram, of 8th December, 1709, that Eliot [Sir William Ellis] was not trusted, at this time. Lamb † and others are desired to write him nothing but public news, and to conceal this caution from himself. This is repeated in another letter the first of May 1710.

Page 7.

Page 4.

December 26th, 1709.—Nairne wrote to Abram "to tell him, that 1200 livres *per annum* were settled upon him, to which he must conform his expence; but if the factory succeeded, the King would augment his allowance."

† The famous Mr. Lesley.

H A N.

HANNOVER PAPERS.

1709.

THE Hannover correspondence of the present year is connected with the following facts. The lord Somers, who had been raised to the office of president of the council, moved for an address to the Queen, that she would be pleased to stipulate in the projected treaty, that the French King should own the title of Queen Anne, and remove the Pretender out of his dominions. The minister, the earl of Godolphin and the duke of Marlborough, who divided with his lordship the power of government, were not averse from this motion. They seem to have secretly wished his removal, as the surest means of giving him the eventual succession of the throne, after his sister's death; as they knew the unsurmountable aversion the people had to the receiving a sovereign from France.—The Electoral Princess, afterwards Queen of Great Britain, was delivered of a princess who was baptized, by the name of Anne, in compliment to Queen Anne. The King of Sweden was stopt, in the career of his victories, by the total defeat of his army, in the fatal battle of Pultowa, which was fought on the eighth of July. Tournay surrendered to the Allies on the thirtieth of the same month. The bloody battle of Blaregnies or Malplaquet was fought, on the eleventh of September; and Mons surrendered, in the end of October. These are the transactions to which the letters to and from the house of Hannover principally relate.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Translation.

SIR,

Ghent, 3d January, 1709.

“**T**HREE days ago, I did myself the honour of communicating to your Electoral Highness the capitulation of the town of Ghent.

The

1709.

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 234.

1709.
January.

The garrison went out of it yesterday; and, on my arrival here, last night, I had the pleasure to learn, that the enemy had left Bruges, the magistrates having come to make their submission. I cannot forbear to congratulate, very humbly, your Electoral Highness upon this last event, which finishes our campaign to our wishes, and makes ample amends for its length. The troops have orders to separate, and your Electoral Highness may be assured, that I have all possible regard and attention to satisfy and preserve those of your Highness. I have the honour to be, with the most perfect respect and attachment, Sir, &c."

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 95.

Sir Rowland Gwyne to the Elector.

SIR,

Hamburg, January 9th, 1709.

"I Beg leave to return my most humble thanks for your Electoral Highness's most gracious letter.

It is the greatest human satisfaction that I can have in this world, to find that your Electoral Highness does believe my wishes for your happiness most sincere. My whole life shall convince your Electoral Highness of my truth and fidelity; for I will ever maintain the good opinion your Electoral Highness is graciously pleased to have for me. It is, now, more than three years since the ministers of England took an occasion to complain in parliament of a letter published under my name.

If my zeal for supporting the interest of the Protestant succession did happen to carry me too far, yet I hope that your Electoral Highness will pardon it; it being well meant, and I may be supposed to know the constitution of our government.

But since that time, there hath not been the least thing laid to my charge, upon that account, or any other that I know of. And, if I had been guilty of high-treason, I must have been prosecuted within six months, after the fault committed.

I am not guilty of any crime against her Majesty, or the laws of England; and I hope, that my fidelity to your Electoral Highness will never be looked upon as such.

If the ministers of England were then offended with me, without reason, I cannot help it. They have their time, and their power and influence will last no longer than the Prince's pleasure upon the throne.

This

This is my case, and I most humbly submit it to your Electoral Highness; for next to God's, subjects ought to depend upon their sovereign's will and pleasure.

1709.
January.

Your Electoral Highness sees, my lord Somers being made president of the Queen's council, though impeached by parliament, that he can be and is employed, in a place of the greatest trust. I could give many instances of the same nature.

I am content to live in solitude and retirement as long as it shall please your Electoral Highness that it should be so. But I wish to live under the protection and warmth of your favour and presence.

I most humbly beg pardon for presuming to trouble your Electoral Highness with so long a letter; and am with all duty and fidelity, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An answer to his letter of December 31, 1708.

Translation.

My Lord,

January 11th, 1709.

"I Am very much obliged to you, for the trouble you was at in informing me yourself of the capitulation of Ghent. It is a place so important, that the length of a campaign, the great successes of which are so gloriously crowned by this, should not be complained of. I can assure you, that I take all possible interest in it, as I shall always do in whatever may heighten your glory; being very sincerely, my Lord, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An answer to the Duke's letter of the 3d of January.

Translation.

My Lord,

January 21st, 1709.

"I Am very much obliged to you for the trouble which you took in informing me of the evacuation of Bruges. It was the only event which remained to be desired. It ought to be a consolation for the length of a campaign, which has been so successful. I take all possible interest in the glory which you have thereby acquired. I am very sensible of the attentions, which you are so good as to give to the preservation of my troops. I am, very sincerely, my Lord, &c."

VOL. II.

T

Lord

Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 233:

Robethon's
Draught.
Ibid. 235.

1709.
March.
Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 98.

Lord Halifax to the Elector.

He sends him the parliament's address to the Queen.

Translation.

March 4th, 1709.

SIR,
“YOUR Electoral Highness having visibly shewn, as always appeared to me, that you did not desire to enter, at present, into the particulars of the affairs of Great Britain, I imagined that I conformed myself to your inclinations, by depriving myself of the honour of informing your Electoral Highness of them, as often as I should have wished. But since, in the house of peers, I had the honour of making a motion, which may become a solid foundation for securing, more powerfully, the protestant succession, in the family of your Electoral Highness, I could not deprive myself of the satisfaction of being among the first to send you the address, which has been the result of this motion, and which has passed, unanimously, in the two houses of parliament.

Your Electoral Highness may remember, that I employed the time which I passed in Holland, and all my attentions to conclude there, with the States, a treaty which might secure our succession and their barrier. But they rendered the conclusion of it impracticable for me, by the demand which they made then of being put in possession of Ostend. Since my return, there was little or nothing done in that affair. I hope that the address of to-day will set on foot again that negociation, and produce a league, for that effect, between most of the high allies. The two houses concurred so unanimously in this address; the Queen received it with so much satisfaction, and it has the public approbation to such a degree; that I do not see that the nation can hear a peace mentioned, until France is humbled, and obliged to admit such terms, that the succession in the protestant line will remain thereby certain and permanent. And, for my part, I have nothing so much at heart, as to secure to my country such a benefit, which I consider as a blessing of heaven; and to give, on all occasions, certain proofs of the respectful attachment with which I am, Sir, &c.”

The

*The Elector to Lord Halifax.**An answer to his letter of the 4th of March.*

Translation.

My Lord,

April 2, 1709.

"I Am much obliged to you for the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me. I have read it with a great deal of satisfaction as well as the address, presented to the Queen by the two houses, and the favourable answer which her Majesty made to it. After all that you have done, my lord, for establishing and confirming the protestant succession, it must be acknowledged, that you not only know to take the advantage of the opportunities which present themselves for forwarding this great work, but likewise, that you are ingenious in producing them. I conceive all the importance of this last resolution of the parliament; and I conceive equally the share, which you have had in it. There is reason to expect a similar success from all that is proposed by a minister who joins to a superior genius upright and sincere intentions. I approve, with all the nation, of an address, which they consider as your work; entreating you to be persuaded, that I am very sensible of the attachment, which you discover more and more, for the interests of my family; and that I am, very sincerely, my Lord, &c."

Lord Halifax to Robethon.

SIR,

April 26th, 1709.

"I AM very glad that I can congratulate you upon a new mark of favour his E. H. has paid to your great merit, at the same time that I return you a thousand thanks for the honour of your letter, and the good opinion you express of me. I should be very false to my principles, and very unworthy of the favours and honour I received at Hanover, if I was not inviolably attached to the interest of that family, to whose service my whole life shall be devoted. Lord Townsend is going over to settle the guarranty of the succession, and the barrier upon concluding the war; we shall procure as great security for it as human prudence can provide. I shall be highly obliged to you to recommend my services to his E. H. and to let me hear sometimes from you.

I am, &c."

1709.
April.
Robethon's
draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 100.

Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Miscell.
d'Etat. 2.
No. 191.

1709.

May.

Robethon's
draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes. No.
104.

*The Elector to Queen Anne.**He recommends the Marquis de la Forrest to her Majesty.*

Translation.

M A D A M,

Hannover, May 30, 1709.

"I Take the liberty of representing to your Majesty that the late marquis de la Forrest, who had the honour of serving the late King in quality of lieutenant general, obtained by his intercession with the King of France, after the peace of Ryfwick, the permission of entering again into possession of all his estates in France; and even that of disposing of them, which was granted to him by an arrest of the council of state, bearing date the tenth of April, 1699. In this there was the less difficulty, that the said marquis de la Forrest had left the kingdom with the late count de Roy, by an express permission from the King of France, bearing date the tenth of May, 1683. Your Majesty will be pleased to see this by the copies inclosed.

In consequence of this arrest, the said marquis de la Forrest enjoyed his estates in France, from the peace of Ryfwick to his death. But his estates having been seized anew, on the commencement of the present war, and given to his nearest relations in France, it appears to me, that, after the conclusion of the future peace, his only son has reason to demand the restitution of it; and as he is one of the gentlemen of my bed-chamber, I could not refuse him to write in his favour to your Majesty; and to entreat you to be so good as to order your plenipotentiaries at the treaty of peace to demand for him, from those of the King of France, the same favour which was granted to his deceased father; hoping that the recommendation of your Majesty will produce, on this occasion, the same effect with that of the King your predecessor, and be to me a fresh proof of the valuable friendship with which you honour me; which engages me to be, with great respect, Madam, &c."

King

*King Stanislaus to the Elector.**After the battle of Pultowa.*

Translation.

1709.
August.
Original.
Hannover
papers, vol.
marked
Princes,
No. 108.

SIR,

Camp at Opatneće, August 5, 1709.

"I DO not find a greater relief in my misfortune than by communicating it to your E. H. being certain that you will enter into my just grief, on account of the friendship which I know was well established between your E. H. and his Majesty the King of Sweden. That great prince, by his too great courage, has lately drawn on himself that misfortune which will be already known to your E. H. and which will be very fatal to the interest of his crown and of his allies, if I was not persuaded that in his absence, your E. H. will redouble your friendship for him, and your attention to his interest. God has preserved his sacred person to render him useful to his friends, and grateful to those who will shew themselves, at present, in the state in which our affairs are. As for myself, I shall be very happy to see them redressed, by your E. H. and to be under obligations to him, of whom I am, with all possible esteem and friendship, the affectionate cousin,

STANISLAUS."

*The Elector to King Stanislaus.**An answer to Stanislaus's letter of the 5th August.*

Translation.

October.
Robethon's
draught.
Ibid.
No. 109.

SIR,

October, 1709.

"I Received the letter of the 15th of August, with which your Majesty honoured me. You are in the right to believe, that having always done justice to the great qualities of his Majesty the King of Sweden, I was touched with the misfortune which happened to him. It is of such a nature, that it may be said, the divine providence which chose to put that prince to such a melancholy trial, can alone apply the remedy to it. I wish that the situation of the affairs of Europe may take such a turn as may procure him some relief, as well as to your Majesty; assuring you, that whatever happens, I shall always be with respect, &c."

The

1709.
November.
Robethon's
draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked.
Princes, No.
110.

The Electoral Prince to Queen Anne.

On the birth of the Princess Anne.

MADAM,

November, 1709.

"AS, by the blessing of God, the Electoral Princess, my wife, is happily delivered of a daughter the second instant, I do myself the honour to inform your Majesty of this, and to entreat you to be pleased to be god-mother to the child, and to permit a name to be given to her which your Majesty has rendered so illustrious. I shall receive, with all possible acknowledgments, this new favour, added to so many others with which your Majesty has loaded me. I hope that you will do me the justice to be persuaded that no one makes sincerer vows than I do, for the preservation and for the glory of your reign.

I entreat your Majesty to be so good as to give credit to what the baron de Schutz, who will have the honour to deliver this letter to your Majesty, will tell you from me on this occasion; and to be persuaded that I am, with profound respect, Madam, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Copy.
Ibid.
No. 236.

Translation.

My Lord,

November, 1709.

"I AM very much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken of informing me of the capitulation of Mons. Such an important conquest, made in so short a time, and with so little loss, is a glorious period to such a brilliant campaign, and a valuable fruit of your victory. It is very just, after such fatigue, to send the troops into quarters, where attention may be early given to recruit them. I shall, on my part, give all my attention to this. I entreat you to be persuaded that I share, as much as possible, in this addition to your glory; and that I shall always be very sincerely, &c."

STUART

STUART PAPERS.

1710.

THOUGH the operations of the Confederates were not so decisive as they expected in the preceding campaign, the distresses of France, and consequently her earnest desire for peace continued. Pettekum, the resident of Holstein at the Hague, a busy man who hoped to derive advantages to himself, from appearing eager to furnish Lewis XIV. with the means of obtaining that restoration of the public tranquillity, so much wanted by his kingdom, found means to obtain leave, in the end of the year, to make a journey to Paris, to forward that important business. Though the proposals which he brought back to Holland were not relished by the Dutch, who were entrusted with the negotiation by the rest of the allies, the French King was permitted, at length, to send plenipotentiaries to treat about a peace. These were the Mareschal d'Huxelles, and the Abbé de Polignac. The States appointed Buys and Vander-Duffen, their deputies to treat with the commissioners of the French King; and the conferences were opened at Gertruydenberg, on the nineteenth of March, in the present year. The Abbé de Polignac, whose intrigues had almost placed the late King James on the throne of Poland, was inviolably attached to the family of the Stuarts. The Earl of Middleton, therefore, as soon as he understood that the Abbé was to be one of the plenipotentiaries, began to recommend to him the interests of his master.

The Abbé de Polignac to the Earl of Middleton.

He professes attachment to the Pretender and his mother.—He is sorry for the present untoward circumstances.

Translation.

"I AM sorry, my Lord, that I am not to be in a place where I could pay my respects to your lordship; for I would not be behind in that

1710.

January.
Original.
Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. iii. 4to.
No. 23.

1710.
January.

that care, nor in the sentiments which I have always shared with you, for the service of their Britannic Majesties. You will imagine, that I do not think of setting out without taking leave of them and of you. I would have been, before now, at St. Germain, if I had not pressing and indispensable business here. I long mightily to discourse with you, about the past and the present time. The difficulties which you have had, were not, in my opinion, bad prognostics. The change comes from another quarter, and from a very common cause. I regret this more than you do; and God grant that we may not repent of it too late. We shall speak more about it *tête à tête*; and, in the mean time, believe always, I entreat you, that there is none who is with more respect and attachment, than I am, your lordship's, &c."

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. ix.
4to. No. 5.

The Earl of Middleton to Abram.*

January 30th, 1710.

"I Received yours, Sir, of the twenty-third instant, by which you inform me of the reason of your delaying your return to your own house and family [to St. Germain], who long to see you; which encourages me to write to you, though I am sorry, at the same time, that you have lost so fair an opportunity of pursuing your design. I am glad you have sent your friends away; but are still in apprehension of their being seized by the searchers of the custom-house: for the product of our colonies, that are imported from foreign parts, are confiscated †.

Our landlord [the King of France] here knows nothing of your business. He allows us only to follow the law of nature, to do what we can for ourselves, since he can do nothing; and this is what you may assure your friends."

Lord Caryll's
Letters,
vol. v. fol.
Scotch Col-
lege.
March 7.

Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters, continued.

"WHAT you seem to hint of Mr. Goulston's [Godolphin's] giving over his trade [to resign] will surprise most people; he understanding it so well, and no less thriving in it. Should he lay down, I

* Abram, it ought to be remembered, was one Menzies, a Scotchman. He was a man of some address, as appears throughout the correspondence of the family of Stuart.

† Their letters were probably intercepted.

am of your opinion, that no merchant is likelier to take it up than Mr. Trevers*. It is probable that if Mr. Goulston [Godolphin] gives it over, his former partner, Mr. Armsworth [Marlborough], will do so too; and yet, in one of your letters (if I mistake you not) you seem to say, that there is at present no good understanding between these two merchants, the certainty whereof I shall be glad to know in your next. I hear it from many hands, that there has been of late some wrangle between Mr. Young [princess Anne] and Armsworth [Marlborough], which I believe is patched up again. What advantage or disadvantage our friend Mr. Plessington [the King], who has had dealings with these merchants, will have by all this, is hard to determine. I can more frankly give my opinion concerning that young merchant Mr. Frier, mentioned by you, that he wants parts to carry on such a trade as was designed for him; for (if your information be true) in the first place, he never had any credit with Manly [the King], who, though he was kind to him, always looked upon him to be too shallow to be trusted in any business of weight."

1710.
March.

"As to our partners, if we believe Mr. Brag [the parliament], the credit of Mr. Armsworth [Marlborough] upon Change is greater than ever it was, and much greater, I fear, than his honesty; for if he can shift off his old debts, nothing but the force of law and absolute necessity will make him satisfy them. The proceedings of his copartner are more close and mysterious; and I can hardly bring myself to believe that there has been any real breach between them [Godolphin and Marlborough]; it being so contrary to each of their interests, which those merchants are thought to understand better than any upon Change."

Without a
date.

It is necessary to trace Abram's motions, in order to confirm the account he gives of his intrigues. Nairne sets down, in his book of entries, on the twentieth of March: "I writ to Abram, and owned the receipt of his last letter from Holland, with the memorial of the 22d of February, N. S. and his first from London of the 21st, O. S. with his note from Colchester of the 16th."

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
p. 6.

* He probably means Harley.

1710.
March.
Nairne's
Papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
p. 6.

The Earl of Middleton to Abram.

March 27th, 1710.

" I Heard but once from you, since you came to your journey's end. I am glad that you met with your wallet, but that Freeman was pceevish I am sorry, but not surpris'd. The letters from Mr. Holloway have miscarried, which should have brought accounts from your parts of the 11th, N. S. If you writ at that time, let us have it again, with what has occurred since: for your correspondents expect to hear frequently from you, in such a critical conjuncture. Tell Morley, that this is the time to bestir himself, and to consult the college of physicians about John Kennaird's [the King's] health: no cure no money. They may have what they please on that condition; but, otherwise, they may drive him to the necessity of putting himself into the hands of quacks, which would be much against his inclination. If Mr. Atterbury [Queen Anne] could be perswaded to dismiss Proby [the parliament], it would be a great point.

While the plenipotentiaries of France were on their way to Gertruydenberg, the earl of Middleton wrote a letter to Mr. Regner Leers, bookseller at Rotterdam, and sent him a memorial, to be communicated privately to some of the members of the States General. The letter is dated, at St. Germain, the 12th of March, 1710*.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 26, 27.

AFTER strong professions of personal affection and esteem, Middleton desires him to make what use of the memorial his own discretion should dictate to him; but enjoins him secrecy, as he had sent it without the knowledge of the court of France. He thinks that the excluding the King of England, and so many of his nearest heirs, from succeeding to the crown, will, for a long time, continue dissensions and wars in Europe, which his restoration alone can prevent; and to which he thinks the neighbouring states, and particularly the Dutch, are, in common prudence, bound to contribute. He asks a passport for a trusty person, whom his master might send privately to them, to assure them of his attachment, and to cultivate a good understanding with them.

Nairne's
papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
p. 5.

* "12th March, 1," Nairne, "sent away the French letter and memorial, directed, A Monsieur Regner Leers, libraire sur le Nieuhaven à Rotterdam."

In

In the memorial, the Pretender sets forth, that, as he will continue his efforts for his own restoration and the deliverance of his people, a solid peace can never be established, while so many millions of his subjects were well affected to him. A strict union with England was necessary for the United Provinces. His Majesty was sincerely disposed to cultivate a good understanding with the States; and, from their great wisdom and penetration, he hoped to meet with corresponding sentiments in them, and that they would find acts of friendship towards a prince who suffers unjustly, and never was their enemy, consistent with their own interest, and with the principles of honour and justice. England is the only rival of Holland in commerce, which will often occasion animosities, that will often terminate in open wars. It is the interest of the States to secure the friendship of the sovereign of that country. A Catholic King will be less in a condition to carry on a war against them, than a Protestant; and if he is but King of England, he can only carry on a war by sea; whereas a Protestant prince, who has considerable territories on the continent, and in their neighbourhood, can attack them by land, as well as by sea.

1710.
March,

He then recommends two points to their consideration. He asks their good offices at the ensuing treaty of peace, in obtaining a security for the payment of the dowry of the Queen his mother; and also a security for his own person, and for those who will follow him when he leaves France. He gives the same reasons for these demands which are contained in the memorials presented to the court of France last year.

It appears, that Leers wrote several letters, after receiving this memorial, to the earl of Middleton. There are copies, in Nairne's hand, of all his lordship's answers.

He writes to him, on the third of April, that it was not his intention to propose, that the States should, at this time, openly support all his master's pretensions. He only meant, that they should obtain favourable terms from the English, concerning his mother's dowry and his own personal security.

Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. iii.
4to. No. 5.

In another letter to him, of the same date, he writes: "I am ordered, in the first place, to thank you for having informed me, that your friends beyond the sea have consented to the payment of the dowry. I hope

Ibid.

1710.
April.

this payment will comprehend what is due for, at least, nine years back, as well as what will be due for the future. But with regard to the place to which the King is to retire, I am surpris'd, Sir, to see that Rome or Avignon is propos'd; and that Cologne or Liege are thought too near. I entreat you to consider, that his Majesty, by removing to too great a distance, would appear to renounce his pretensions. Now there is no hardship which he is not determin'd to suffer, rather than give room to suspect him of such meanness; and, though Avignon was situated near Ostend, his Majesty would never set his foot in it; because his enemies would contrive to make the general hatred to the Pope fall upon him. I can assure you, that the duke of Marlborough explain'd himself, last year, to Monsieur de Torcy, in such a way, as to make him conclude, that the King would be under no restraint, in choosing the place of his abode, nor oblig'd to confine himself to any particular place; and even that the English, by insisting that he should leave France, were oblig'd to provide for his subsistence."

Nairne's papers, D. N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 33.

"Instructions to our trusty and well-beloved Colonel Nathaniel Hooke, going, by our order, to Holland. Given at St. Germain's, the day of 1710, and in the ninth year of our reign."

1. **O**UR will and pleasure is, that you repair forthwith to the French plenipotentiaries in Holland, to receive and observe such directions as they shall give you, in pursuance of their instructions from the King their master, in matters relating to our interests in the present negotiations of peace, and to give them full and clear informations in our concerns.

2. That you should endeavour, with all possible discretion and caution, to become acquainted with the ministers of the principal confederated princes, or such as may influence them, to convince them of the justice of our cause, and the interest their master may have, in not opposing, at least, the general security which will be necessary for us at our retreat from France.

3. That you should labour, in an especial manner, with the English and Hollanders, for the Queen our mother's estate, of which she has been so violently deprived for above one and twenty years; that it may be securely

curely settled and paid for the future; and to take care that no form of acquittances be required, by which her Majesty may seem to own the present government of England. Nine years arrears may be asked; but not insisted on.

1710.
April.

4. If the English propose to the French, that they may pay what is necessary for our maintenance in foreign parts, it may be accepted, provided the article of agreement be clearly and absolutely expressed, without any restriction or doubtful clause, which may imply our departing from our right, or suspending our claim; and that the security and acquittances may be the same as the Queen our mother's, nor can the sum be less.

5. You are likewise to remind the French plenipotentiaries to demand an indemnity for those who followed the King our father and us, conform to the memorial you have on that subject.

6. We hereby authorise and require you to publish, at the signing of the treaty, our protestation; leaving wholly to your prudence the manner and method of performing of it.

7. You are to insinuate yourself amongst persons of all countries, especially our subjects, and to endeavour to remove all the fears and prejudices they may have conceived of us; in order to which, besides the arguments that occur to yourself, you may make use of the Scotch declaration, and what is contained in a paper called, "Reasons against the Succession of Hannover;" and if any unforeseen important matter happens on your representation, you shall have our orders concerning it.

8. You are to give full and frequent accounts of what passes to us, or one of our principal secretaries of state."

The Abbé de Polignac to the Earl of Middleton.

In his own hand.

Translation.

Gertrudenberg, 9th April, 1710.

"I do myself the honour, to-day, to write to their Britannick Majesties, to assure them of my most profound respects; and to tell them, that it has not been possible, as yet, to enter upon what concerns their

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1710.
April.

their interests, as the marquis de Torcy will give you to understand much better than I can tell it you. You may believe, if any thing could have been done, I would not have failed to have informed them of it; as I shall never fail in any thing which shall be for their service. I intreat you to help me to convince them of this truth. An officer, who says he is an Irishman, and who calls himself, if I am not mistaken, Johnston, is come to see us in this town, in order to ask a passport from us, and from me personally a letter for you, my lord; saying, that he is going to France to communicate to you things of great importance. As he had no letter of recommendation, which would make us farther acquainted with his religion, morals, and intentions, than from what he says himself, and as men whom one meets with in this way, are often of very doubtful characters, we contented ourselves with giving him a letter to the count de Saillant, who commands at Namur, telling him, that we did not know him; and as for me, I gave him the letter which he asked to your lordship, lest you should be deprived of that assistance, if he speaks the truth; but in case he lies, I am very well pleased to give you notice before-hand.

I presume to entreat you to offer my respects to the duke of Berwick, to my lord Perth, the abbé Innes, and all your court. I am, &c.

The letters which Polignac informs Middleton he wrote to the Queen and her son are as follow."

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. i. 4to.
No. 35.

The Abbé de Polignac to the Chevalier de St. George.

Translation.

Gertruydenberg, 9th April, 1710.

" I Would have done myself the honour of writing, long before now, to your Majesty, if the least opportunity had offered of mentioning your interests in this case. But the first step, which should pave the way for all others, has not yet been taken; and we cannot say when the difficulties attending it shall be surmounted, which, however, we must necessarily wait for, before we can enter upon any other subject. Your Majesty may readily believe, that I shall never fail in attention; and that I desire nothing with more ardour, than to render you all the small services in my power, as I would be extremely happy if the conjuncture

of the times could make them essential. I flatter myself, that your Majesty is convinced of my zeal, and of the very profound respect, as well as lively gratitude, with which I am, and will be all my lifetime, Sire, your Majesty's, &c."

1710.
April.

The same to the Queen.

Translation.

Gertruydenberg, 9th April, 1710.

Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. i. 4to.
No. 35.

"THE difficulties with which we have met, in entering on this negotiation, not having permitted us yet to carry it farther in this town, your Majesty's interests, nor those of the King your son, could not hitherto be mentioned. This is the reason why I have not sooner taken the liberty of writing to both the one and the other; and I take it now, only in order to express to your Majesties my impatience to see an opportunity in which I can give you proofs of my zeal for your service. In the mean time, I presume to intreat your Majesty to be thoroughly convinced of my wishes for your prosperity, as well as of the profound respect and perfect gratitude with which I am, Madam, your Majesty's, &c."

The Earl of Middleton to the Abbé de Polignac.

An Answer to the preceding.

Translation.

April 15th, 1710.

Nairne's Pa-
pers, vol. viii.
4to. No. 44.

"I Have received the letter which your Excellency did me the honour to write to me, on the 9th instant, with the two letters addressed to their Majesties, which I have delivered to them; and they have ordered me to assure you of their esteem, and of their joy for having so able and so affectionate a friend to take care of their interests. We know, from the printed proposals on both sides, that our affair was put off to the general treaty. I shall, therefore, say nothing about it at present. When you summon Mr. Hooke to repair to you, he will be intrusted with a particular detail.

We have had no news yet of Johnston. It is evident, that he is unknown to me, since he demanded such a strong introductory letter from you, as you wrote to Mr. de Saillant. But, if that adventurer does not explain.

1710.
April.

explain himself more clearly here, he will not be sent back for some time.

I am very impatient, that you should leave your Lazaretto, since your quarantine is finished. This gives an idea of the penance which was imposed in the first ages of the church.

I have no news. I don't meddle in politics. We submit ourselves to Providence. I entreat you, Sir, to be persuaded, that no one honours you more than your, &c.

I entreat you, Sir, to make my compliments, with Roman superlatives, to the mareschal de Huxelles."

Original.
Nairne's,
Papers, D.N.
vol. iii. 4to.
No. 6.
June.

The Chevalier de St. George to the Earl of Middleton.

In his own hand.

[Some cant names occur in this letter, which could not be explained.]

From the Camp at Arlieu, June the 2d.

"AT last, thanks to the irresolution of our generals, I have got a moment to write to you, and to acknowledge the receipt of all yours, which I have answered in the Queen's letters; not having time to write to any body else. As for news, you have it from her; so I have little to say of it. We are here, we know not why, knowing we are not well, always disputing and never resolving, just as at *

One would think our heads were turned; at least, Hector † seems to be near it: for there is neither rhyme nor reason in all he does, these three days past. You know, I suppose, of Coridon's concession, which was a very agreeable surprise to me. I have a little cousin here, who seems to be a pretty young man. But I find *neips* and *rasades* is the etiquette of the family. My equipage is in great order, and Booth looks after the accounts mighty well. I find it is enough to be out of St. Germain's to have one's health; for I don't remember ever to have had it better than it is now. The Queen finds it so too, and I hope you do

* Probably Versailles.

† The Chevalier de St. George, in his letter to lord Middleton, generally calls the mareschal de Villars by this name. Hector was the mareschal's Christian name. He had a great affection for the Chevalier.

the fame in your hermitage. Our general has a *guinguette*, in which I go every where. He manages himself; but not enough. If Coridon were left alone, he would do much better. He has no equipage, and so is forced to spring upon us by turns. Hooke is arrived, with a post-horse, and has got a brigade of 600 men. Mrs. Heries has a post in the army. But the King of Clubs doth not serve this year, nor Legal neither. We have several general officers you don't know; and, though we have near four-score, we make a shift to want more. Our friend Albergotti doth wonders †. Jammon Agipin says the bombs have quite cured him of his spleen. Adieu. We are going to dinner, and to go abroad a gazing to no purpose. If you see Mr. Sheldon [de Torcy], remember me very kindly to him. I hope he is out of his mouldygrubs. For Mr. Dorington [French King], I suppose, he out-doth us in irresolution."

1710.
June.

The Earl of Middleton to Abram.

Chaillot, 13th June, 1710.

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
p. 9.

"**H**E writes to him, that he could not answer Mr. Lamb's two letters, as they were written in a language he did not understand, and persons mentioned absolute strangers to him; and that no prudent means were omitted, in relation to Honyton and Morstein."

Honyton is Mr. Harley. It is not known certainly who is meant by Morstein, but perhaps it may be Mrs. Masham. Mr. Lamb, who gave the long memorial on the state of affairs in Britain, inserted among the papers of this year, will be found, in the course of the correspondence, to be the famous nonjuror clergyman, Mr. Lesley."

James Ogilvie, the writer of the following letter, was one of those interested persons who wished to derive some advantage to themselves, from betraying the secrets of the court of St. Germain's to the British government. Ogilvie, however, was such a clumsy impostor, that he was detected by the pretender himself, as well as by his servants, before he could glean any intelligence worthy of reward.

† He commanded at Doway then besieged by the Allies.

1710.
June.
Nairne's
Papers, D N.
vol. iii. 4to.
No. 18.

*James Ogilvie to the Earl of Middleton.
Concerning the situation of affairs in Scotland, where they are impatient for
news from St. Germain's.*

My Lord,

Verfailles, 16th June, 1710.

" I Had letters from Scotland, of the 9th of May, from the North, and of the 19th from Edinburgh, wherein all your friends mark their impatience to have some comfortable accounts from this side, considering the present situation of affairs, both in England and Scotland, that were never so favourable. They assure me, that all our friends continue firm, and more zealous than ever; and wants nothing but an opportunity to shew their good inclinations; and that there are severals of note, that have never yet declared their intentions, that would join them, if they could hope for the least encouragement, or knew any thing from this side of his Majesty's designs or resolutions.

I am informed the earl of Errol is very much recovered of his distemper, and that the earl Marischal, who has been in a most dangerous condition, is much better; so that they begin to have hopes of him.

All your lordship's friends in Angus and Perthshire are very well, and wish nothing more than to hear from this side; being a little surpris'd that they are advertis'd of nothing of what may be resolv'd in the present favourable conjuncture, from those they trust in.

I thought it my duty to give your lordship this account; which, if your lordship thinks fit, may be made known to the Queen; and, if her Majesty has any commands for me, either as to what I am to answer to these letters or any thing else, I hope your lordship will do me the honour to acquaint me; being, with all profound respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble servant,

JAMES OGILVIE.

Chevalier

Chevalier de St. George to the Earl of Middleton.

This letter is in the Pretender's own hand.

He had seen Ogilvie and suspected him.—He wishes he had Middleton along with him.—He writes about his own health, and inquires about that of his sister.

1710.
July.
Original.
Nairne's pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. iii. 4to.
No. 8.

Arras, July 4, 1710.

"I Have just seen Ogilvie, who sent me word yesterday he had more to say to me, than was in his paper, which you have. This more was no great matter, though much more than I believe; he pretends to have seen lord Athol, Braidalbin, &c. and that they say, that, if the King of France cannot be brought to help them, they will do my business themselves, provided I come to them. But then he brings no other security of what he says, but his own word, and an ample credential from lord Drummond, whom he affirms to be sent by the rest. How improbable all this is, you may easily see. However, not to seem to suspect the man, I was very civil to him, and took all he said as argent comptant, for fear he should think to be discovered, and disappear before the Queen's answer comes, which I shall expect before I do any more in the matter. In the mean time, he says, lord Drummond won't stir from Gand, where he now is, till he receives my farther orders. This man is certainly employed by the government, to betray my friends; so that when he comes to you (for I suppose the Queen will think that necessary) one cannot have too great an eye over him, till one can, at least, hear from Scotland, what ground there is for what he affirms. But I refer to the Queen, to do, in this matter, what she thinks fit. She has yourself and a few others to consult, and I am here alone, which is far from easy to me, upon many accounts. But necessity has no law; and that alone could have made me not carry you along with me; though, at present, I really begin to believe I shall not be long from you; for the enemies immobility looks very like a truce. I am sure we want it, for we have no money, bread but hardly, though hitherto exactly enough, and our list not above half complete. I shall say nothing of my health, for you know from the Queen how that goes with me; but am now at ease, that I am well enough to go to the army, if there be appearance of action. My sister is charmed with your complaisance in being her conductor in all her forties, and, by what I can find, she is as

1710.
July.

well pleased to be at Chaliot, as you are to be out of St. Germain's. 'Tis a fine evening, so I must end, to go and take a walk in a prettier place, I believe, than you have in your palace at Chaliot, though I hear it is very magnificent."

Nairne's Pa-
pers, vol. viii.
4to. No. 45.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

About James Ogilvie who wrote the preceding letter.—He was suspected to be a spy from England.

Translation.

July 5, 1710.

"SOME years ago, Mr. Ogilvie was accused of being a man who had sold himself to the government of England, and we expect him here to-morrow. He passed through Ipres, and from thence to Arras, where he presented himself to the King, my master, who recollected directly, the informations he had of him; however, he heard him favourably, though he advanced tales equally false and ridiculous. He has named several persons of known probity, but without proofs, except my lord Drummond, the eldest son of the duke of Perth, a man of strict honour. But he is not the first, who has allowed himself to be surpris'd by the artifices of a rogue*. The Queen believes it will be necessary to send him to the Bastile. He shall be sent to you, as if it were to give you an account of his business. He will have a letter from

Ibid. D. N.
vol. iii. 4to.
No. 9.

* Lord Drummond's father appears to have had a different opinion of Ogilvie, for he writes to the Earl of Middleton about him, on the 14th of August.

The Duke of Perth to the Earl of Middleton.

My Lord,

August 14, 1710.

"THE Queen will show Monsieur de Torcy's letter, for my son, to your lordship. If my son saw the other that is for me, he would soon be with us. But he must not know, that they would wish him here. I cannot imagine what they mean, by further and more clear informations. If they want pilots, they shall have them, both for the West and East. The disposition of the country has been laid before them again and again. If they intend any thing, what would they know, that is not already fully made plain. Your lordship will let the Queen know, that if O—— be thought the fittest to carry the letters, he is still at Paris; and one may say more by word to him, than is fit to be put in writing. I hope I need not use many asseverations to assure you, that I am, my lord, &c.

PERTH."

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me to introduce him, in order that you may dispose of him as you choofe. But I hope you will reflect upon the mischief which his return may occasion to a number of honest men.

1710.
July.

The prosecution of Sacheverell having destroyed the influence of the Whig-ministry with the people, the Earl of Sunderland, the son-in-law of Marlborough, was dismissed from the office of secretary of state, in June. A total change, in the servants of the crown, was no longer a matter of doubt with the nation; though the persons who composed the administration, used all their art to intimidate the Queen, that they themselves might retain their power. The monied interest in the city, in particular the governour and directors of the bank, represented the danger of turning out the lord-treasurer, and such persons as he could trust. The duke of Marlborough had influence sufficient with the allies, to induce them to interfere in the cause of his party. The comte de Galas, ambassador for the Emperor and King Charles the Third, together with Vrybergen, the Dutch ambassador, represented to the Queen, the danger of making any change among her servants. She however, though she answered them politely, seemed determined not to comply with their demands, except in the article of the duke of Marlborough's continuing in the command of the army. The duke himself, with his usual address and coolness, affected to acquiesce in the Queen's pleasure. But he seems to have entered privately into a scheme of revenge, by his renewing, with more warmth, his correspondence with the court of St. Germain. The following letter from the earl of Middleton, will throw a complete light upon this subject.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

Inclosing a Letter from the Queen to the Duke of Marlborough.

Translation.

SIR,

6th July, 1710.

“MY lord Churchill, having begun to make some advances to serve the King of England, in his letter to the Mareschal de Berwick, to which no answer hath been made; and altho’ he is not a man to be depended upon, yet it was always your opinion, that it was necessary to treat him with attention, and his present situation induces us to do so

now

Nairne's
papers,
vol. viii. 4to.
No. 46.

1710.
July.

now more than ever; because, being obliged to form new engagements for his own safety, there is reason to fear, that if we neglect him, he will attach himself to the family of Hannover, which would be such a fatal blow, that we must employ all possible means to parry it. These several considerations have induced the Queen to write him a letter, of which I inclose to you a translation, and her Majesty begs of you, Sir, to write to the Marechal de Villars, to put under his cover, the letter which the chevalier de St. George will give him, and to send it to his adversary by the first trumpet, in order to avoid the difficulty of sending it contrary to orders. a m, Sir, &c."

The copy of this letter among Mr. Nairne's papers is indorsed, "To Mr. de Torcy, with the translation of a letter to Gurney [Marlborough]." Immediately after it, there is a paper, entituled, "Heads of a letter to Gurney."

It appears to be the first draught of the English original, of which Middleton sent the following translation to de Torcy.

Nairne's Pa-
pers, vol.
viii. 4to.
No. 46.

A Letter from the Queen to Gurney [Marlborough], July, 1710.

Translation.

"**W**HAT you wrote to your nephew, on the 13th of the last month, is of so great importance to Mr. Matthews [the King] and yourself, that I think myself obliged, for your interest and his, to write to you my opinion of it, with my own hand; your nephew, who set out from this place suddenly, being now at too great a distance.

I shall tell you, in the first place, that as I was glad to find you still continue in your good resolutions towards Mr. Matthews [the King], I was surpris'd, on the other hand, to see that you had a design of quitting every thing, as soon as the peace was concluded; for I find that to be the only means of rendering you useless to your friends, and your retreat may prove dangerous likewise to yourself; you are too large a mark, and too much exposed for malice to miss; and your enemies will never believe themselves in safety, until they have ruined you. They will reduce the army, and the troops that are allowed to stand, will be all compos'd of their own creatures. All the civil offices and military employments will be fill'd by men who are of their party. They will change the officers of
the

the revenue, and the credit of these new officers, with the influence which the preachers of their party have over the people, will not fail to produce a new parliament of a very different temper from the present: thus your enemies will have all the power to hurt you, and you know well, they will not want the inclination.

1710.
July.

I beseech you, therefore, to reflect well, before you deprive yourself of the means you have in your hands, to support yourself and to assist your friends.

But, as you are lost, if you quit your employments, I see likewise, on the other hand, that it will be very difficult for you to keep yourself in office, as things are now situated, so that your interest itself declares now for your honour. You cannot be in safety without doing justice, nor preserve your greatness without discharging your duty, and the time is precious to you as well as for us.

The advice you give us, in sending us to the new favourite (*lady*) is very obliging; but what can we hope from a stranger who has no obligation to us? Whereas, we have all the reasons in the world to depend upon you, since we have now but the same interest to manage, and you have the power to put Mr. Matthews [the King] in a condition to protect you. Lay aside then, I beseech you, your resolutions of retiring. Take courage, and without losing more time, send us a person in whom you have an entire confidence; or if you have not such a man with you, allow us to send you one whom we may trust, in order to concert measures for our common interest, which can never be properly done by letters. We shall know, by your speedy and positive answer to this letter, what judgment we can form of our affairs.

I must not finish my letter, without thanking you, for promising to assist me in my suit at the treaty of peace. My cause is so just, that I have all reason to hope I shall gain it; at least, I flatter myself, that Mr. [Matthews's sister [princess of Denmark] is of too good a disposition to oppose it."

Marlborough's letter, to which the preceding is an answer, is referred to in the following to the earl of Middleton. It is in the chevalier de St. George's own hand. Captain Gray and the Pratler, are supposed to be

1710.
July.
Original.
Nairne's pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. iii. 4to.
No. 8.

be James Ogilvie and lord Drummond. But it is not clear who are the young Hollander and Mordecai, unless the latter is the duke of Marlborough.

The Chevalier de St. George to the Earl of Middleton.

Marlborough corresponds about him with the Duke of Berwick and the Marechal de Villars.—There are rumours of a peace.—The campaign inactive.

Arras, July 25, 1710.

"I Received, this morning, yours of the 22d; but have not yet heard of the young Hollander, who is, I suppose, at Peronne, waiting for a convoy to come hither, by opportunity. The more I hear of captain Gray, the worse I like him. I am sure I don't believe one word he says; but since there is nothing to be done out of hand, there is yet no harm done, though I confess I am still of opinion, that, if it were possible, he should be kept in France, for fear of the worst. In the meantime what you propose of writing to Mordecai is absolutely necessary, and the sooner the better. When I receive the Queen's packet, I shall, I suppose, know the end of the business; and, till then, can say no more of it.

I shall not write to the Queen to-day, having nothing to say to her more than what is above. Present my duty to her. I am sorry my sister's bleeding succeeded so ill: but I hope now she is well, she will not want it. I have, at last, quite done with physick, and I hope, with my ague, and that with only ten doses of quinquina; but shall still keep possession of my gate house, till the army removes, which must be soon. Our Hector [Villars] doth talk of fighting in his chariot; but I don't believe him, especially now that the conferences of peace are certainly renewed. M. de Vauban, who came from Bethune, on Wednesday, was told so by some of the enemy's generals. Letters from Tournay speak of it, and now even the gazettes themselves. I cannot but hope now they will break off no more. I am sure Mrs. Betty [himself] heartily wishes it, that she may quit Mr. Williams's country [France], of which she is quite weary, on all accounts. You will have seen, before this, Gurney's [Marlborough's] letter to Daniel * [duke of Berwick], and another

* There is very little about Marlborough's correspondence with the duke of Berwick in Mr. Nairne's papers; but it appears by a letter from the marquis de Torcy to

Lewis

another to Hector [Villars], in which Follett's [the Queen's] children are spoke of. I find Hector very willing to do any thing in his power for them. If you have any thing to propose, I will speak to him, that he may do it by the next opportunity. I shall go to the King's quarters † to-day, where, by contraries, I shall know more concerning peace. I was last night at M. de Rohan's, who gave a great *feste*. There was play, musick, a very great and good supper, and then dancing and masks. I left them at 12 o'clock, with the resolution of sitting up till day light. There were there about a dozen generals, who, if it were not for a *feste* now and then, would be very much *ennuie*, in this place, where they have but one day in three weeks to be employed in the army. You need not send me the duke of Berwick's *feuille*, for he sends it me *en droiture* in eight days; if he is not here in ten days, I shall reckon the peace sure. Adieu. My compliments to lady Middleton.

I am in amaze, that Prattler doth employ such people as Gray, though I am glad to find he doth not believe him now, in all things. Your answer to Gray's pumping question was very right. If the weight of the nation lays in the Bubble's head, it is the lightest weight that ever was."

Lewis XIV. dated from the Hague, the 12th of May, 1709, that letters on some interesting subjects passed between them.

"After he (the duke of Marlborough) had consulted the pensionary, and made a number of excuses and compliments for the liberty he took, in appointing me an hour and not paying the first visit, I went to him after dinner: were I to relate all the protestations he made, of his profound respect and attachment to your Majesty, and of the desire he has one day of meriting your protection, I should fill my letter with things less essential than those I am going to mention. His speeches are florid: I observed, in what he said to me, a great deal of art, in naming the duke of Berwick and the marquis of Allegre. I availed myself, Sir, of this circumstance, to make him sensible in the course of our conversation, that I was not ignorant of the particulars of their correspondence with him, and that your sentiments were not changed. He blushed, and proceeded to the proposals of peace.

† He means the quarters of the *Maison du Roi*.

Memoirs of
the Marquis
de Torcy,
vol. i. p. 303.
English translation.

1710.
August.
Original.
Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. iii. 4to.
No. 8.

The Chevalier de St. George to the Earl of Middleton.

He wishes he had Lord Middleton along with him, but his Lordship was more necessary where he was.—The campaign would finish soon.—The Marechal de Villars forwarded the Queen's letter to the Duke of Marlborough.

Camp of Fornu, August 2, 1710.

“**YOU** know very well it was far from my inclination not to carry you along with me to the camp; but, at the same time, the reasons which hindered me from doing it, have not hindered me often from regretting the want of your company: since I am here, I said something of it in my letters to the Queen; and I find, by what she said, you understood I ordered you to come down, which was a mistake, as she will have told you before this; for as much as I desire your company, and to have at least one wise man with me, yet I think you will be more necessary where you are than here, and therefore I must prefer my interest to my private satisfaction, especially now that I am half seas over. I thought to have gone out this evening, but the weather is so hot, that I shall take this day's rest, after the two last days work. Booth tells you our news; so I shall only add, that we begin now to hope we shall end the campaign on the banks of the Canihe. Our general doth all he can to end his with the enemy; and I left him just now in hopes of at last compassing that work: but I said too much on that article yesterday, and am resolved to say no more of it, but mere matter of fact; but I own it is hard not to lose patience, when other people lose their reason. I was surprised to find, by my sister's letter of the 30th, that the Queen had been ill at Marli, but am mighty glad it is so well over. Present her my duty.

I gave the Marechal this day the Queen's packet, which I reckon gone by this time. Though Follette has said nothing of her children, yet Hector has again writ about them. I could not put off his writing about them till I heard from you, because he had now no other pretence, as I thought he had. Pray send me back Gourney's [Marlborough's] letter to him, for he wants the name of the colonel that is in it. I suppose my journey in *querpo* is out of doors, and I hope the man that pro-

posed it is in prison *. If it is to be, we shall at least not want cowards."

1710.
August.

After this letter, there is a paper in the earl of Middleton's hand. It alludes to the disturbances occasioned in England by Sacheverel's trial. It mentions an advice which Marlborough gave the court of St. Germain, and a proposal to be made to the court of France.

The paper is as follows:

"SINCE it has pleased God to spread the spirit of confusion amongst the King's enemies, whereby they both concur for his miraculous restoration; the church, by proving the monarchy to be hereditary; the conventicle, that on that principle which they cannot confute, the revolution was a rebellion, and the princess Anne has no title, but a violent usurpation; there is no presumption to rely on providence, rather than to embark in a desperate affair, which may serve only to reconcile your enemies, and verify what Gurney [Marlborough] says.

Nairne's
papers, D. N.
vol. iii. 4to.
No. 8.

The great is not to be hoped for from hence, and the little ought not to be accepted, without all his own subjects †; therefore, his Majesty may order this to be told to Monf. de Torcy; if it is refused, the case is too plain to need an explanation ‡."

The demand referred to here is made in the following letter and memorial, which are both in Nairne's hand.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

Sends him a memorial—the reason why—the subject—and its importance.

Ibid. vol. ii.
fol. No. 32.

Translation.

SIR,

Chaillot, August 29, 1710.

"YOU would have received the inclosed memorial sooner, if it had not been necessary to send it first to the King, my master, in order

* He probably means Ogilvie, and the expedition to Scotland proposed by him.

† He means all the Irish troops in the French service, which were computed to amount to between three and four thousand men.

‡ The court of St. Germain had long doubted the sincerity of France in their cause.

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to have his approbation, and receive his orders concerning it. Although we were unwilling to repeat over again former memorials, it was, however, judged necessary to put you in mind of some principal points. You will find in it again the word Capital; for if you begin with this project, you will find every thing that is necessary to make it so. But, if in preference, you mean to execute every other design, and to put off this as superfluous, I own, before hand, you will find nothing in it.

All that is new in this memorial is, the state of England, and the demand made of the Irish troops. As to what regards England, it is a matter of indifference to you whether the parliament be dissolved or not; or whether the high or the low church prevail. You will always find they are your enemies; and I am very sorry, Sir, to tell you, that even our friends will do nothing for you, while you do nothing for them. They don't believe you are disposed to do any thing; and there is nothing but an actual landing which can cure them of their credulity. That will contribute to conceal the design in that country; but it will be more difficult to conceal it here, because all conversations at the Thuilleries, and in Coffee-houses, run upon this project; and the voice of the people desire it, as the only remedy to their calamities.

With regard to the demand of the Irish troops, I consider it as granted, because it cannot be conjectured from what motive it can be refused; since, besides the convincing reasons of the memorial, the Irish making but half the number of troops which was proposed, the armies will be less diminished by it, and they will be transported with less difficulty, and at less expence; and it is essential to the service to do every thing which humanly may secure its success, since thereby we shall gain our cause.

If the bad news from Spain are confirmed, they should forward this project, because he will be more pressed on all sides, and you will have no favourable prospect from any other quarter. In short, it is necessary to determine upon something. Even though this project should be difficult, a peace is impossible; therefore there is no choice. I am, Sir, &c."

A Me-

A Memorial to the marquis de Torcy, dated at Chaillot, the 29th August, 1710, and sent with the preceding letter.

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Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 32.

A recapitulation of former memorials.—The present disposition of the Scotch, and of the Irish.—The present state of England;—and the opinions of the opposite parties.—The King offers to make a descent in Scotland with the Irish troops.—The place of embarkation.

Translation.

“**I**N the several memorials which have been formerly presented to the court of France from his Britannic Majesty, concerning his re-establishment, it hath been shown, that a well-concerted enterprize against Scotland would be the most certain means to accomplish it; and that that enterprize would, at the same time, be the most efficacious, not to say the sole means, to break the confederacy of the enemy, and to re-establish France in its former superiority: that all the other means tried till then, whether by force of arms or by negotiations, had produced no effect: that the enterprize against Scotland had been tried only once: that it was evident to all the world it would have succeeded, if several obstacles had not occurred; and that both friends and enemies acknowledged that, if his Britannic Majesty had landed then, all Scotland would have declared for him, the bank of England would have been shut up, and consequently the government of England overturned, and the league dissolved.

It hath been shown, in these memorials, that the changes which happened in Scotland since that time, were all advantageous to the King; that the people were irritated more than ever against the present government, on account of the bad treatment they had received from it: that, at the same time, no one had deserted the King's party, even after the bad success of that enterprize: that no secret had been ever kept like this one; since, of so great a number, both of the nobility and of the principal persons among the commoners, there was not one who would acknowledge any thing, or accuse any of those who had been apprehended, notwithstanding all the threatenings and all the promises of the government; and that witnesses could never be found to condemn any one of those who have been apprehended, whatever efforts were made by the

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servants of the government for that purpose; so that there can be no doubt of the good disposition of the Scots.

With regard to the Irish, it hath been likewise shown, in these memorials, that their disposition hath been always the same with regard to their lawful sovereign, founded upon interest, liberty, and religion; and it may be added, that the Catholics, who are at least six to one Protestant, are reduced to such despair, by the last persecution of the English government, and are more disposed than ever to hazard all, and to undertake every thing, in order to free themselves from the oppression they suffer.

It is very true, that in the memorials which have been hitherto presented, the same assurances could not be given of the disposition of England; all that could be said of it, with certainty, was that an insurrection in Scotland, in the King's favour, would have thrown the affairs of England into confusion. But now, it is very evident, that the surprising changes which have for some time appeared in the affections of the people of England, and which are seen to increase every day, leave not the smallest room to doubt of their being well disposed towards their lawful sovereign.

Two parties, animated to an extreme against one another, evidently establish the right of that prince in their public writings. The high church maintain, as a principle of their religion, that it is never allowable to resist their King for any cause whatsoever; and that the hereditary succession is a law so fundamental, that the parliament itself cannot change it. The low church, to show the high to be enemies to the present government, maintain, that the consequence of the first of these principles is, that the government, since the Revolution, hath been but a continued usurpation, and that the princes who have occupied the throne, have been but usurpers; and that the consequence of the second principle is, that the Pretender must be acknowledged as lawful King. The people, attentive spectators of this dispute, have no difficulty in concluding that both the one and the other are in the right; and the princess, who is in possession, by taking the high church into her confidence, and giving them the best employments, seems to declare intelligibly enough, what are her inclinations towards her brother. This far the invisible hand of Providence

Providence hath already conducted this affair; employing even its greatest enemies to advance it, without their perceiving it.

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It is therefore very evident, that the present situation of his Britannic Majesty's affairs is more favourable than ever; and that, according to all appearances, he need only have patience for a little time, as several of his Majesty's friends in that country advice him, and leave Providence to act, in order to enter into the possession of his right, by the means of his own subjects alone.

But, however well founded these hopes of his Britannic Majesty from his own subjects may be, he is not the less sensibly affected with the bad state of the affairs of France; and this is what induces him to offer now again to expose his person in a second attempt in Scotland, in order to procure to France a peace, of which she has so much need, providing the Irish troops are given to him to attend him in the enterprize. This he judges so absolutely necessary for the interest of France, as well as his own, that, without it, he believes it is needless to think of such a project.

His Britannic Majesty would wish that he had no occasion for any troops for this expedition. But, however well assured he may be of the good will of the greatest part of Scotland, yet, as all the fortresses, as well as the regular troops of the country, are in the hands of the government, and ready to act by their orders, it is absolutely necessary, for the security of his Majesty's person, as well as for the success of the enterprize, that he should have a sufficient number of troops with him at landing, to oppose the enemy, until his faithful subjects have time to assemble and to join him. The prince of Orange, although he was sure, before hand, of all the most considerable men in England, and even of the chief officers in the army of the late King of England, as appeared sufficiently by the event, judged, however, that it was improper to undertake the enterprize without being attended with fourteen thousand regular troops.

In the former memorials, the King of England could never demand less than six thousand men; his subjects having always asked eight thousand men to secure the success of the expedition. It is true, in lord Drummond's last memorial, three thousand men only are mentioned.

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But it is likewise true, that that nobleman does not deny, but he has concerted his projects with the Highlanders alone, without the knowledge of the chief men in the low country, who compose the greatest part of the nation. Yet his Britannic Majesty, considering how difficult it would be to transport a greater number, has limited his demand to the Irish troops, his own subjects; who, at the end of the campaign, will be scarce three thousand effective men. What absolutely determines his Majesty to ask the Irish is, that they speak the same language, and are accustomed to the hardy manner of living of the country; and that, of each Irish regiment, two or three may be formed, by incorporating with them the new levies of the country: besides, that it will be impossible to keep the Irish in France, after they know that the King is landed in Scotland.

But there is likewise a reason, which his Majesty thinks he should not pass over in silence, and which appears to him to be very essential; namely, that the allies will no sooner see the landing succeed, than, dreading the consequences with which it must be infallibly attended to their disadvantage, they will make fraudulent proposals of peace to France, in order to ward off the blow. One of these proposals will be, to desire the most Christian King to withdraw the troops who may have followed that prince; and, as his most Christian Majesty will not choose to do so, he will have a very justifiable excuse, in saying, that they are not his subjects, but the subjects of the King of England, which he could not say if they were native Frenchmen.

With regard to the transport of troops and other necessaries, in which the greatest difficulty consists, those who have experience in maritime affairs are the best, or rather the only judges of that affair. What is very certain and necessary to be remarked here, is, that, unless this enterprise is considered as a capital object to the state, difficulties will occur on all hands to discourage, and imaginary dangers, which will become real when things are done by halves: so that, to attempt it, in any other view, will be useless to France and hurtful to the King of England. But, if his most Christian Majesty will find this expedition of importance enough to consider it as a capital object; in that case, money, arms, and ammunition, as well as ships and troops, will be found without any difficulty; and he will likewise find sea-officers, who will undertake it, and who, with God's assistance, will accomplish it.

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The port of Dunkirk has its advantages for the embarkation, on account of the neighbourhood of the troops and the shortness of the passage. But the secret can never be kept: for every thing that is done there is known the next day at Ostend; and when once the English and the Dutch have discovered the design, they will be always in a condition to thwart it.

It appears then, that Brest would be more suitable, because the enemy could not easily hinder the vessels from sailing from that port, as was seen by experience, during the war in Ireland. In case the preference is given to that port, the Irish troops should be put into winter-quarters in the neighbouring provinces.

It might be likewise examined, whether Portpassage, near Fontarabia, was fit for embarkation. In that case, the Irish regiments might be sent to that quarter, as if they were to go to serve in Spain; and his Britannic Majesty might repair thither, under the same pretext, and his removing at a distance from his kingdoms would conceal the design.

In the case the troops embark at Brest or at Portpassage, they may land anywhere on the west coast of Scotland, from Kirkcudbright to the mouth of the river Clyde. It is true, there is no fortified harbour there, nor in any other part of Scotland, which would render the landing more easy. But, at the same time, the ships could not remain there afterwards, in safety, in case they were pursued by a superior force.

With regard to pilots, they might be had from that country, though not without giving some suspicion of the design. But, as ships from Glasgow, Air, and Kirkcudbright, come ordinarily towards the month of November, to Nantz and Bourdeaux, sailors to serve as pilots might be taken out of them, on different pretences. Besides that, some might be found among the French privateers, who cruize frequently on that coast; as five or six of these privateers, not long ago, made a descent in Scotland, near Air, from whence they carried away some cattle and alarmed the country. It may be known from them, where they got their pilots, and their method may be followed.

The squadron, sailing from Brest or from Portpassage, may steer their course through St. George's channel, or round the west of Ireland: the first is the shortest course; but is esteemed the most dangerous. Yet the English merchant-ships daily pass through that channel, at all seasons.

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In sailing along the coast of Ireland, some Irish officers may be landed, with arms, &c. in order to put the inhabitants in a condition to rise.

But, without entering into a more ample detail of the measures which should be taken to secure the success of the expedition; and referring, for that purpose, to former memorials, we shall only repeat, in concluding, that the success will entirely depend on the manner in which the enterprise is considered, as of greater or less importance to France. It is the business of his most Christian Majesty to judge of this, by his consummate prudence; and to determine according to the interest of his own affairs."

The following anecdote deserves credit, from collateral proofs. There is no doubt but Marlborough and Godolphin had talked about a scheme of restoring the Pretender some time or other, without the assistance of France. Godolphin was probably sincere; so would Marlborough have been, should the thing itself happen to suit his interest.

Carte's Memorandum-book, marked vol. xi. 4to. p. 38.

"**L**ORD Godolphin had certainly the best head and capacity for a minister of state of any man in England; and was a man that no country in the world might be ashamed of. He had not the least tincture of avarice, and was the uncorruptest man in his time, in the management of the treasury and discharge of his offices. He was lord chamberlain to King James's Queen, who had always (as Mr. Dillon told me, April, 22d 1724) a very great opinion of him; and Mr. Dillon believes he really intended to serve the King. He has sent many of his letters to that Queen; and the letters are still in being.

One reason, perhaps, why he did not execute what he projected, was his cowardice. Nobody could have more of that temper of mind; and he was so susceptible of fear, that the Whigs could bully and frighten him into any thing.

This has made me remember what the E. of A., who was very intimate with him, told me, in 1716, viz. That lord Godolphin was the truest and sincerest friend to the King, that he ever had; and that, after his disgrace, on Dr. Sacheverel's trial, about a month after he was turned out, making him a visit, lord Godolphin expressed his concern at his being turned out, before he had restored the King: that he had been in unhappy circumstances and distressed by the Tories: that all his ministry had

Had been spent in a struggle with the junto, whose hands the Tories had forced him into; but that he saw himself at last master over them, when he was turned out on occasion of the trial, which he was no ways concerned at but on the King's account. That, however, he was of opinion, lord Oxford would restore him; but he would make France necessary to it, which himself would not have done; for he would have restored him alone, and made the French know how poorly they had treated him, and how little they deserved at his hands; and the E. of A. believed him."

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Mr. Charles Booth was groom of the bedchamber at St. Germain's. He attended the Chevalier de St. George during the campaign of 1710, which is called "The King's third campaign:" from the 16th of May to the 8th of September, he wrote upwards of an hundred letters to the earl of Middleton, giving him the news of the campaign, and an account of his master's health and conduct. The following passages are extracts from these letters.—"May the 18th, Mr. Tunstall * was here; he had a long conference with my lord Churchill, who asked him several times, what was the reason your lordship was not with the prince of Wales. He made answer, it was to save charges. "One more would not augment it much."

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. iii. 4to.
No. 6.

June 20th. "The King went out to day to take the air, having none with him but us three; when we came to our out-guards, we saw the enemy and our people talking across a very little river; he sent me to inquire if there were any English. I found several English and Scots. I inquired after several of their people, and sent my service to them; they put my name and those I inquired after in their tablets. I told them, I was there waiting on the Chevalier de St. George; by that time the King was come pretty near. I shewed him to them, then rode up to the King, and Mr. Hamilton was resolved to speak to them; they were gone from the bank of the river; but I called after one of them, who came back. Mr. Hamilton sent his service to lord Marlborough and lord George, and shewed them the King who was on the bank of the river."

* Mr. Tunstall signs his letters, and is frequently mentioned in Middleton and Carryl's letters, under the name of Trevers.

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June 25th.—“An officer of theirs came towards the river, (the Chevalier was reconnoitring with Mareschal Villars, and Booth and Strickland were detached to see if the enemy would fire or talk to them) which made us push on. I inquired for all I knew, and some I did not. They answered me very civilly; I desired my service to them, which gave me an opportunity of telling my name. He said, he knew my name and my employment. But just then came in Jack the Frenchman. I went a little lower, where was about fifteen English officers; we saluted one another.—Your cousin Howarth is well, I saw him to day. You may believe how many services I sent him, and all friends with them, and how gladly I should be to serve any of them. Their answers were just the same.”

June 26th.—“I found major Hamilton that your lordship saw at —, Captain Murray was there before, and told his old acquaintance the Chevalier was not far off. Will he not come this way, says he, that we may see him: Mr. Murray told the King: the King came up. There were about ten or twelve officers. Mr. Murray asked Hamilton, what news they had of a peace. He said, they durst not talk of it before prince Eugene; but when they were with the Dutch, they talked of nothing else.”

July 13th.—“This day, I sent by Lumney's trumpet six medals*, one to him, one to lord George, one to lieutenant general Withers, one to lieutenant general Wood, and one to the major I had the discourse over the water with, and one to a friend of mine that will not hide it. I writ to Mr. Pitts, lord Churchill's master of horse, about some business I have with him, and told him all here were perfectly well.”

July 21th.—“The Mareschal de Villars asked what news from England; when I told him I knew none, he said all things went well, and that there would be a new parliament, and that the doctor (Sacheverel) had a great party for him.”

* The dukes of Gordon presented one of these medals the next year to the Faculty of Advocates in Scotland. It had a head on the right side, with this legend, *Cujus est?* and on the reverse, the British islands, with this motto, *Reddite*. These medals were struck upon the hopes which the manner of asserting the doctrines of hereditary right and passive obedience, during and after Sacheverel's trial, gave the Jacobites.

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July 23d.—“ The King commands me to give your lordship an account how I disposed of the medals, after I had sent some of them to the lieutenant generals by their own trumpets, that did not know what they carried. I proposed to the King and Mr. Hamilton, to send one or two to lord Churchill's master of the horse, because I was in commerce of letters with him; they seemed not to like it, but left it to me, conditionally it might not appear the King knew of it. I told the King, those I had already sent were so ordered, that they could not suspect he had any knowledge of it: so I had *carte blanche*. One of Nugent's trumpets going to their army three days ago, I had occasion to write to Mr. Pitts, and as a postscript, I told him I had given the trumpet some new coin; that he would see none such in the contribution money; if he were curious, he might see it, and keep it if he liked it; if not, send it back by the trumpet. After he had read my letter, the trumpet, as I had ordered him, was going away, to see if Pitts would call for them. What! says he, Mr. Booth writes, you have something for me; so the trumpet gave them to him. The trumpet being an Irishman, Pitts did not speak one word to him; but in the morning he called a trumpet of the guard-de-corps into his chamber, and shewed the medals to him, and bid him tell me, he would give the medals back when he saw me, but never before. The French trumpet came to me before the Irishman came home, and asked me what those medals were; for that above thirty English officers spoke to him to bring them medals. The fellow told them what was true, he did not know what they meant. When you come back, go to the Chevalier de St. George's, and desire of the chamberlain (which is the trumpet's translation of groom of the bedchamber) to send us some medals, for he has sent many here, and he will give you more. The trumpet told me, lord Churchill enquired very particularly how the Chevalier de St. George did, and what was the matter with him.

When the Irish trumpet came home, he brought me several letters, all directed for me with his Highness the prince of Wales. Pitts said in his, your coin does not go in this army, but it being fine, I shall keep it among my precious things. I shall answer Mr. Pitts, and tell him, I wonder they that fight for the Gospel, should not make that coin current, in as much as it is taken out of the Gospel, that he and I know a man may make it current if he pleases. I told the enemy's trumpets, it was money

1710. money I sent to an Irish prisoner; and that the letter to lieutenant general Lomney would tell him how to dispose of it. I put a paper on every medal, and directed it, one to lieutenant general Lomney, one to lord George, one to lieutenant general Wood, and one to lieutenant general Withers, others to inferior officers, all sealed up in a purse, and a note to them all in these terms: I take the liberty to send you a new coin, that is according to the scripture; the medal is good, for it bore six hours fire; you know it was hot, for you melted or blew the coals; pardon the freedom in your obedient servant,

GROOM.

The postscript was thus:

You know it was well tried the 11th of September 1709."

August 2d.—"He (Mareschal de Villars) is in the clouds and raptures; that doctor Sacheverel's people put white ribbons in their hats; he calls them our people, and says 6000 men is a brave body."

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
p. 12—15.

There are several letters from the earl of Middleton to Lamb and Abram in the months of October, November, and December, 1710; but they are all allegorical, and without a key. One can only understand from them in general, that proposals were to be made to the new ministry: that Abram had a paper given him the year before, written all by John Jolly's [the King's] own hand, with a discretionary power to produce it when he thought necessary, which on the receipt of a letter from Lamb he had orders now to do, and that Lord Middleton invited Lamb, *i. e.* Mr. Lesley to go over to France, and expected great satisfaction from his informations. Lord Duplin's marriage to the earl of Oxford's daughter is probably referred to in the following passage in one of his lordship's letters to Abram. "I was surprised to hear that *Miss Honyton* had married a myrmidon.—Ply the son-in-law with the most effectual promises for himself and his father-in-law, he being foreman of the jury, and without him, we cannot hope for a favourable verdict."

H A N-

HANNOVER PAPERS.

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THE Whigs frequently upbraided the Tories with being Jacobites, and abettors of an arbitrary power in the crown. The Tories charged the Whigs with being antimonarchical and republican. But if one was to form his judgement of their principles from their own professions, it would be difficult to distinguish them, for both parties courted popularity by the same arts, and publicly professed to espouse the succession in the protestant line. It will be seen by the correspondence of this year, that each, as soon as they came into place, were equally ready to make their court to the presumptive heirs of the crown.

To defend Queen Anne from being charged with inconstancy, weakness, or ingratitude, for removing and disgracing men, who had served her long and faithfully, doctor Swift insinuates, that the Marlborough family had lost all favour with her Majesty, upon her accession to the throne, though she possessed the art of disguising her passions so perfectly, as to have been able to conceal, for a long time, the aversion she had conceived for them. It is not probable, that her aversion began so early; and, tho' it is not easy to guess when she began to be sensible of the haughty and imperious behaviour of the party which governed her and the nation, it is certain, that nothing contributed more to alienate her affections totally from them, than their conduct and speeches in the course of doctor Sacheverel's trial. Godolphin began the prosecution more from private resentment, than state necessity, and imprudently furnished his enemies with an opportunity of ruining him and his friends, when he unwarily gave importance to a man and a cause, which he should have treated with neglect and contempt.

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1710. The Queen was present at the trial, and listened with great attention to the debates, in which a spirit of opposition betrayed both parties to advance principles, which probably neither of them would follow to their utmost extent. The Tories openly maintained the doctrine of hereditary right and non-resistance; and the Whigs, in justifying the Revolution, asserted a nation's right to depose and dethrone their sovereign, and laid down maxims of government more favourable to the privileges of parliament and the liberties of the people, than monarchs choose to adopt.

The Tories had not strength to prevent Sacheverel from being found guilty of all the articles for which he was impeached by the commons; but they had influence afterwards to procure addresses to the Queen from all parts of the nation, avowing the very principles for which he was condemned. These addresses asserted the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, and acknowledged the absolute power of the crown. They condemned, as antimonarchical and republican, all doctrines which allowed subjects to resist their sovereigns in any instance, and declared the defenders of these doctrines to be advocates of blasphemy and impiety: they affirmed that the Queen acceded to the throne by a hereditary, and not by a precarious parliamentary right or election: they entreated a dissolution of the present parliament, and contained assurances that none should be chosen in a new election, but such as should be loyal to the sovereign and zealous for the church.

These addresses could not fail to be more agreeable to Anne, a woman and a sovereign, than those presented by the Whigs in a different, though dutiful and respectful strain. In consequence of the first, she determined to emancipate herself, and to change her ministry, notwithstanding the success with which they had served her, and an interposition in their favour by the ministers of the Emperor and of the States-general, who were directed to represent to her Majesty what bad influence a change might have on affairs abroad.

This change furnishes a new set of correspondents in the course of this year, when the following persons came into office. The duke of Shrewsbury was made lord chamberlain on the 13th of April, in the room of the marquis of Kent, who was gratified with a dukedom. Dartmouth was made secretary of state in the room of the earl

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earl of Sunderland, who was turned out, the 14th of June. The earl of Godolphin was dismissed the 8th of August, and in his room, earl Powlet, Robert Harley, Henry Paget, Sir Thomas Mansel, and Robert Benson, were appointed commissioners of the treasury. Though Powlet was the first commissioner in form, it was well known, that Harley, who was made chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer, had the chief management of the treasury, and presided in every thing, behind the curtain.

Mr. James Cresset, who had been formerly envoy extraordinary at the courts of Zell and Hannover, was chosen by the new ministry to carry assurances of their attachment to the presumptive heirs of the crown; and upon his death, which happened soon after his nomination, the earl of Rivers was sent to Hannover, in the month of August, with the same commission. He was authorized to assure the princess Sophia and her son the Elector, that the late changes, for which the Queen had sufficient reasons, were rather favourable to them, and a further security for their succession to the crown.

On the 21st of September the Queen issued a proclamation to dissolve the parliament. The earl of Rochester was made lord president of the council, in the room of lord Somers. The lord chamberlain's staff was taken from the duke of Devonshire, and given to the duke of Buckingham. Mr. Boyle was dismissed from the post of secretary of state, and the seals were given to Mr. Henry St. John. The great seal, upon the resignation of the lord chancellor Cowper, was given to Sir Simon Harcourt; and the lord lieutenancy of Ireland to the duke of Ormond, upon the resignation of the earl of Wharton. The earl of Portmore was appointed commander in chief of her Majesty's forces in Portugal, and the duke of Hamilton lord lieutenant of the county palatine of Lancaster.

Harley did not make such an entire change as the Tories expected. But the numbers who were turned out of office now, and on another occasion soon after, sufficiently prove, that the Whigs had as carefully excluded the Tories from all places of honour and profit, as the Tories would have now excluded the Whigs in their turn. The military operations, mentioned in the correspondence of this year, are the taking of Douay on the 26th of June, of Bethune the 29th August, of St. Venant the 30th September, and of Aire the 9th November. The baron

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de Bothmar was expected as envoy extraordinary from the Elector; and the Queen sent the earl of Rivers again to Hannover, before the end of the year.

Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 111.

The Elector to Queen Anne.

He gives his reasons for resigning the command of the army of the Empire.

Translation.

Madam,

Hannover, Jan. 4th, 1710.

“**H**AVING been obliged to throw up the command of the army on the Rhine, and having communicated to his Imperial Majesty the resolution I took of doing so, I did not choose to fail in acquitting myself of the same duty to your Majesty; and in assuring you, that I was not brought to that resolution, but by invincible reasons; and after having made all the efforts, and all the remonstrances possible, for putting things, on that side, in the state which the good of the common cause required. I even proposed effectual means for obliging all those to furnish their contingent, who had neglected it: but, far from succeeding, that measure has only served to draw on me their hatred. Besides, some circles do not choose to permit their troops to be commanded but by their own generals. It was not in my power to dispose of the command; so that seeing all subordination ruined, and the disorder carried to such a height, that it was absolutely without a remedy, I thought I could not continue to command an army so ill provided in every thing, without exposing my reputation; and I declared this early, lest I should occasion any disappointment.

I entreat your Majesty to be persuaded, that this will not hinder me from shewing always the same zeal, as well in exhorting the different members of the Empire to do what they ought for their defence, as in giving them the example. I hope that your Majesty will approve of my conduct, and that you will do me the justice to believe, that your approbation is the principal end which I proposed to myself; and that I am, with great respect, Madam, your Majesty's, &c.”

The

*The Elector to Queen Anne.**Repeats his reasons for resigning the command of the army of the Empire.*

Translation.

MADAM,

Hannover, Feb. 6th, 1710.

" I Received, with great gratitude, the letter of the 5th of January, with which your Majesty honoured me. There is nothing more worthy of your zeal for the good cause, than the lively exhortations which you take care to make to all the allies, to induce them to act with more vigour than heretofore, against the common enemy; and nothing would be more just than to imitate the great example which your Majesty gives in that respect. It does not depend upon my representations, that that does not happen in the Empire; but they have been hitherto so ineffectual, that I dare not promise myself a better success for the future. This obliged me to divest myself of the command of the army on the Rhine, as I did myself the honour of notifying to your Majesty, by my former letter. I would imagine, that I encroached upon your time, if I repeated the reasons which it contains. I flatter myself that your Majesty will honour them with your approbation, and that you will acknowledge, that nothing but an absolute necessity could induce me to adopt such a measure; and that seeing my presence useless with the army on the Rhine, and my reputation exposed, I ought not to render myself responsible for the bad consequences which the disorders, that I endeavoured so ineffectually to redress, might have. I shall not spare, however, either my attentions or my exhortations to put things upon a better footing, and I shall give the example, as much as it depends upon me. I entreat your Majesty to be persuaded of this; and that I am, with great respect, Madam, &c.

*Queen Anne to the Elector.**Entreating him to resume the command of the army.*

Translation.

BROTHER,

St. James's, April 18th, 1710.

" I Could not observe, but with great regret, the resolution which you took of divesting yourself of the command of the army on the Rhine, as you notified to me, in your letter of the 15th of January; and confirmed again by another of the 6th of February. I am very sorry

A a 2

that

1710.

February.
Robethon's
draught.
Hannover
papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 111.

Original.

Ibid. No. 112.

1710.
April.

that you have had so many reasons to induce you to adopt that measure; but, as I am persuaded that your presence with that army is of the last importance, I cannot hinder myself from hoping, that matters will run in a better train; and that the states of the Empire, seeing that they are to lose such a leader at the head of their troops, will exert themselves to remedy the disorders of which they complain: and for this purpose I wrote, some time ago, to the princes and circles of the Empire; and I pressed strongly his Imperial Majesty to remove the difficulties which may hinder you: and I have reason to believe, that my representations have had a good effect; for, I own, that my confidence, with regard to that army, was always in your conduct and in your valour. And you appear to me to be the only one who is able to render it, in some measure, useful to the common cause; and if you absolutely throw up that command, I see nothing that can keep the enemy at bay, on that side. The season for the campaign advances, and a diversion on the upper Rhine will have an extraordinary effect to the advantage of the common cause. It is for this reason I continue to shew you still the desire I have that you may reconcile yourself to the command of the army on the Rhine for this year: and I assure you, at the same time, that there is no one who has your reputation more at heart than I. But I believe it above every thing that can happen on that side, where all the world must be convinced, that nothing will be wanting of what depends upon you, for rendering the arms of the Empire more useful and more glorious than they have been heretofore. I am, with a great deal of affection and esteem, Brother, your affectionate Sister,

ANNE R.

Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Miscell.
d'Etat. 2.

The Dutches of Marlborough to Mrs. Howe.

Windfor-Lodge, May 8th, 1710.

" I AM really very much ashamed, Madam, that this poor gentleman * has waited so long here for so inconsiderable a thing; for I hope nobody thinks it my fault. I can think him to blame to refuse what he did; and since he is so far from his friends, that he cannot have any help from them, I desire you will give him this little bill. I have writ to Mr. Walpole since I had the favour of your letter; and he says, that he hopes, in a very few days, he shall be able to provide for this gentle-

* Mr. D'Ythier.

man.

man. I am, Madam, with a great deal of respect, your most obedient and most humble servant,

1710.
May.

S. MARLBOROUGH.

The Elector to Queen Anne.

He gives further reasons for declining the command.

Translation.

MADAM,

May 19th, 1710.

“I Received, with the utmost acknowledgments, the obliging letter with which your Majesty honoured me. I doubt not but the intelligence which you will have received, after having written that letter, of the state of affairs on the Rhine, have entirely convinced you, that none of the deficiencies of which I complained have been supplied; and that the army of the Empire will be less in condition than ever to act in the manner which the interest of the Allies would require. Accordingly his Imperial Majesty has so well comprehended the reasons which I advanced to him, for quitting the command of that army, that he has entirely acquiesced in them. This he has been so good as to notify to me, by his letter of the 3d instant; and to inform me, at the same time, that he conferred the command of that army upon prince Eugene of Savoy; and that, without leaving the Low Countries, he would command the army of the Empire. I entreat your Majesty to be persuaded, that I shall do, in other respects, whatever depends upon me, for contributing to the good of the common cause, and for giving to your Majesty, in particular, marks of the perfect veneration and respect, with which I am, &c.”

Robethon's
draught.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes,
No. 113.

The Earl of Rochester to the Elector.

Professions.

Translation.

SIR,

Whitehall, June 22d, 1710.

“MR. Murray having told me, upon his arrival here, that he had received orders from your Electoral Highness to wait upon me, on your Highness's part, gives me the boldness to render very humble thanks, for the honour which your Electoral Highness was pleased to do me on this occasion. This mark of your Electoral Highness's remembrance of a man so removed from the world, and deprived of the means

June:
Original.
Ibid. No. 114.

1710.
June.

of rendering himself useful to your service, obliges me so much the more to be sensibly touched with a goodness so extraordinary. Of this I humbly beseech you to be entirely persuaded, and to believe that I wish, with ardour, to have opportunities of assuring your Electoral Highness, that I am, with all submission, Sir, &c."

Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 116.

The Earl Hay† to the Elector.

Professions.

Translation.

London, June 26th, 1710.

SIR,
"THE liberty which I take in addressing myself, after this manner, to your Electoral Highness, convinces me how the greatest of our duties are, sometimes, incompatible with one another. I had no means, at present, of assuring your Electoral Highness, with what zeal my brother and I are inviolably attached to the interests of your illustrious family, without being guilty, at the same time, of a presumption which I would be afraid might destroy all the little merit I wanted to do myself the honour of establishing, if I had not too well experienced formerly the goodness of your Electoral Highness to despair of it at this time. Mr. Murray will do himself the honour to inform your Electoral Highness of the state of our public affairs here; which are, in reality, sufficiently embroiled; although I doubt not but every thing will succeed for the interests of the kingdom, by securing more effectually those of your Electoral Highness; of whom I am, with all possible submission, Sir, &c."

Original.
Ibid. No. 115.

Lord Howard of Efcrick to the Elector.

Empty professions.

June, 1710.

"GIVE me leave, great Sir, who, with so much passion, am devoted to your interest, to congratulate your Electoral Highness upon the account of those addresses which at present come from all parts of England, with one voice, expressing their zeal for her Majesties rights and your most illustrious family.

Permit me also to assure your Electoral Highness of my most dutiful service, and that I shall ever esteem any opportunity, whereby I may be enabled to shew my zeal, the happiest part of my life; being most sincerely, &c."

† He was afterwards duke of Argyle.

*The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.**Upon the taking of Douay.*

Translation.

SIR, Camp at Douay, June 28th, 1710.
 "YOUR Electoral Highness will be so well informed, by Monsieur de Bulau, of what passed at the siege of Douay, that I did not think it necessary to trouble you with my letters on the same subject. But having, at last succeeded, by the blessing of the Almighty, I could not avoid to make my very humble congratulations to your Electoral Highness on the event: and to do justice, at the same time, to such of your troops as had a share in it; and who distinguished themselves on all occasions, and contributed greatly to this great success, which may be considered as a sort of compensation for the unjust delays of the enemy, in agreeing to a reasonable peace. I hope, likewise, it will not fail to inspire France with sentiments more equitable than those which she has hitherto discovered. I have the honour to be, with inviolable attachment and respect, Sir, &c."

1710.
 June.
 Original.
 Hannover
 Papers, vol.
 marked
 Princes.
 No. 237.

*The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.**An answer to the Duke's letter of the 28th June.*

Translation.

My Lord, Hannover, July 11th, 1710.
 "I AM much obliged to you for the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me, concerning the taking of Douay. It is a conquest so important, that it is just to expect the consequences which you hope from it, with regard to a general peace. I greatly rejoiced to hear from yourself, that such of my troops as were employed at the siege, served there in a manner which merits your approbation. I wish you, my lord, during the rest of the campaign, a continuance of the success; taking always a part, very sincerely, in the great things which you do for the common cause, and in the glory which accrues to you thereby. I am, very sincerely, &c."

Robethon's
 draught.
 Ibid. No. 238.
 July.

The

1710.
August.
Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 117.

The Elector to the Earl of Rochester.

An answer to his lordship's letter of 22d June.

Translation.

My Lord,

August 4th, 1710.

"**A**Lthough I did not give any commission to Mr. Murray to wait on you from me, (which I should have done very willingly, if I had known that he had the honour of being acquainted with you) I yet received, with no less pleasure, the letter which you gave him for me. I did not choose to delay to thank you for it; and to assure you, that I am as sensible as I ought to be, of the civilities which it contains. I hope that my lord Cornbury will be satisfied with those which he received during his stay at Hannover; and I entreat you to believe, that I was very happy to find that opportunity of shewing you the regard which I have for you, and for those who belong to you; being sincerely, &c."

Robethon's
draught.
Ibid.

The Elector to the Earl of Illy.

An answer to his lordship's letter of 26th June.

Translation.

My Lord,

August 4th, 1710.

"**M**R. Murray delivered to me the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me; by which I was very happy to hear of you, and of the continuance of your attachment to the interests of my family. I read, with great pleasure, what you add, that the duke of Argyle is in the same sentiments. You will oblige me, by thanking him on my part; and by assuring him of the regard which I have for him. I entreat you to be persuaded that I have not forgot you, since your departure from Hannover; and that I am sincerely, &c."

Robethon's
draught.
Ibid.

The Elector to Lord Howard of Esrick.

An answer to his lordship's letter of June.

Translation.

My Lord,

August 4th, 1710.

"**M**R. Murray delivered to me the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me. I did not choose to delay to thank you for it, and to shew you that I received, as I ought, the assurances which it contains of your attachment to the interests of my family. I shall
be

be very happy to shew you this, on all the occasions that shall present themselves of doing you a pleasure. I am, &c."

1710.
August.

Queen Anne to the Elector.

This letter was sent by the Earl of Rivers.

Assurances of friendship and esteem.

Translation.

Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 124.

BROTHER, Kensington, August 14th, 1710.

"AS it is always my greatest desire to shew you, by all sorts of means, the very particular friendship and esteem which I have for you, and for all your family, which is so dear to me, and so strictly connected with me; I thought proper to make choice of a man equally distinguished by his abilities and his birth, for carrying to you proofs of this, on the present occasion. It is my cousin and counsellor, the earl of Rivers, whom I have charged with this commission; and as he is fully instructed in my sentiments, I will not enlarge; leaving to him to explain them more at length; and entreating you only to give credit to what he will tell you from me; especially when he will give you assurances of my attachment to your interests, and with how much truth I am, &c.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to the Elector.

Sent by the Earl of Rivers.

Original.
Ibid. No. 129.

Assurances of attachment to his Highness, and to the succession in his family.

Translation.

S I R, August 18th, 1710.

"ALTHOUGH I have not the honour of being known to your Electoral Highness, but as I have that of being called to her Majesty's council, I hold myself obliged to take this opportunity of assuring your Electoral Highness of my zeal, and of my attachment to your service: and I consider the interests of the Queen, my mistress, so united with those of your Highness, that, I believe, I cannot serve her Majesty better than by contributing the little that shall be in my power, to the continuance of the good understanding which subsists between her Majesty and your Electoral Highness; being persuaded that nothing can more effectually destroy the cabals of those who seek to disturb the peace of the

1710.
August.

one at present, and the succession of the other hereafter, than that all the world should be convinced, not only that the friendship between her Majesty and your Highness is perfect, but that there was an openness of heart and of sentiments, for concerting whatever may be advantageous to both; that is to say, of the glory and repose of her Majesty, during her life, and afterwards to the security of the succession in your illustrious family.

Your Highness will pardon me, if in the first letter which I have the honour of writing to you, I express myself with so much freedom; but my heart is naturally open, and particularly zealous in these affairs. But as the earl of Rivers, my relation and my intimate friend, will have the honour to speak more fully upon this subject, I shall finish, with assuring your Highness, that I am, with all imaginable attachment and respect for your person,

Your Electoral Highness's

Most humble, most obedient, and most submissive servant,

SHREWSBURY.

The Earl of Rochester to the Elector.

Sent by the earl of Rivers.

Assurances of attachment.—Thanks for the reception given to Lord Cornbury at Hannover.

Translation.

SIR,

August 24th, 1710.

“THE earl of Rivers going from the Queen to your Electoral Highness, gives me a favourable opportunity of presenting myself once more before you; and of shewing you, with all submission, the share which I cannot hinder myself from taking in this circumstance, that affairs, on our side, appear to me in a better train for the interest of your Electoral Highness than heretofore. This gives me a very particular joy and satisfaction, as a presage of the great advantages which an entire confidence between her Majesty and the serene family of your Electoral Highness should produce to the common cause. At the same time I take the liberty of returning very humble thanks to your Electoral Highness for the honour which you did me, by your letter of the fourth of August, as well as for the extraordinary marks of your goodness to my

Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 127.

my lord Cornbury, with which he was loaded, (as he wrote to me) during the time he had the honour of being in your serene presence, and at your magnificent court. As to the rest, I very humbly entreat your Electoral Highness to be entirely persuaded, that I am, with a perfect submission, &c."

1710.
August.

The following letter is a matter of some curiosity. The duke strangely altered his opinion since the twentieth of June, when he wrote to the duke of Berwick a letter containing just such other professions to the pretended prince of Wales, whose restoration would destroy "the safety and the liberty not only of Britain, but of all Europe." He was even at this time in correspondence with Villars about the Pretender.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

He professes attachment.—He charges Harley and his party with a design of bringing back the Pretender.—He promises his advice and assistance to the Elector's Envoy.

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes,
No. 239.

Translation.

SIR,

August 30, 1710.

"I Am not able to express to your Electoral Highness how truly sensible I am of the great marks of confidence which you did me the honour of giving to me by general Bulau. I intreat your Highness to be persuaded that I shall endeavour to deserve them, by an inviolable attachment to your interests, with which I consider those of my country and of Europe as inseparably connected. I hope there never will be found, in England, a considerable number of men who can be seduced to a degree capable of ruining it, by allowing themselves to be imposed upon by the artifices of Mr. Harley and others, who conduct themselves, at present, in a manner to leave it no longer a doubt, that their views tend to bring back the pretended prince of Wales.

We feel but too much already the effects of their bad intentions, by the change of my lord treasurer; this step having ruined our credit in the kingdom; and having lost us the confidence of our best allies. I desire, with great impatience, to converse with the baron de Bothmar; and I flatter myself that your Electoral Highness does me the justice to believe, that I shall act, in all things,

B b 2

after

1710.
August.

after the manner which you will judge most conducive to your interest. I shall give to the baron de Bothmar, all the lights and explanations which I can, to assist him in the execution of his important commission; in which I shall ever co-operate with him, as soon as I shall return to England, whither I shall repair, as soon as the operations of the campaign will permit me, with any appearance of decency. I hope to be able there to employ usefully my attentions, my credit, and my friends, for advancing the interest of your Electoral Highness, and of your serene family; and for preventing, at the same time, the pernicious designs of those men, who want to establish principles, and to form cabals and projects which will infallibly overturn the protestant succession, and with it, the safety and liberty of their country, and of all Europe. I am, with a profound respect, &c."

Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 241.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Upon the taking of Bethune.

Translation.

S I R,

Camp at Viler Brulin, August 31, 1710.

"I Very humbly entreat your Electoral Highness to accept of the congratulations which I do myself the honour of sending on the taking of Bethune: the governor of which beat the Chamade on the twenty-eighth, at the very time that we were employed in firing a *feu de joye*, for the victory obtained by his Catholic Majesty in Catalonia; and the garrison left it this morning, to be conducted to St. Omers. I presume to hope, that this fresh success of the arms of the high allies, will open the eyes of the enemy, and contribute to render them more tractable, and to reduce within just bounds, to the satisfaction of your Electoral Highness, and of all those who love the public good. I am, with an inviolable respect and attachment, &c."

Doflor

Doctor Hutton to the Elector.

A violent party-man giving an account of the late changes, and of the state of public affairs.—He justifies the ministry.—He is strangely ignorant.—The letter contains the common talk of the times; and, in that light, it is a matter of curiosity.—But the length of it is most inexcusable.—The most striking passages, therefore, are only preserved in this abridgment.

Translation.

SIR,

London, September 5, 1710.

“IT is with joy I presume, once more, with the most profound respect imaginable, to address myself to your Electoral Highness; and to tell you that her Majesty begins to reign, and that the oligarchy which tyrannized and threatened so long the Queen and the British nations, begins to vanish in this kingdom; where a little cabal made obedience the duty of the sovereign, and dominion the prerogative of two or three subjects for some years.” He then tells him, that her Majesty has placed herself on the throne and at the head of her treasury. That she has sent bills of exchange to Holland, for paying her troops in Flanders and Portugal; “and she has made sufficient provision for their payment for the next six months, notwithstanding the tricks and chicane of the lord Godolphin and his party.”

“The nation in general adores her Majesty, and commends extremely the conduct of the new ministry; who had the courage and loyalty so seasonably to preserve the Queen and the monarchy. It is very certain, that four years ago, the Queen thought of dismissing her treasurer and her general. But the corruption of the two last parliaments always prevented her.” By Mr. Harley’s good offices, he says, the Queen received the duke of Shrewsbury into her confidence, as well as Mr. Harley himself, “who was always very loyal and active, and religiously devoted to the interests of her Majesty and the protestant succession, in the illustrious family of your Electoral Highnesses.”

“The Queen cannot avoid suspecting all those, who have a familiar correspondence with her general, who had already set himself up as a protector; and his creatures had the insolence, as well as the impudence, during all the last winter, to drink to his health under that fine title.” He tells him, that the general and treasurer, afraid of contributing to the
advantage

1710.
September.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes. No.
121.

1710.
September.

advantage of his Electoral Highness, and of restoring to the Queen the liberty, of which she had been so long deprived, were induced to intrigue with their party in the house of commons, to take notice of some imprudent expressions of the speaker; and, by that means to embarrass her Majesty's affairs, and prevent their own fall. When Shrewsbury, he says, was put in possession of his office, without the knowledge of the treasurer or the general, his duchess, with her usual insolence, began to quarrel with her Majesty. But her Majesty, wearied of hearing so much abuse from such a peevish woman, forbade her to appear in her presence; since which time, her Majesty has been allowed to transact business in peace.

“At length the earl of Rivers is gone to fulfil the office which Mr. Cresset* had to execute. An individual should never pretend to know what the commissions of his sovereign contain, with regard to affairs of state; of which, it is certain, the public is entirely ignorant. The cabal, and the public ministers of the foreign potentates, who were always closely connected with lord Godolphin, and who were almost all seduced, or rather charmed and bewitched by him, for very strong reasons, no doubt, give out in their public walks and conversation, that lord Rivers is sent by her Majesty to offer the command of the army to your Electoral Highness; at least, to come over to this country and pay a visit to her Majesty, &c. What! say they, will a great sovereign prince, as the Elector of Brunswick, leave his own dominions and visit the Queen? or will he chuse to command an army after a general who has triumphed so often, gained so many battles, and taken so many towns? These wicked men have, for a long time, exposed your Electoral Highness in this manner.” He tells his Electoral Highness that Charles V. visited Henry VIII. and that King William visited the duke of Zell and his Electoral Highness. That, since her Majesty has thought proper to dismiss her general, he asks, “if there is any one so proper to command the armies of the Queen and the British nation, as the protestant successor? in which protestant successor her Majesty and her people place all their hopes,” &c.

* Mr. Cresset had been sent in capacity of envoy from her Majesty to his Electoral Highness.

He professes his attachment to the Electoral family, and entreats his Electoral Highness to accept of the command of the army. He exclaims against the measures of the late ministry; and says, that her Majesty had just reason to be offended with them: and he concludes, with praying "God to preserve the person of your Electoral Highness, with your illustrious family."

1710.
September.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An answer to the Duke's letter of the 30th of August.

Translation.

My Lord,

Herrenhausen, Sept. 8, 1710.

"I Am very much obliged to you for your letter of the 30th of August, which was filled with such strong testimonies of zeal and attachment to my interests, that I cannot but be very sensible of them. I am likewise very grateful for your offer of assisting the baron de Bothmar, during his stay at London, with your good advices; for which he will have all the deference which is due to a person whose great understanding and good intentions are equally known to me. He will do every thing in his power to have the honour of seeing you before he passes the sea; and perhaps he will pass it along with you, it being very proper that he should remain here, until I am informed of the proposals which my lord Rivers will have to make to me.

I hope that nothing will be capable of inducing the Queen to take the command of her armies from a general who acquitted himself in it with so much glory and so much success, and in whose hands I shall always see it with pleasure; being very sincerely, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An answer to the Duke's letter, advising him of the taking of Bethune.

Translation.

My Lord,

Herrenhausen, Sept. 12, 1710.

"I Am very much obliged to you for the trouble which you took in notifying to me the taking of Bethune. I wish you, with all my heart, a similar success in all the enterprises which you have determined to form for finishing so brilliant a campaign. I take a very great part in the glory which arises to you from it, and in whatever can happen agreeable

Robethon's
draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes. No.
240.

Robethon's
Draught.
Ibid. No. 242.

1710.
September.

able to you. I rejoice with you at the great news received from Spain; from which there is reason to expect very advantageous consequences; and I always am, very sincerely, &c."

Robethon writes on the top of the following letter *de main propre*; so that the Elector seems to have usually transcribed his secretary's rough draughts.

Robethon's
draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 125.

The Elector to Queen Anne.

Thanks for the letter he received by the Earl of Rivers.

Translation.

MADAM,

Herrenhausen, Sept. 14, 1710.

"I T is with the utmost acknowledgment I received, by the earl of Rivers, the letter with which your Majesty was pleased to honour me. I feel, as I ought, the goodness which you have had in sending me a man of the merit and distinction of that lord. He could not bring me any thing more agreeable than the assurance which he gave me that your Majesty is so good as to continue to me the honour of your kindness. I consider it always as the most valuable of all my advantages; and I shall never cease to cultivate it with all possible attention. This is a duty which the ties of blood impose upon me, but to which I am principally disposed by my own inclinations, and by the desire of meriting, in all my conduct, the approbation of your Majesty, and of shewing you that I am, with great respect, &c."

Original.
Ibid. No. 126.

The Earl of Rivers to Baron Bernsdorff.

Baron Bernsdorff was president of the council of Hannover.

Translation.

SIR,

September 24, 1710.

"I Do not pretend to dictate to you, in what manner I wish that his Electoral Highness would answer the Queen's letter. But I am so attached to the interests of his Electoral Highness, that I take a part in whatever concerns him. It is for this reason, that I take the liberty of communicating to you my advice, concerning his answer. If his Electoral Highness would write in terms similar to these.

"It

"It is impossible to feel a more lively gratitude than I do, for all the bounty which her Majesty expresses for me. I would esteem myself infinitely happy, if I could find the means of shewing her, by effects, the zeal which I have for her service; and the greatest favour which her Majesty can do me, is to put me in a condition of being able to be useful to her."

1710.
October.

If you can contrive that the letter may be sent to me to-day, you will oblige very much, &c."

The following letter is a matter of great curiosity. Buckingham's principles, in favour of the Stuarts, are well known; yet it seems he was persecuted by the Whigs, for his attachment to the house of Hanover. What an unjust race of men these Whigs were!

The Duke of Buckingham to the Elector.

He complains he was persecuted by the late ministry for his attachment to the Elector.—He wishes his Highness had a more faithful minister in London.

Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 122.

S I R,

September 29, 1710.

"IT is so common a practise, on these occasions, to make addressees of this nature, that, notwithstanding the honour of writing to so great a prince, yet I could never have much satisfaction in doing it, if every body had not been a witness both of my zealous endeavours in your service, and of my suffering also sufficiently on that account, if it can be called suffering, to receive the honour of being excluded from the counsellors of your enemies, and from a ministry, so little favoring your illustrious family. But in what manner I become, for your sake, the mark of their malice, so as to be rendered incapable, either of serving the Queen, or of holding any longer correspondence with her Royal Highness, your mother, by letters that were sure to be intercepted, is not worthy of your attention, at this time; hoping, one day, to have the happiness and honour of entertaining your Electoral Highness on that subject. Yet, upon this occasion, I am obliged to do justice to all the most considerable of our party, by assuring your Electoral Highness, that they also were ready to lay themselves at your feet, as zealously as their duty to the Queen permitted, if some more faithful minister had

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been

1710.
October.

been sent hither from Hannover, which therefore, I was often desired by them to request of her Royal Highness accordingly. After this, I hope I need say no more to assure your Electoral Highness, that I shall make it still my constant endeavour, to shew my duty, both to the Queen, my mistress, and my country, by all the wayes that are capable of demonstrating how entirely I am,

Your Highness's most humble, faithful, and most obedient Servant,

BUCKINGHAM.²²

The Elector to the Earl of Rochester.

An Answer to the Letter he had received by the Earl of Rivers.

Translation.

My Lord,

Herrenhausen, October 16, 1710.

" I Received, with a great deal of pleasure, the letter which you wrote to me, by the earl of Rivers. I am very sensible of the civilities which it contains. The Queen gave me, till now, so many proofs of her good-will, that I have nothing to desire but the continuance of her kindness. I doubt not, but you will be so good, as to employ your influence with her Majesty to procure it for me. You can never confer a more sensible obligation upon me, since I consider the honour of her friendship, as the most valuable of all her advantages. I shall be very happy to owe that obligation to a person of your merit, for whom I have so particular a regard.

The honour which my lord Combury has of belonging to you, was sufficient to procure for him here, a favourable reception. It was no less due to his own merit. I am very happy, that both you and he received satisfaction from it; and I shall have always a great satisfaction, when I shall find opportunities of shewing you, that I am, very sincerely, &c.

The Elector to the Duke of Shrewsbury.

An Answer to the Letter he had received by the Earl of Rivers.

Translation.

My Lord,

Herrenhausen, October 16, 1710.

" I did not choose to fail, in thanking you for the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me, by the earl of Rivers. I am so much the more sensible of its obliging contents, that they come from a person

Robethon's
draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes,
No. 128.

Robethon's
Draught.
Ibid. No. 130.

person of such distinguished merit, and who has given so many shining proofs, of his good intentions toward the public and for the protestant succession. It is with great satisfaction, I learn that the Queen honours, with her confidence, a minister, who served her predecessor, of glorious memory, with so much loyalty. I doubt not, but you will be so good as to exert yourself, in confirming more and more, the good understanding which I shall always maintain, very carefully, with her Majesty. You can never do me a greater pleasure, nor render me a greater service, than by contributing, as much as depends on you, to the continuance of that valuable friendship, of which her Majesty gave me so many proofs.

I acknowledge very gratefully the honour which she did me, in sending me a person of the merit and distinction of my lord Rivers. He acquitted himself very worthily, in the commission with which she charged him. Among so many qualities which render him estimable, it is still a fresh motive for me to know, that he is your relation and your friend. I hope that he will be satisfied with the reception that was given him here; and that you will acknowledge, that I embrace with pleasure, opportunities of shewing you, that I am very sincerely, &c."

The Elector to Queen Anne, sent by the Earl of Rivers.

Translation.

MADAM,

Herrenhausen, October 17, 1710.

"I Cannot allow the Earl of Rivers to depart, without doing myself the honour of returning my humble thanks to your Majesty, for the letter which he delivered to me from you, and without expressing to you how sensible I am of the goodness which your Majesty has had, in sending to me a man of this distinction. He acquitted himself very worthily and to my entire satisfaction, of the commission which your Majesty had given him in charge. I doubt not but he will inform you of the grateful acknowledgements, with which I received the assurances he gave me, of the kindness with which your Majesty continues to honour me. I shall endeavour to make a suitable return to it, by devoting myself entirely to your service; and I shall always seek, with earnestness, for opportunities of giving you proofs of the respect with which I am, &c."

Robethon's
draught.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 131.

1710.
October.
Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes. No.
132.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to the Elector.

Violent professions of attachment.

Translation.

SIR,

October 20, 1710.

"**H**AVING learned that Mr. Cresset designs to go to Hannover, I would not lose this opportunity of renewing to your Electoral Highness, my assurances of a faithful and inviolable attachment to your interest and to that of your family; wishing for nothing more ardently, than for opportunities of shewing my zeal for your service. Therefore, I hope it will not be in the power of calumniators (with whom we abound in this island) to throw any on this truth, which I am ready to justify at the hazard of my life; but which your Electoral Highness will have the justice to judge by its effects; and I flatter myself that your Highness will be persuaded, that I am, with all imaginable sincerity and veneration, Sir, &c."

Original.

The Princess Sophia to Queen Anne, sent by the Earl of Rivers.

Translation.

MADAM,

Herrenhausen, October 20, 1710.

"**I** Received with all possible respect, the letter which your Majesty did me the honour of writing to me, and what was reported to me from you by your cousin and counsellor, the earl of Rivers, a person whom I greatly respected, both on account of his distinguished birth and his own merit. I return very humble thanks to your Majesty, for the assurances you was pleased to give me of your good-will, and I am particularly obliged to you, for the sentiments of affection, which your Majesty condescends to preserve for my family, and of which I presume to beg the continuance. I entreated the earl of Rivers, to whom I refer myself, to assure your Majesty of my very humble acknowledgments, and of the very respectful attachment with which I am, &c."

Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 123.

The Elector to the Duke of Buckingham.

The Elector takes no notice of the Duke's objections to his Minister in London.

Translation.

My Lord,

October 21, 1710.

"**I** Received with pleasure, the letter of the 29th of the last month, which you was at the trouble of writing to me. I am very much obliged

obliged to you for the civilities which it contains, and for the assurances which you give me in it of your attachment to the interests of my family. I am very happy, that having such sentiments, the Queen has called you to a post, where you shall have opportunities of shewing it. You cannot render me a greater service, than by employing your influence with her Majesty, in preserving to me that valuable friendship with which she honours me; and of which I shall consider the continuance as the greatest benefit. I shall search for opportunities of shewing you, how great a regard I have for your person, and that I am, sincerely, &c."

Robert Harley to the Elector.

May it please your Highness, London, November 1, 1710.

"I Do myself the honor to make this tender of my most humble duty to your Electoral Highness, by the hands of Mrs. Cresset; who being my relation, and her affairs calling her into Germany, I was not willing to let her goe, without putting into your Highness's hands this testimony of my devotion to your Electoral Highnesses person and your serene house. I have hitherto chose, that this should appear rather by my actions, than by bare words; but since the Queen has done me the honor to bring me again into her service, I could not be a faithful or acceptable servant to her Majesty, without studying to serve your Highnesses interest.

I do not presume to give your Electoral Highness any account of the late changes heer; I doubt not, but that earle Rivers has laid before you the grounds which necessitated the Queen to do what she has done; which has also given the greater and better part of the nation an opportunity to express their duty to your most serene house.

I have taken the liberty to write this in English, because I know your Electoral Highness has an English heart §; and that you may be assured it comes from a heart entirely devoted to your service. I am, with the profoundest duty,

May it please your Highness,

Your Electoral Highnesses

Most dutiful, most humble, and most obedient Servant,

ROBERT HARLEY."

§ There was another reason. He could write no other language.

1710.
October.

November.
Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 134.

1710.
November.
Original.
Hannover
Papers.
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 139

The Duke of Leeds to the Elector.

Empty professions.

November 1, 1710.

SIR,

"I Hope your Electoral Highness will pardon my acknowledgeing, in this manner, the extraordinary favours, which I understand your Highness hath beene pleased to shew to my grandsons, Danby and his brother; and I am sorry my years will not allow me to go and do it myselfe.

Whilst I was able I was an actor, to the best of my power, to encompass those alterations which were necessary for the security of our religion and laws; and, as those alterations have justly brought the succession to the crowne of these kingdoms into your illustrious family, so, I doubt not, but they will be preserved by it, whenever they shall come to be under its protection; and although I may not live to pay my personal services, I hope I shall have a family, both as well principled in loyalty and as dutiful to your person and family, as they ought to be, and with that esteeme which is due to your Highness from all the world, and particularly from, Sir, &c."

Not many months before the duke of Leeds wrote this letter, he made a long speech at Dr. Sacheverel's trial, wherein he owned, "he had a great share in the late Revolution; but said he never thought things would have gone so far, as to settle the crown on the prince of Orange, whom he had often heard say, that he had no such thoughts himself. That they ought to distinguish between *resistance* and *revolution*; for *vacancy* or *abdication* was the thing they went upon, and therefore resistance was to be forgot, for had it not succeeded, it had certainly been rebellion; since he knew of *no other* but *hereditary right*."

"The duke of Leeds told me," says one, who appears to have been a man of judgment and intelligence, "that he had endeavoured to sound her [*the Queen*] as much as he could upon this subject," of being succeeded by her brother, rather than by the elector of Hannover, "and he is in her confidence, and has free access to her; but though she never chose to explain herself upon this point, she says nothing against him." Mr. Lamb's memorial, in Stuart Papers, 1711.

Mr.

*Mr. D'Hervart * to Robethon.*

He gives an account of a conversation with Mr. St. John, who had received a letter from Robethon.

Translation.

SIR,

London, November 3, 1710.

“ I Do not know if you will recollect my name, after an interruption of our correspondence, for ten or twelve years. The different affairs in which you have been employed, may very naturally have produced such an effect. However, Sir, I embrace, with a real pleasure, the opportunity which offers, of resuming a correspondence; no time having been able to make me forget a man, whom I always highly esteemed.

After this, Sir, I shall tell you, that having a *teté à teté* with Mr. St. John, the secretary of state, last night, he asked me if I knew you,—“ Perfectly well, Sir, and you cannot address yourself to any one that will tell you more about him than I.” He answered me, that he was very happy at this; and drawing near to his desk, “ take the trouble of reading this letter. I believe you will find it is written very well.”

“ Sir, as I was for four years, in a regular course of correspondence with him, I know what he can do.” “ It is a letter,” said he, “ which lord Rivers brought to me from him; and he said a great deal to his advantage. I want to write an answer to him. Let me know, I pray you, how his titles are to be marked on his letters;” and then immediately he said to me, “ since you are acquainted with him so long, upon the footing of a perfectly honest man, I shall be very happy to be able to do him a pleasure, when the opportunity offers; and I wish we may be friends.” “ Do you approve, Sir, that I should let him know the favourable opinion which you have of him.”—“ I shall be much obliged to you.”—“ Very well, Sir, I shall write to him, Friday next.” I perform my promise, and shall tell him so this evening.

This, Sir, is historically, what passed between him and me, concerning you, and I repeat it to you word for word, and without any ornament. I shall assuredly improve the favourable dispositions which this minister appears to have towards you; and I shall be always happy, to be able to do you a service, on this, and on every other occasion. I thought it

* Mr. D'Hervart was King William's envoy, in Switzerland.

1710.
November.
Copy in an
unknown
hand.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked Mis-
cell. d'Etat.
2. No. 192.

1710. proper to let you know, that Mr. St. John appears to be very much
November. my friend, and that I have very solid reasons to believe so."

Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Miscell. d'E-
tar, 2. No.
219.

Mr. De la Motte to Robethon.

*The same subject continued.—Both parties will pay court to the Hanne-
verian Envoy.*

Translation.

November 3, 1710.

"I Am sorry, that some business which intervenes hinders me from writing to you at leisure. The day before yesterday, I saw the new Muscovite ambassador. I imagined, after what you wrote to me about him, I thought it was my duty to pay my respects. He received me with a great deal of polite attention, for you and for myself, and desired me to see him sometimes. The letter which you gave him to me, was still in the bottom of his trunk.

Yesterday I received a visit, on your account. Monsieur de Hervart, whom I do not visit, because I am afraid of new acquaintances and drop the old, came to see me. At first, he spoke to me of you, and of the esteem he had for you; this ended, in telling me, that as the Whigs gave you some private advantages, you might hope for the same thing from the new party, (in which he is deeply engaged). I answered, that I did not believe the Whigs gave you any such advantages; that, if it had been so, I would have perceived something of it, and that you had a master, who was alone capable of rewarding your services. "I beg of you," says I, "explain to me a little what you mean, that I may understand you the better." He said to me, "what is expected from Monsieur de Robethon is, that he should act in concert with the new party in favour of the family of Hannover." This appeared to me, to have been suggested to him, by Mr. St. John, the new secretary of state, with whom I find he is so much connected, that I have little doubt, but he will be sent back to Switzerland. I replied, that you would always do your best, to support the interest of the Elector, and to shew, that the new party was well thought of at your court. I went to my closet for your ostensible letter, which I read to him all from the beginning, without giving him a copy of it. This made an impression, and I doubt not, but Mr. St. John was regaled that very evening, with what he had retained

retained of it. This is the substance of our conversation. Perhaps Monsieur de Hervart informed you of all this in the letter which he wrote you. He told me, that he had likewise seen your cousin. They do not choose to disoblige you, as you see. He assured me, that my lord Rivers was very well satisfied with you; and what is more, for your court, although the public concludes the contrary, from his returning without a present. The baron de Bothmar is expected every day. I wish he was already arrived. I foresee, that both sides will pay court to him, and that he will have occasion for all his prudence, &c."

1710.
November.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Upon the surrender of Aire.

Translation.

Original.
Hannover
papers, vol.
marked
Princes,
No. 243.

SIR, Camp before Aire, November 9, 1710.
"I Have the honour of informing your Electoral Highness, by this letter, that we have, at length, surmounted all the obstacles, as well of the rainy season as of other unforeseen obstruction, which hindered us from finishing the siege of Aire as soon as we imagined. The governour asked, yesterday, to capitulate, and he is to evacuate the town, as well as fort St. Francis, the day after to-morrow.

I entreat your Electoral Highness to accept of my very humble congratulations on this happy success, which rendering us masters of the greatest part of Artois, will be of very great importance to us, for the operations of the next campaign. It is very much to be regretted, that the season does not permit to make another effort, before the army separates, to endeavour to bring the enemy to reason. But it is high time to give some ease to the troops, after the fatigues which they have endured, during four sieges sufficiently obstinate, and to think of the means of putting them in a condition to act, as soon as possible, next year: to which, I am persuaded, your Electoral Highness will contribute on your side, with your usual zeal and readiness.

The situation of this town obliges us to put it in a state of defence, before we leave it; after which, we will not delay to retire to winter-quarters. I very humbly entreat your Electoral Highness to be persuaded, that wherever I am, I shall do myself a great honour, in shewing you the inviolable attachment and respect with which I am, &c."

VOL. II.

D d

Henry

1710.
November.
Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked Mif-
cell. d'Etat.
2. No. 193.

Henry St. John to Robethon.

Translation.

Whitehall, November 10, 1710.

"THE honour which you was pleased to do me by your letter of the 23^d of the last month, deserved to have an answer made to it by the first opportunity. This is a duty in which I would not have failed, if I had not been so oppressed with business these two weeks, that it was impossible for me to perform it.

I beg of you, Sir, to believe, that I embrace, with all imaginable pleasure, the offer which you make me of a correspondence, that must be very agreeable to me, and perhaps useful to the two courts which we have the honour of serving.

The baron de Bothmar is expected here shortly, as I have sent, some time ago, the Queen's orders to the commissaries of the admiralty, to send over a yacht for him to Holland. He may assure himself, that I shall not fail to render him my services in all things. This is the least mark I can give of the respect which I always bore, and which I shall never lose for the court, of which he is the minister. Her Majesty will name shortly, the minister whom she is to send to his Electoral Highness. I hope that you will be pleased with him, and I doubt not, but you will grant him your protection.

You will always do me a particular favour, when you give me your orders. This is a truth, of which I beg you to be persuaded; and, at the same time, that it is impossible to be more sincerely than I am, with great respect, &c."

Ibid.
No. 214.

Copy of a Letter from a secret Correspondent, which was sent from London, in cyphers.

The Whigs acknowledge they defend a parliamentary right to the Crown, but deny, that they maintain republican or antimonarchical principles.

Translation.

November 14, 1710.

"MY lord Halifax and my lord Sunderland beg of you, Sir, to explain to your court, that the Whigs are, by no means, for a republic, nor for rendering the crown elective, as they consider it hereditary in the protestant line, and belonging to the nearest in that line.

But

But it is not possible for the Whigs to abandon the Revolution. They advanced the late King to the throne, and they are obliged to defend his title. Now, they advanced him then in preference to the Queen who now reigns, although she was nearer, and a protestant. As this could not be done but by the authority of the parliament, it is natural for the Whigs to defend that authority, and the parliamentary right to the crown; for otherwise, they would declare themselves traitors and rebels. And as the establishment of the Hannoverian succession is a consequence of the Revolution, and a work of the late King, your court should take it well of the Whigs, that they defend the Revolution, and should excuse some expressions in their last writings, which appear to carry too far the authority of the parliament in the affair of the succession; and the more so, that the maxims of the Tories tending directly to prepare the way for the prince of Wales, and to secure his title from being called in question; it is natural for the friends of the Hannoverian succession, to maintain a contrary doctrine. The baron de Bothmar is expected impatiently, in order that they may explain themselves to him more fully upon this subject."

Mr. Blatbwait to the Elector.

Nothing.

Translation.

S I R,

November 16, 1710.

"MY youngest son, having made the last campaign in Flanders, wished for nothing so much, as for the honour of paying his respects to your serene Highness, and of offering you all the services, which the time and his duty can exact from a person so devoted to the serene family. If, by throwing himself at the feet of your Electoral Highness, he can merit some marks of your kindness, and of that of the Electoral prince, he will think himself very happy, as well as he, who professes to be, with a very profound respect, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An Answer to the Duke's Letter of the 9th of November.

Translation.

My Lord,

Gohre, November 21, 1710.

"I Received, with so much the greater pleasure, the letter of the 9th instant, which you was at the trouble of writing to me, that I ex-

D d 2

pected

1710.
November.

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes. No.
104.

Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked.
Princes.
No. 244.

1710.
November.

pected the taking of Aire with extreme impatience. I congratulate you, upon having finished, by so important a conquest, such a brilliant campaign. I rejoice, not only for the advantages which result from it to the common cause, but also for the honour which you have acquired thereby; taking always a very great part in whatever concerns you. I shall give the necessary orders, that my troops may be recruited, with all necessary dispatch, being very happy, on this, as on all other occasions, to shew my zeal for the service of her Majesty and of the public; and to convince you, in particular, that I am very sincerely, my Lord, &c."

Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 138.

The Elector to Mr. Harley.

An Answer to Mr. Harley's Letter of November 1st.

Translation.

S I R, Hannover, December 15, 1710.

"MRS. Cresset delivered to me the letter which you took the trouble to write to me. I received, with a great deal of pleasure, the assurances which it contains of your attachment to the interest of my family. It is with great joy I learn, that the Queen honours with her confidence, a minister, who knows so perfectly the true interests of Great Britain, and who has always shewn so much zeal for his country. As I have nothing more at heart, than that friendship of which her Majesty has given me so many proofs; you cannot confer a more sensible obligation upon me, than by contributing to preserve it to me. I shall cultivate it, on my part, with all possible attention; and I shall be always very happy to shew you the regard which I have for you, and the sincerity with which I am, &c."

December.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked Mis-
cell. d'Etat.
No. 194.

Robethon † to Mr. St. John.

Translation.

Hannover, December 17, 1710.

"I Received while I was at Gohre, (from whence our court returned three days ago) the obliging letter with which you was pleased to honour me. His Electoral Highness, who read it, has very expressly commanded me to thank you, from him, for the protestations which it contains of your zeal for the interests of his family; and to assure you,

† Indorsed in his own hand, "My answer to Mr. St. John."

that

that he is very sensible of this, and has a very great esteem and regard for you, knowing your capacity, which renders you so deserving of the choice and confidence of the Queen.

His Electoral Highness approves much of my having the honour of writing to you, when Mr. Bothmar shall be absent from London, and business worthy of your attention shall offer. But during the residence of that minister, at her Majesty's court, you will allow, no doubt, that since he has the entire confidence of his Electoral Highness, and is perfectly well acquainted with his intentions, my correspondence would be very useless; and would but only weary you by the repetition of things, which Mr. Bothmar will not fail to represent to you verbally, much better than I can write them. I said so to my lord Rivers, and I must add now, that they hope here, you will be pleased to give Mr. Bothmar some share of your confidence; and will judge him deserving of this when you know him; having great experience in business, with a great deal of discretion, and impartiality, and known probity. I am not afraid of flattering him, in allowing him these qualities.

As to the rest, I am very much surpris'd, Sir, that you should demand my protection, for the minister whom her Majesty shall send here. I am not upon such a footing at this court, as to be able to protect any one; and the ministers of so great a Queen, have no need of any other protection here, but their character. But with regard to the rendering my small services to him who shall come here, and the doing so cheerfully, with all imaginable care and sincerity, I can venture to promise this, and I shall perform it with pleasure, as I endeavoured to do, to the late Mr. Cresset, to my lord Winchelsea, Mr. Poley, and Mr. How.

I received likewise, with respect and gratitude, the polite things which Mr. D'Hervart wrote to me, by your order. I desired him to testify this to you, and I doubt not, but he has communicated to you the letter which I wrote to him, entreating you to believe, that in all I can do, I shall never feel any motive, but that of acquiring the honour of your esteem, and of being considered by you as an honest man, a quality without which I would not venture to take the liberty of calling myself, with great respect, &c."

The

1710.
December.

1710.
December.
Robethon's
draught,
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes,
No. 136.

Robethon's
Draught.
Ibid. No. 140.

Hannover
Papers, Mis-
cell d'Etat.
2. No. 139.

The Elector to Doctor Hutton.

Translation.

Hannover, December 21, 1710.

SIR,
“MR S. Cresset delivered to me the letter which you gave her. I also received, in due time, the three letters written in an unknown hand. I am very sensible of the marks which you give of your attachment to my interest. I learn, with pleasure, the justice which has been done you, by chusing you a member of the present parliament. If any thing passes there which you shall judge proper to communicate to me, you will oblige me by taking that trouble, and by believing that I shall be always very glad to have opportunities of doing you a pleasure. I am, Sir, &c.”

The Elector to the Duke of Leeds.

An answer to the Duke's letter of November 1.

Translation.

Hannover, Dec. 22d, 1710.

My Lord,
“THE letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me was delivered to me upon my return hither. I did not choose to delay to testify to you, how sensible I am of the assurances which you give me in it, of your attachment to my interests and to those of my family. What you have done for the good of your country in the last revolution is well known; and makes me wish for the long continuance of a life, of which you know to make so good use. The regard, which I always had for your person and for your great qualities would have been a sufficient motive to procure an agreeable reception to my lord Danby and his brother; but I can tell you, without flattery, that they deserved it themselves, and that their stay at Hannover did me a real pleasure. I entreat you to believe, that I shall always do myself a great pleasure, in finding opportunities in obliging you and yours; and in shewing you that I am very sincerely, &c.”

Extract of a letter from Sir Rowland Gwyne to Robethon.

December 31, 1710.

“IF a prince there is so good and wise, as to be content to govern according to the constitution and laws of the land, he may employ whoever he pleases in his service, without regarding the opinion of others;

others; but with this reserve, that if they act ill, that he will leave them always to be judged by the laws of the land, and such a declaration would be the best means to suppress insolence and parties.

1710.
December.

But now as to the high-church.

There are 9600 parishes in England, and consequently so many parsons; but their number may be at least 2000 more, to supply cures and who seek preferment.

Ten or fifteen of this number have made it their business to preach that the church is in danger, though the church enjoys all the privileges that the law does allow them; but the clergymen in England would have the same power over the people, that the church of Rome had in the time of its dominion over us.

The Queen and parliament have now declared, that they will maintain the church as established by law; so that they will not gain any thing by their noise, only this ministry have blown them up to recommend them and their party, to govern the helm, which point they have gained, and the poor ambitious priests will be left in the lurch.

The priests handle edged tools, which any prince may cut them with, when he pleases; for the laws are so severe against their encroachments, that they are in danger of treason or premunire upon the least fault; and the civil government hath been so jealous of their impertinence, that the convocation of the clergy, cannot do any thing but by commission from the King or Queen, and they cannot debate upon or resolve any point, but such as are permitted in their commission; and which resolved, they are not valid, unless the Queen approves them.

So that you see our church is limited by law. I think it good, in its constitution and doctrine; but shall never encourage or consent to the pride, ambition, and dominion of *priests*, which hath occasioned so much blood-shed in the world in all ages.

Sir, I ask your pardon for writing you so long a letter, but my thought suggested it to me, with a respect and good intention towards you. If any of them may be thought by you serviceable to his Electoral Highness, you may communicate them. I am, &c."

STUART

STUART PAPERS.

1711.

THOUGH the excluded branch of the family of Stuart lost the best foundation for their hopes by the removal of the earl of Godolphin, their expectations rose to an extravagant pitch, from the opinions propagated by the Tories concerning the principles of the new ministry. They were no strangers to Harley's attachment to the protestant succession: but they supposed, that he would sacrifice his principles to his prudence; especially, as his political enemies had obtained the confidence of the family of Hannover. The adherents of the court of St. Germain, judging superficially of things, built much on the supposed attachment of Queen Anne to her brother, and the violent principles of the Tories, in favour of the hereditary succession of the crown. They were too weak or too ignorant to perceive, that the timidity of the Queen was little calculated to favour their cause, and that the professions of the Tories consisted merely of empty clamour and noise. In this state of deception, they renewed, or rather continued, with encreasing vehemence, their correspondence with Great Britain; and the intelligence which they sent and received throws a new and important light on the history of the present year.

Nairne's
papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
p. 17.

"The King's letter to Lord Balmerino."

A copy in Nairne's hand. It was directed to Mr. Brown.

SIR,

March 2d, 1711.

THE friendship you have always shewn me hath been so true and unalterable, and your merit so universally distinguished, that I have not words at present to express my gratitude towards you; but hope when I dine with you at Leith, or wherever it can best happen, to give you essential proofs how great a value I have for you, and how sensible

I am

I am of your willingness to serve me. Your own prudence and firmness can best suggest to you the ways and means for effecting your good intentions, therefore I shall add no more here, but that I am fully persuaded you will lose no opportunity of serving me, no more than I shall lose any of giving you proofs of the friendship and esteem I have for you, referring the rest to the bearer, who is entirely trusted by me, and for whose honesty and secrecy I dare answer in any thing you shall impart to him.

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J. R."

Middleton inclosed this letter in the following to Abram.

March 5th, 1711.

"THE last post brought us nothing from Mr. Morley, whom we can only rely on. You will herewith receive what you ordered for Mr. Brown; if it is not right, the writer is not in the wrong. "It is not he who says Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he who does the will of my father. Every tree is known, not only by the bark and leaves, but by the fruit it bears." These are texts for Abram to hold forth on. There seems to be a coalition betwixt Honyton [Harley] and Williamson: cut a snake asunder, and it will join again. If Marville [Marlborough] has done this, 'tis the greatest action of his life, and of a piece with the rest. Pray enlarge and explain the visit to be made to Mr. Swift. If poor Lamb were alive, we might expect to know many things, which, I confess, are not easily transmitted otherwise. Infatuation is the word.

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
P. 17.

The Earl of Middleton to Abram.

Ibid. p. 18.

Melville is supposed to be the duke of Marlborough, and one of the letters to be delivered is probably the Chevalier de St. George's letter to Queen Anne, dated the month of May, this year.

March 19th, 1711.

"BY the last post, I received yours of the 23d of February, which gave great satisfaction to all who saw it, notwithstanding the many reasons we have to distrust Melville's [Marlborough's] sincerity. But, since it is now more his interest than formerly, we depend more on that, than his promises. But if he has the will, he wants the means; they are with him like two buckets on the same rope.

As to the letters, we can say nothing, till we see draughts. The three persons, proposed to deliver them, are very proper, if they will under-

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take it, which I doubt much. As for Musgrave [supposed to be the duke of Bucks] he is by no means fit; for, if Conrad would accept them from any of the other three, yet he would not trust him. If Honnyton [Harley] would receive his own well, he would not refuse to give the other, and it must land there at last. But if he does not accept his own, then why should not you try Mrs. Settle [Mrs. Masham], who, you said, had offered herself for such a purpose? But this will not come to bear, till you are possessed of the original.

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
p. 12—18.

Ibid. p. 18.

In the months of October, November, and December, 1710, and in the months of January, February, and March, this year, the earl of Middleton and Mr. Nairne wrote several letters to Knox, Abram, and Lamb. These letters are mostly allegorical; and cannot be explained. In almost all of them, they express the greatest impatience to see Lamb; and on the 9th of April, Nairne wrote to Abram to tell him, that Lamb was at length arrived. The real name of Lamb was Lesley, the well-known nonjuror clergyman. Upon his arrival in France, he gave his opinion of things in general, in the following memorial to the court of St. Germain.

April.
Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 37.

The Memorial of the Sieur Lamb.

A copy in Nairne's hand.

Circumstances are now favourable for an invasion, the English being disgusted at the change of the ministry, and the Scots at the protection the parliament gave to Greenshields.—The credit of the Bank was endangered by a threatened, and will be ruined by a real invasion.—The Queen will prefer her brother to the family of Hannover.—His friends will declare for him.—The advantages he must derive from a treaty with the nation.—Objections against him on account of his religion.—Advices about it.—An alliance proposed with Sweden.

Translation.

April, 1711.

“SINCE the Revolution, there has not been so great a confusion of counsels and of measures in England, as there has been since the last change in the ministry; and the affair of Greenshields, a minister of the church of England, whom the parliament has lately protected against the

the presbyterians of Scotland, has irritated the latter to such a degree, that they would concur in whatever might deliver them from the Union with England, which is universally detested in Scotland; where they are all persuaded, that nothing can deliver them from it, but the return of their sovereign.

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There is, at present, a concurrence of circumstances, more favourable for an enterprise than there has been since his Majesty came out of England. But all this will change in time; and for the future, they will attend only to the means of supporting, as easily as they can, the chains, from which they see no further hopes of being delivered.

There is not a man in Great Britain, who is not convinced, that, if the King of England had landed the last time in Scotland, he would have infallibly succeeded; and the conjuncture appears, at present, still more favourable than it was then. The inclination of the Scots towards their King appears visible, in their sending, as members to parliament, the same men who had been brought prisoners to London on account of the invasion; and I can assure, that these men have not changed their sentiments. The presbyterians in Scotland opposed the elections as much as they could, and their ministers preached against them; but in vain; for these members were chosen in spite of them, by a great majority of voices.

At the time of the last expedition to Scotland, men ran in crowds, and with so great eagerness, to withdraw their stock out of the Bank, that the commons were obliged to pass a law declaring all those to be enemies to the government and to the nation, who should demand their money from the Bank, at that time; but, instead of curing the evil thereby, they increased the discontent; every one exclaiming, that it was cruel to treat, as enemies to the state, those who called for their money when they had occasion for it; and, if news had not come, that the King of England had returned to France with the fleet, in twelve hours later the Bank would have been shut up. This is well known to all those who were then in London, and is known throughout all England, insomuch, that, since that time, the credit of the Bank is greatly diminished. Not long ago, the news of the sailing of 13 or 14 privateers from Dunkirk gave the alarm in England, that the Pretender was coming; upon which, several,

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verals, with some of whom I am acquainted, ran immediately to the Bank to demand their money; and there is no doubt, but the same thing will happen universally, whenever there is a real invasion. All the funds will fail: no tax will be paid, but what is raised by force: no one will choose to advance money upon the security of the funds; and without it, it will be impossible to make new preparations for opposing the invasion.

If the Bank of England fails, I believe there is no doubt, that the Confederates will not be able to support the war, and then his most Christian Majesty will have a safe game to play, without running any risk. Troops are daily draughted, to be sent out of the kingdom; so that few will be left to make opposition, and there are several in the army who have discovered their dispositions of returning to their duty towards their King, if they found the opportunity.

They are preparing fleets to be sent to the Mediterranean and elsewhere; so that the few ships, which will remain to guard the channel, cannot hinder the passage from Brest to Kirkcudbright; especially, if an alarm is given from Dunkirk and other ports. All the fleet of England can never hinder a squadron to pass from Brest to Ireland; and Scotland is only a little more distant in the same line.

Several in England wish the King well, who would not hazard their estates for him; but these very people would not willingly hazard anything against him, if they saw the smallest risk on the side of the government. It seems, therefore, that the greatest number want only an opportunity of declaring themselves; that is to say, the return of his Britannic Majesty, with a force sufficient to protect those who would choose to join him on his arrival. If he came with 10,000 men, it is thought there would not be a sword drawn against him; but if he cannot have that number, 5000 men would render the success probable, but not so certain.

It is generally thought, that the princess of Denmark is favourably inclined towards the King her brother; and that she would choose rather to have him for her successor, than the prince of Hannover. But she is timid, and does not know to whom she can give her confidence. The duke of Leeds told me, that he had endeavoured to sound her as much as he could, upon this subject, and he is in her confidence, and has free access to her; but though she never chose to explain herself upon
this

this point, she says nothing against him. It is thought, that if the King of England was in Scotland, a treaty with him would be immediately proposed, and then the members of parliament would be at liberty to declare their sentiments; whereas, they are now restrained by an act of parliament, which declares all those guilty of high treason, who shall oppose the Hannoverian succession, by word or by writing. But the King of England being in Scotland, and all the kingdom acknowledging him, which could not fail to happen soon after his arrival in that country, then the present necessity, and the common good of the nation, would authorise the liberty, which each might take, of proposing whatever could prevent the fatal effects of a civil war. I am well assured, that some members of parliament would speak boldly in that case; and I have also reason to believe, that there are several others, who only want a similar conjuncture for declaring themselves, and who would do it cordially: and there is scarcely any doubt, but the greatest number would be for a treaty. Those who would oppose it, would not render themselves popular, and might be considered as the enemies of the peace and settlement of the nation; and the very rumour of the treaty, would make the people consider the King as already in possession, and as the rising sun. I believe there is no example in our history, that the lawful heir has been admitted to a treaty, when his right was not acknowledged; as in the case of Stephen and Henry II.; of Richard duke of York, and of Henry VI. &c.: and the princess of Denmark having no children, would render the affair still more easy, both with regard to herself and with regard to the people.

The Arch-duke had none of these motives to encourage his enterprise, and was not assured of having one misquillite for him, when he undertook to make that diversion in Spain, which has continued for so many years, and is not yet finished. The diversion of the malecontents in Hungary has been of considerable advantage to France; and it was by marching into Saxony, that the King of Sweden obliged King Augustus to submit.

The smallest advantage which an expedition of the King of England into Scotland could produce, would be a civil war; which might be supported from time to time by France, even though none of his Majesty's subjects should join him: but that is not to be supposed: for in the divisions of parties, there are now malecontents enough in Great Britain,
who

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who would rejoice at that opportunity of joining him, besides so many others in distressed circumstances, or on bad terms with the government, whom fear, resentment, or hope would influence; and there are men of that character, in every country, but no where so many as there are at present in Great Britain. But it is certain that the greatest number of the Scots are disposed to join their King from inclination, and from a principle of loyalty. This is evident, from all that they have suffered, with so much constancy, for above two and twenty years; and that there is a considerable number of them, appears from the apprehensions the government entertain of them, and the measures they take to apprehend the leaders on every alarm. But there are, besides, a set of men, well-disposed, who have taken the oaths to the government only by form, and from interest, and whom general Stanhope, in Sacheverel's trial, calls the nonjuror-swearers. These are very numerous in the two kingdoms. There is not a high-church man in England that is not suspected by the government. This is the case with all those who have presented addresses for maintaining hereditary right and the maxim of the church of England, that a prince is never to be resisted; and these comprehend almost the whole nation, excepting such as are Whigs or Presbyterians by profession; who, however, are become the contempt and aversion of the people.

Malicious and injurious expressions against the King are no longer used, even by the Whigs, who dare not now express themselves as they did formerly. They acknowledged his birth in Sacheverel's trial, in order to destroy hereditary right by that means, and to convince the princess of Denmark, that she has no other title to the crown, but the settlement which has been made for the succession since the Revolution; and the generality speak with esteem and respect of the King's person.

I do not intend to conceal any thing. The only objection against the King is his religion; but that is not imputed to him as a fault, but as his misfortune and ours; and the people would endure him much more willingly, if they did not believe him a bigot to his religion; and this is the idea his enemies endeavour to give of him as much as they can.

To obviate this objection, the following means are judged useful, by his Majesty's friends, who persuade themselves that he will be ready to do, on his part, all that is lawful for him, to bring about his restoration;
and

and God forbid that more should be demanded of him, to gain even all the kingdoms of the earth.

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1st, The King of England, therefore, must not, either by word or by insinuation, give any reason to believe that he is capable of dissembling his religion. Every one would have a worse opinion of him, on that account, and less credit would be given to all that he could say.

But, to remove the objection of bigotry and blind zeal, it is proposed he should acquaint his subjects, that when it shall please God to restore him to his kingdoms, and to give him a proper opportunity, he will not refuse to hear whatever can be said to him, with respect and submission, in favour of the religion of his dominions. But whatever may be the issue of this, with regard to his Majesty's religion, that will not diminish our loyalty and our entire submission to him as our lawful sovereign.

It is not understood by this, that there is to be a public dispute, which is a sort of combat of gladiators for victory, and which ends generally in increasing the differences, and exasperating the animosities, upon both sides; the pride of man having a natural aversion to appear to be convinced: accordingly when reasons fail, pride summons all the passions to its aid, and then the combat is carried on with bitterness, and with personal reflections, which produce a hatred that excludes all means of reconciliation.

No, this is not pretended; it is proposed only, that his Britannic Majesty should not refuse to hear a reasonable man, who will explain to him, with all the deference and respect that is due to him, the principles of the church of England; and that, afterwards, he should determine as God and his conscience will dictate to him; but, at the same time, he should preserve to the church of England all legal securities for its establishment and support.

2dly, It is proposed, in order to remove all suspicion and prejudice against his Majesty, that, when he comes over, he should bring no more priests along with him than he has occasion for. It is the interest of the King of England, especially on his arrival, to give the people advantageous impressions of him; afterwards things will be more easy. When he is on the throne, and the people find that their religion, their liberty,
and

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and their fortunes are safe, he may then have as many priests with him as he pleases, without being found fault with. So that it is only proposed to deprive himself of some of them for a little time*.

3dly, If his most Christian Majesty would only connive at allowing the Protestant domestics of the King of England to assemble themselves, from time to time, at St. Germain's, in order to worship God in the most secret manner that possibly could be, that would do more service than 10,000 men. For, in England, that would appear as a sort of toleration, with regard to his attendants; and, being obtained by his Britannic Majesty, every one would consider it as a mark of his inclination to favour his protestant subjects, and as a pledge of what they might expect from him, when he was restored to his throne. Besides that, it would entirely remove the objection of bigotry. If it could be said in England, that the King has procured for the protestant servants who attend him, the liberty which is here proposed for them, that would be half the way to his restoration. I only repeat here the very words which I have heard from sensible men in London.

4thly, When the King of England comes, it will be proper to have in his company some minister of the church of England, who is of an approved character, in order to preach to the people, as soon as he lands, without trusting to chance, and employing the first whom he finds on the place, and who may be either disaffected or incapable.

5thly, It is necessary to bring along with him all the Irish troops, who will be very agreeable to the Highlanders, because they speak the same language; but, above all, to bring the duke of Berwick along with him; for he is feared and loved, and his presence will prevent all the disputes which may arise among the nobility of Scotland for the command of the army; for they will all submit to him, and they all desire that he may come.

Time presses and appears short; for, according to all appearances, the next winter will produce a peace, and then the King of England must be reduced to begin every thing a-new for bringing about his restoration, and to seek new and uncertain measures to accomplish it.

* The pen is drawn through the last paragraph in the copy; probably to prevent giving offence to the bigotry of Lewis XIV. for whose perusal the translation of the memorial was intended.

If the prince of Denmark, who is very infirm, dies, and if the prince of Hannover is once in possession, he will bring along with him his German troops, who, in virtue of the last act of parliament, will be naturalized the moment they arrive; and he will humble and ruin all the King of England's friends, and render, by these means, his cause desperate."

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[The pen is drawn through what follows.]

"If his most Christian Majesty is not in a condition now to furnish troops and other succours necessary to the King of England, for an expedition into Scotland, may not some proposals be made to the King of Sweden? Will not that prince be very well pleased to have such an ally to assist him to obtain satisfaction from the King of Denmark, and to defend his coasts against the Muscovites? And, in case of a double marriage, which might be proposed to him, he would have a chance of succeeding to the crown of England, as the King of England would have to that of Sweden. Their religion cannot be objected against the Swedes, for the prince of Hannover is a Lutheran.

If his most Christian Majesty chooses rather to land 5 or 10,000 men, to the assistance of the King of Sweden, than to risk his troops and his ships on an expedition to Scotland, the King of Sweden might send an equal number of troops to Scotland much more easily, because the passage is much shorter; and considering that that prince is engaged in fitting out considerable armaments, both by sea and by land, against the Danes, and against the Muscovites, the real designs of his preparations will never be suspected. He may be the more easily reconciled to this, that the government of England is not very favourably disposed towards him, of which his Swedish Majesty appears, by his last declaration, to be very sensible; declaring war against them, in some measure, and considering them as the aggressors, because they engaged to maintain a neutrality in the north of Germany: and nothing appears more natural, and more conform to the genius of that prince, than to enter into an alliance with the King of England, who may write to him, by the means of the Swedish resident, who is here, until he can send a minister to treat with him. Besides, that prince is guarantee of the peace of Ryswick, and has a right to interest himself in the present war; and, by an alliance with the King of England, he might once more have the balance of Europe in his hands,

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and give a general peace upon reasonable terms; and these two princes thus allied, would be in a condition to maintain the peace against all those who would incline to disturb it, and to prevent any rebellion that might arise in their respective dominions."

The dismissal of the Whig ministry, last year, was followed by a dissolution of the parliament. Doctor Sacheverel's trial, and his pompous procession to the country, when he went to his living in North Wales, inflamed the passions of the people, and influenced the elections in favour of the Tories. The expectations from a Tory ministry, and the proceedings of the new parliament, reanimated the hopes of the Jacobites, as appears from their own correspondence with their friends abroad; and from the Pretender's recommending to his adherents to support the measures of the present administration.

Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 36.

A letter to a friend; with a state of affairs in England. 1711.

A copy in Nairne's hand; with corrections interlined, in lord Middleton's. *Violence of both Whigs and Tories.—The Whigs are attached to the family of Hannover.—To prevent a civil war, the King should come over, and the laws settling the succession be repealed.—The Pretender recommended to his friends to support the measures of the court and the present ministry.*

S I R,

"SINCE you desire my opinion upon the present state of affairs of our country, and that you assure me I may, with all safety, confide my private thoughts to you, I shall tell you here very plainly what I think most adviseable in the present conjuncture.

I need not go about to prove, that the house of Hannover and the States of Holland are united with the Whigs and discontented party of England; against the Queen, her present ministry, and the church of England.

Their late proceedings have sufficiently shewn their inclinations that way; and nothing is more obvious, than that the church and court party can expect no quarter from these three united powers, if ever they come to have the superiority. They think they have been very ill used, and after resenting their pretended injuries so publickly as they have done,

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it is not to be expected they will ever hardly pardon. 'Tis pretty plain they are in a sort of confederacy together, and that they are resolved to stand and fall by one another. The duke of Hannover has, in conjunction with the States, declared himself so openly for the Whig party, in opposition to the Queen herself, as well as her ministry, that it is visible he is inseparably united to that party, and will always be influenced by it; and that if ever he comes to have the power in his hands, the church and present ministry must fall a sacrifice to the Whigs' revenge; the breach being too wide to expect they can ever be thoroughly reconciled.

I am of opinion, therefore, that as matters stand now, there remains only one expedient that can possibly secure, at once, both the church and state against any attempt that may be made to their prejudice, either during the Queen's life, or after her death, by a powerful, absolute prince, supported by a jealous, interested nation abroad, and animated by an exasperated, factious party at home; and that is to call home the Queen's brother, whose just right gains ground daily in the hearts of his subjects: in order to which, I think it not only advisable, but absolutely necessary, to send to treat with him without loss of time; for all depends upon taking timely measures, it being of the last importance to the court and country interest, as well as his, to be before-hand with their common adversaries. Accidents may happen; we are all mortal; and if things be not prepared and secured before a vacancy, it will be very hard, after that, to avoid a civil war: for we all know, that, according to the laws now in being, Hannover, in that case, must of course be proclaimed King. It will be too late then to repeal those laws which make it high treason to oppose him; and it is not to be doubted but he will quickly come over here, and bring with him (if it be necessary) all the force the Hollanders and he can draw together. On the other hand, it is certain the King will not be wanting, on his side, to transport himself, at any rate, into some part of his dominions, to join with his friends, in order to assert his right, and venture all, rather than have the shame and grief to see a foreign U——r take peaceable possession of his lawful inheritance. This must unavoidably produce a civil war, which is, perhaps, what the Hollanders wish for; the fatal consequences of which may last and extend, nobody knows how far.

1711. The only remedy I see to prevent these misfortunes, and save our nation from ruin and bloodshed, is the proposal above mentioned, of sending, immediately upon the conclusion of the peace, to treat with her Majesty's brother, the King, and call him home privately upon the first recess of parliament.

This is absolutely the quickest, safest, and easiest way; for all other slow, dilatory methods of preparing things by degrees, managing the opposite party, waiting for new favourable opportunities, and keeping, in the mean time, this prince at a distance, are exposed to too many dangers and difficulties, besides that unanswerable one of a sudden mortality, which, as it may very possibly happen, to our great grief and misfortune, when we expect it least, so it is the height of imprudence not to prepare against it.

It would require a great deal of more time, than we can in prudence promise to ourselves, to go about to repeal the act of the settlement of the crown, in a parliamentary way, before he be called over; so I think that tedious method nowise advisable. Besides that, the undertaking itself might meet with such opposition, in his absence, as would expose it to the danger of a miscarriage; whereas, he being once upon the place invited thither, and countenanced by her Majesty (which is no hard matter to contrive, so as to make it very practicable in the recess of parliament, without the least danger of disturbance) those very persons, who would have opposed him in parliament, and every where else in his absence, will be the first to come and kiss his hand when he is here, and comply with whatever the Queen shall think fit to do in his favour.

It is so visibly the Queen's and the present ministry's true interest to call her only brother home, in this conjuncture, that he and they may be a mutual support and security to one another, that I am morally assured he will not make the least difficulty to trust himself entirely into their hands, whenever they please to call him; and that he will be willing even to come over with a page only to accompany him, upon the Queen his sister's letter, if it be thought fit and necessary for his and their common interest so to do: and when he is once here, I am sure nobody will dare to find fault with the Queen's receiving him kindly. She may safely present him to her council, own him there for her brother,

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ther, and declare her good intentions towards him, and what she has thought fit, with the advice of her ministers, to treat and concert with him, for the future good and peace of her kingdoms. After which step it will be infinitely more easy and less hazardous by any other method whatsoever, to get the present settlement of the succession altered, in the next meeting of the parliament, and every thing regulated there to their mutual satisfaction; and all the rights and privileges of church and state, crown, parliament, and people settled again upon the solid foundation of the ancient laws and constitution of the kingdom.

But to assure the success of this great work, I think it absolutely best, when he is invited over, that he be allowed to come straight to London, where his sudden and unexpected appearance will surprise and confound all his unprepared enemies, break all their measures, and make every thing go so quick and easy on the Queen's side and his, that they will soon, by the wise conduct of the present ministry, put it out of the power of either Hannover or the discontented Whigs to disturb the new settlement that shall be agreed upon, between the brother and his now only sister. But, in case things be not thought ripe enough, or sufficiently disposed to bring him straight to London, the next best will be to bring him to Scotland; which would be better by far, than sending him a travelling into foreign countries. Only one thing is to be observed, as to Scotland, that the government of the church there being Presbyterian, and the generality of that nation being discontented with the Union, which we in England think our interest to maintain, he may, perhaps, have some hard proposals made to him upon that head, by a prevalent party in that kingdom, which will make him very uneasy, by putting a disagreeable necessity upon him of refusing what he cannot grant to them, without disobliging the English, which I have good reason to believe he is resolved not to do; it being contrary to his inclination, as well as his interest, to do any thing in favour of one nation, that may be a just ground of grievance to another; his intention, as I am credibly informed, being to leave all those matters of state, as well as of religion, to be entirely decided and settled in a British parliament.

Thus, Sir, I have (in compliance to your desire) opened my mind freely to you upon a very nice point. I hope, from your friendship for me, and your known discretion in matters of this importance, that you will

1711. will not communicate this paper, but where you are sure it will be safe, and where you have reason to hope it may be of some use. I shall conclude with assuring you, that you are the only person to whom it is sent, and that neither the person by whose conveyance it comes, nor any other person whatever on your side, knows any thing of the contents of it. Any thing that tends towards Jacobitism (as I own this letter does) sounds ill in the ears of those who are always used to tack popery, slavery, and arbitrary government together; and have no other notion of a popish King, but that of a bigot tyrant. But I, who know from unquestionable hands, that the Pretender (as we call him here) besides his other great and good qualities, is too wise and too just a prince to think of persecuting any body for his religion; that, on the contrary, all those of our church, that are about him at present, have distinguished marks of his bounty shewn to them, with assurances that it shall not be his fault if they have not the full exercise of their religion whenever they go with him. I, who know also, that he has sent particular directions to his friends here, to join themselves unanimously to vote for and support the measures of the court and present ministry, with all the interest they have, am not only fully persuaded of his true affection for his sister, and love for his country, but am also convinced, in my conscience, that our established religion, as well as our liberties, estates, and employments, and every thing else that is dear to us, will be infinitely more secure under his government, than under a Lutheran foreign prince, influenced by German and Whig counsels: and, therefore, to you I am not afraid nor ashamed to own myself, so far a Jacobite as to wish a good understanding between our gracious Queen and her brother, which I look upon to be the only means to make her Majesty happy, easy, and safe, as long as she lives, our present ministry out of danger of being ever oppressed by their enemies, our church safe, and our country happy. To be a Jacobite, at this rate, in my opinion, is to be a true patriot and a faithful subject; and I hope you do me the justice to have no other opinion of, Sir, &c.

Whatever might have been the disposition of her ministry, there is reason to think that the Queen herself was now inclined to secure the succession to her brother. In the following rough draught of a letter to her in English,

English, of which there is also a draught of a French translation among Nairne's papers, and both in Nairne's hand, the Chevalier puts her in mind of a promise she had made to their father, and proposes to her, that she should send over to him a trusty person, with whom he might enter into a treaty. It is evidently the Pretender's own diction. 1711.

A letter to Queen Anne from her Brother.*

Nairne's
papers,
D. N. vol. iii.
fol. No. 38.
May.

Madam,

May, 1711.

"**T**HE violence and ambition of the enemies of our family, and of the monarchy, have too long kept at distance those who, by all the obligations of nature and duty, ought to be more firmly united; and have hindered us from the proper means and endeavours of a better understanding between us, which could not fail to produce the most happy effects to ourselves, to our family, and to our bleeding country.

But whatever the success may be, I have resolved now to break through all reserve, and to be the first in an endeavour so just and necessary. The natural affection I bear you, and that the King our father had for you, till his last breath; the consideration of our mutual interest, honour, and safety, and the duty I owe to God and my country, are the true motives that persuade me to write to you, and to do all that is possible for me to come to a perfect union with you.

And you may be assured, Madam, that though I can never abandon, but with my life, my own just right, which you know is unalterably settled by the most fundamental laws of the land; yet I am most desirous rather to owe to you, than to any living, the recovery of it. It is for yourself that a work so just and glorious is reserved. The voice of God and nature calls you to it; the promises you made to the King our father enjoin it; the preservation of our family, the preventing of unnatural wars require it; and the public good and welfare of our country recommend it to you, to rescue it from present and future evils; which must, to the latest posterity, involve the nation in blood and confusion, till the succession be again settled in the right line.

* This is supposed to be one of the letters in lord Middleton's letter to Abram, of the 19th of March.

I am.

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May.

I am satisfied, Madam, that, if you will be guided by your own inclinations, you will readily comply with so just and fair a proposal as to prefer your own brother, the last male of our name, to the dutchess of Hanover, the remotest relation we have, whose friendship you have no reason to rely on, or be fond of, who will leave the government to foreigners of another language, of another interest, and who, by the general naturalization, may bring over crowds of his countrymen to supply the defect of his right, and enslave the nation.

In the meantime, I assure you, Madam, and am ready to give all the security that can be desired, that it is my unalterable resolution to make the law of the land the rule of my government, to preserve every man's right, liberty, and property, equally with the rights of the crown; and to secure and maintain those of the church of England, in all their just rights and privileges, as by law established; and to grant such a toleration to dissenters as the parliament shall think fit.

Your own good nature, Madam, and your natural affection to a brother, from whom you never received any injury, cannot but incline your heart to do him justice; and, as it is in your power, I cannot doubt of your good inclinations. And I do here assure you, that, in that case, no reasonable terms of accommodation which you can desire for yourself, shall be refused by me. But as affairs of this moment cannot be so well transacted by letters, I must conjure you to send one over to me, fully instructed and empowered by you, or to give security for such a one from me; for by that way only, things can be adjusted to our mutual satisfaction, which shall be managed on our side with the utmost secrecy.

I have made this first step towards our mutual happiness, with a true brotherly affection, with the plainness and sincerity that becomes both our rank and relation, and in the most prudent manner I could at present contrive; and will be directed by you in the prosecution of it, relying entirely on your knowledge and experience, as to the means and instruments.

And now, Madam, as you tender your own honour and happiness, the preservation and re-establishment of our ancient royal family, the safety and welfare of a brave people, who are almost sinking under present weights, and have reason to fear greater; who have no reason to

complain of me, and whom I must still, and do love as my own. I conjure you to meet me in this friendly way of composing our difference, by which only we can hope for those good effects which will make us both happy; yourself more glorious than all the other parts of your life, and your memory dear to all posterity.

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May.

The following is the composition of the Pretender himself, who was a better, more easy, and perhaps a more elegant writer than any one of his servants.

“Abstract of a letter writ in his Majesty’s own hand, and sent to his friends in England.”

Nairne’s
Papers, D.N.
vol. iii. 4to.
No. 27.

Copy in Nairne’s hand.

His opinion about differences of religion.—Promises of toleration to all, and protection to the church of England.

Dated May 2, 1711.

“IN answer to yours, I cannot, at this distance, and in my present circumstances, enter into disputes of religion; but those of the church of England have no reason to doubt of my favour and protection, after the early assurances I gave them in my instructions, bearing date the 3d March, 1702, which you have seen, and I am resolved to make good. I know my grand-father and my father too had always a good opinion of the principles of the church of England relating to monarchy; and experience sufficiently sheweth, that the crown was never struck at but she also felt the blow; and though some of her chief professors have failed in their duty, we must not measure the principles of a church by the actions of some particulars.

Plain dealing is best in all things, especially in matters of religion; and, as I am resolved never to dissemble in religion, so I shall never tempt others to do it; and as well as I am satisfied of the truth of my own religion, yet I shall never look worse upon any persons, because in this they chance to differ with me: nor shall I refuse, in due time and place, to hear what they have to say upon this subject. But they must not take it ill if I use the same liberty I allow to others, to adhere to the religion which I, in my conscience, think the best; and I may reasonably expect that liberty of conscience for myself, which I deny to none.”

VOL. II.

G g

Mrs.

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May.
Nairne's
Papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
p. 19.

Mrs. Watson, a name which will occur frequently hereafter, is mentioned now for the first time: but it is not certain whether it was a real or a feigned name.

"Nairne to Abram, 31 May, with a letter from the Queen to Mrs. Watson." Lady Middleton likewise corresponded with Mrs. Watson.

"June 4. My Lord (Middleton) writ to Abram, and sent the King's letter to my lord Mar, inclosed to him. Mr. Inese writ also to Abram, and I added a postscript. And I writ to Hackette, and sent him the direction by which earl Mar was to write to the King. For Mr. Andrew Flint, at Mr. John Hackette's, merchant, at Rotterdam."

The jealousy which the Tories began early to conceive of Mr. Harley, now earl of Oxford, will explain the following letter.

Ibid. p. 20.

"My Lord's letter to Abram."

September 6.

"**H**AVING made the campaign in the duke of Savoy's army, has hindered me from writing to you, which I hope you will excuse for that reason; but I hope Bayard [Sir William Ellis] has supplied my place much better, for poor Nesmith [lord Caryll, who died the preceding month] has visited the frontier of the world. But having seen one of yours, in which you say that Honiton [Oxford] shall be drove off the Exchange, except he pays his debts; I must tell you that this matter is too important to be acted, *sine permissu superiorum*: Bayard [Sir William Ellis] and I have often told you, that all these matters ought to be well explained and approved before they are undertaken. But since you proceed, I am now ordered to tell you, that you do nothing without an order from Jonathan Aitkins [the King], who should be fully informed, not only of the purpose, but of the means by which it is to be carried on; and of this you will advertise such of your friends as may fall into those courses. Mistake me not, I would still have you continue to bestir yourself, but only that you would let us know what you are doing."

Middleton wrote in the same strain to a Mr. Lilly, who will be frequently mentioned hereafter, under the name of cousin Hanna and dame Lilly.

"My

"My Lord's letter to Lilly."

September 20.

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September.
Nairne's Pa-
pers, vol. ix.
p. 20.

"MR. Smith's three letters [i. e. Mr. Lilly's] came hither at the same time. In one of them, he begins with accusing himself with rashness, with a great deal of reason, in exposing his contraband merchandise, for which he could have no ready money; nor indeed is there any thing to be expected from Honyton's [Harley's] shop, but pump and banter *. And in the end of that epistle, that he has proposals to make to him, without mentioning them, as soon as he is in a condition to stir out."

"Abram used to tell us that he had projects, as if a factor could make contracts without the approbation of the directors of the company; on which this advice was given to him."

"Your good will is commendable, your capacity respectable, but your zeal indiscreet. Your business is to watch what passes, to give just informations, to make well digested proposals; but not finish any thing without the directions of your employers; for there is nothing more dangerous for yourself, nor destructive to trade. If you are in the dark, it should make you more cautious; *qui ambulat in tenebris, nescit quo vadit*, is Gospel. If you have no directions, you should presume there are good reasons for it: you should not be so uncharitable as to think we would be wanting to ourselves; and though you only mention matters as from yourself, yet it makes those you deal with insist on higher terms."

"This is what was writ by Jonathan Young's order," i. e. probably by the King's, "to Abram."

"*Mutato nomine de te fabula narratur.*"

Ibid. p. 21.

"Nairne to Abram."

"To answer his two letters of the 11th and 18th September."

October 11.

"I Bid him write straight to Mr. de Torcy sometimes. I asked him if he heard from Leers, and advised him to write to him about Phips [the peace], and give him all the intelligence he could get concerning him."

* Oxford did not listen to the proposals which had been made to him.

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October.

The correspondence and intrigues of Marlborough, with the courts of St. Germain and its agents, have been already traced from year to year. The following letter not only continues the chain, but even makes us regret the want of access to the letters written by himself, and those who conferred with him; which, probably, lie sealed up and deposited in the Scotch college at Paris. The copies of the answers are, however, sufficient to shew the great line of the duke's intrigues. The letter which follows is the original, written by Tunstall to the earl of Middleton, to whom it was addressed, under the feigned name of M. Montigny, merchant in Paris. It is completely decyphered and explained, and thrown loosely into a volume of lord Caryll's letters.

Tunstall to the Earl of Middleton.

Lord Caryll's Letters,
vol. v. fol.
Scotch College.

Honoured Sir,

November 3.

“ I Have been away these two months since I writ my last to you, and my journey home being much about the same time your lawyer [Churchill] was in motion, made him a little concerned for fear he should not have had an opportunity of speaking to me before he left these parts for good and all: this he shewed in a more open manner than usual, for he asked particularly after [of] me of [after] one that had gone from our town to wait upon him, and commissioned him, at his return, to inquire whether I was come back or no; and if so, to tell me he had a mind to see me. But at this gentleman's return, I not being arrived, he neglected to send any more to our house, and I had like to have lost the news of this intimation. As soon as I knew it, in the uncertainty I was in to find Mr. James [Churchill], your lawyer, I writ to one of his household, to know more in particular his desires, and where I might wait upon him, who immediately answered me, as from his master, and fixed me the place where he was to stay some days: whereupon, the time pressing of both sides, I took post, and had two long conferences with him about Mr. Bernard's [the Queen's] lawsuit, and Mr. Kelly's [the King's] affairs. As to both which he shews a good-will, and gives, in appearance, sincere wishes; but how far he will be able to work effectually in the matter, I leave you to judge. First, as to Mr. Bernard's [the Queen's] deed, he says, it must be insisted upon in time; for he looks upon it certain that an accommodation [peace] will be made;

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made; and if he shall be found capable of helping on the signing this deed, he assures Mr. Bernard [the Queen] of his best services. (But he believes measures are taken in such a manner, that he shall be excluded from having any hand in concluding matters at Povey [peace]: but could not some one work to gain Mr. Mathew [Harley] and Nathaniel [Masham]?) He looks upon the strongly insisting upon, and gaining this point of the deed to be of great consequence, not only as to the making my lady Betty [the Queen] easy as to her own circumstances, but very much conducing to the advancing Mr. Athony's [the King's] interest: and this not so much again as to the money itself, as that the grant of it, (which cannot be refused, it being formerly concluded and granted at Povey [peace], and funds being set aside for it, and only diverted by "the unworthiness of him who then ruled the roast") and continual payment, will be a means to make people open their eyes, even in regard to Mr. Andrew [the King], and see better their own interest in reference to the same, "whose cause has got so much sensible ground for these latter years, that, (to assure me more, I suppose, of his real interior sentiments) he swore solemnly he thought it could not fail of coming to a happy issue: nay, that both sides would see an absolute necessity of having recourse to him, as the only means left of securing solid peace and happiness: not so much, perchance, (either Mr. Robert [High Church] or cousin Simon [Whigs]) out of any true principles of conscience or honesty, for he does not think either deserves the name of Lumfdell [Loyal].

As to Mr. Antony's [the King's] business, it must be managed with a great deal of dexterity. He was not a little startled at the news of his going to Mr. Price [the Pope]; it would not have been well at all. He says, when they begin to work at Povey [peace], perchance Mr. Edward [King of France] and his Fredlingers [ministers], (who will be willing to consecrate any thing to their own ends) will be consenting to Mr. Athony's [the King's] going to live some where with Mr. Price [the Pope], or some where in that country, and he fancies that something of that kind may be insisted upon by others in Evans [England]; by that means to persuade the tenants that they are altogether for excluding the Thomists [Catholics], and all for Gregory [Hannover]. "But he declares, as much as he can judge of things, that Mr. Athony's [the King's] going

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going thither must never be granted to." And this he looks upon as a point of the last importance; for he declares, he thinks it absolutely contrary to Mr. Athony's interest; and, therefore, though Mr. Edward [King of France] should consent to it, and people in Evans [England] push for it, it must not be done: and he desired me in particular to assure you of this, (and he swore it by the living God) that he thought, that if Mr. Benjamin [the Queen] ever consented to this, that 'twas no better than ruining and quite murdering this son's, the Grot's [King's] cause. If it be necessary, or judged advantageous to quit Forster [France], let him go to his uncle David [Germany], or rather have recourse to some free seat. But I asked him, what security for his person, there being such a writ out against him? He answered, he really did not think he wanted any security, for nobody would touch him. "As for his part, he had seen such visible changes for the better of late, on all sides, that he thought the gaining of his cause could not but follow." And when he gets his estate, he hopes he will make his tenants easy; and not thinking of annulling any regulations, made for the cutting down woods, and altering other farms, for these many years; for that will bring dangerous consequences, the interest of so many persons being engaged, who otherwise would come in to him.

When Mrs. Betty's deed [the Queen's jointure] is insisted upon, if it was to be put to Philip Cook [the parliament], you will find many, he is persuaded, even willing to help it on, and glad of an occasion of making their compliments *à bon grace*, and giving some testimony of their goodwill. If she thinks, that he shall be in any capacity of serving her in this point, she needs only to signify to him what she expects from him, and he will be very glad of the occasion of showing himself her humble servant. He insinuated a desire you should be sensible, that what he has done for these many years, (and seem to affirm the same of others) has not been out of any spleen or ill-will against you, but only to put down Foster [France], which he always judged the true interest of Mrs. Edwards [England], whose cause alone he pleaded for. He thinks certainly there will be an accommodation; for when he was, last winter, at Mrs. Evans [England], he saw so much of the disposition of the people, that if all were to be polled, nine in ten would absolutely vote for Povey [peace], being spent, on all sides, by so long a law-suit.

A great

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A great many, he says, have taken strange methods, of late, which, contrary to the intentions of those that made use of them, will prove very much to the advantage of Mr. Andrew's [the King's] cause; and God, who rules above, seems visibly to dispose all things for the best. Neither your cousin Temple, [the Tories] nor Wilson [the Whigs] are much to be relied on, quatenus such; but all that they have or seem to be a doing, will insensibly reduce both of them, more and more, to the necessity of doing Mr. Athony's [the King's] business, and even calling for him.

To signify these things to you, was the reason of his calling for me, and he desired I would take an occasion of waiting upon you for this intent; but I hope the writing this will suffice; if not, you know where to command. After my compliments to him, I told him, as to myself, I was much more afraid of the issue of his suits, in this following season, than in the former. He owned, he had been treated unworthily, upon several accounts: but that was nothing. For his part, God had blessed him with a great deal of temper, and he had taken the resolution of being quiet for the present; but he would expect his time; and if Mr. Matthew [Harley] or others pushed things to greater extremities, they should give him, perchance, only better hold, and they should find what metal he was made of.

He desired, that his compliments might be made, in a particular manner, to Mr. Barker [Berwick] and Mr. Wal. [E. Midd.] and bade me tell the latter, that he hoped Mr. Wal. [E. Midd.] would live to see better times, and more according to his satisfaction. He was pleased to ask me many questions about Mr. Walter's [E. Midd.'s] conversion; and said, he had heard, at the beginning, as if he had had a mind of retiring from business, for good and all. As for his conversion, I told him, it was beyond all doubt, truly solid, and certainly upon motives altogether christian; and for the rumour of his having a mind to retire, perchance, his retiring to our little seminary, at Onkfi [Paris], might give occasion of that rumour; but this was only to do his work he had undertaken more efficaciously, and first cleanse the garden of so many weeds that had overrun it, and secondly plant the same, with necessary adornments. (I think he answered, it is what we must all come to; but I did not understand him perfectly).

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As for the working at Povey [peace], he thought they had taken all their measures to do the business without him; and as for his part, he desired nothing more than to be at quiet. Some business to settle matters abroad, would detain him yet a little while, at Mr. Harrison's [Holland]; but when that was done, he would hasten home, where he would maintain himself against them all; and if Mr. Mathews [Harley] or others pushed matters any farther against him, perchance so much the better.

But, after he had used a great many compliments, &c. towards you, I thought it would not be amiss, civilly to urge him to something more positive, and endeavour to see if there were any more solid assurances to be had from him, above what one might call a compliment; and for the purpose, I objected this to him, that some might say, he being a lawyer of such interest, why would not he stickle more in Mr. Anthony [the King] and Barnard's [the Queen's] suits? He answered, he did not know what he could do directly in the matter; but only by managing people so, on occasions, as to make them enter into the aforesaid interests; and they might assure themselves, nothing should be wanting on his side, as occasions should present. He owned, indeed, that he had acted with a great deal of animosity against Foster [France], (and he always thought it the interest of his country so to do) but not against them; and really seemed to shew a great desire of all things prospering with you, and said, that God Almighty had disposed things so, that he solemnly swore again, that he thought Mr. Anthony's [the King's] business could not fail of going forward, and that his Rode [religion] would not be any hinderance to it, for all the protestations Evans [England] had made to the contrary. He says, he knows your cousin Harry [princess of Denmark] perfectly well; that he is a very honest person, but easily won and wrought upon; but, at the bottom, he certainly has no aversion from his brother Alexander [the King]. But he [princess Anne] is one that must not be frightened; and the lawyer [Churchill] says, he thinks any extern force used, will rather do more harm than good, both in regard of Harry [princess Anne] and others. Whereas, if one will but let things go on their own train, Alexander [the King's] business will go on of itself, and he does not doubt, but will come to a happy conclusion.

I wish it was in my power, in any manner, to conduce to it. It shall always lay close to my heart, and be the subject of my best prayers, with all the assurances of my most humble duty, whilst your most obedient and humble servant,

Nov. the 3d.

TUNSTALL [TREVER.]”

1711.
November.

The Earl of Middleton to Mr. Tunstal.

An Answer to the preceding.

Nairne's Pa-
pers, vol viii.
4to. No. 52.

Nov. 18, 1711.

“ I Received, Sir, yours of the 3d instant, for which I return you my thanks. As for your lawyer, he is gone; and before you meet again, we shall see clearer. His letter being intercepted, is a good reason for not writing to him. In the mean time, you must continue to see him, when there is occasion, and return compliments for compliments, which are more innocent than equivocations, because nobody is deceived by them. He had it in his power to have been great and good: but God hardened Pharaoh's heart; and now can only pretend to the humble merit of a post-boy, who brings good news, to which he has not contributed. Every body here is well satisfied with your prudent diligence; and in my own particular, you will still find me, Sir, your most faithful humble servant.”

The Earl of Middleton to Abram.

Ibid. p. 22.

November 8, 1711.

“ I Was obliged to write to you, nor did I fear you would take it ill from a friend that loves you: but when I was ordered to write to dame Lilly, I knew her to be exceptionous, and thought the best way to soften the matter, was to let her see, that there was nothing said to her, but what had been written to you, never dreaming, that she could have made so bad an use of it; but that shall be a lesson to me for the future; but I believe you are convinced as well as I, that I should shew no resentment *rebus sic stantibus*.”

“ If Phipps [the peace] comes on his trial this term, you should engage all your friends to do him what service they can.”

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Nairne's
Papers,
vol. viii.
4to, p. 22.

Nairne to Abram.

November 19, 1711.

"WITH a bill of the value of 300 livres, I told him again to get all Jainon's relations, and Proby's also, to favour Phipps, as also to keep well with Prior, to know all he could from him, and send account here."

A clandestine negociation had now been carried on, for five months, between France and England. Mr. Prior went to France in the month of July, and came back with Mr. Mesnager and the abbé Gaultier, in the month of August. Preliminary articles were signed, in London, about the latter end of September; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Emperor and of the States, and a spirited and vehement memorial from the Elector of Hannover, it was determined to open a general congress at Utrecht, in the beginning of the ensuing year. The court of St. Germain's seem to have had such confidence in the attachment of Queen Anne and her ministry to their cause, that they were not so uneasy now at the news of a general peace, as at the time of the treaty at Ryswick. The Dauphin paid them a visit, and congratulated them on their prospect. They did not, however, neglect the measures which prudence suggested on the occasion.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 35.

A Memorial given to the Marquis de Torcy, from which he may form instructions, to the plenipotentiaries of his most Christian Majesty at Utrecht, concerning the succession to the crown of England.

This Memorial, which is but a copy in Nairne's hand, begins with setting forth the disadvantages of which a disputed title to the crown had been formerly, and will always continue to be, to England, and then proceeds as follows:

December, 1711.

"IT would be proper to show the English, that the monarchy and the hierarchy, having such a close connexion, and so much dependence the one upon the other; the one cannot possibly subsist without the other, as might be easily shown, by arguments and examples. A King must entirely neglect his own interests, when he does not protect and maintain the

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the church of England, in all its rights and privileges; and, therefore, as there is not a stronger tie than common interest, the members of that church may be sure, that the King will never depart from the solemn promises which he hath already made to them, and which he is ready to confirm to them, that he will protect and maintain them, in the peaceful possession of all their rights, privileges, and immunities, which have been granted to them by acts of parliament and the common law of the kingdom.

And, in order to remove all their uneasiness on the article of religion, it may be shown to them, that, in the year 1702, the King having been informed, by men of rank of the church of England, that, in order to render their religion perfectly secure under a Catholic King, they wished that his Majesty would grant them certain privileges, even beyond what the acts of parliament and common law of the kingdom allow them; his Majesty having examined their demands, granted them immediately, although they could not deny themselves, but by granting them, he derogated from the rights and prerogatives of the crown."

Then follows a copy of the declaration.

"It appears plainly then, to any one who will reflect, that it is the interest of the English nation to finish, as soon as possible, all disputes about the succession of the crown, by re-establishing it in the right line; and it appears likewise, that the catholic religion, which is the only thing that can be objected to the King, is of no prejudice to them, but, on the contrary, an advantage, as his Majesty yields to the church of England, what no Protestant King would yield to them; therefore, the members of that church will find their account, and have their privileges more enlarged, and their securities better established under the King, being a catholic, than if he was a protestant."

After proposing, in the very words of the *Sieur Lamb*, that is, doctor Leslie, that the act of settlement should be repealed, that every one might be at liberty to declare his sentiments, the Memorialist proceeds.

"After the act, which exchanged the succession, shall be repealed, it would be necessary to send over the King to England, that he might learn what is necessary for him to know, in order to govern his people, by instructing himself in the laws and customs of the country; and like-

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wife, that he might be before-hand with the Dutch, who might otherwise, upon the first news of the death of the reigning princess, transport thither the prince of Hannover, which would infallibly produce a civil war, with which they would be very well pleased, because they would find their account in it. Moreover, they know that the prince of Hannover, who has not the best title on his side, will stand in need of a foreign support to maintain him; and, as he cannot find it any where but with them, they will by that dependence, reassume the direction of all the affairs of England, as they did during the government of the prince of Orange, which will nowise suit either the humours or the interests of the English nation.

When the King would be transported to England, the best means of securing to him the succession would be to treat him as a sovereign, in which, it does not appear, there would be any inconveniency to the reigning princess; who, for associating her brother to the royal title, will not the less peaceably enjoy all her authority, during her own life; as it has been seen lately, that the kingdom was governed peaceably, under the names of William and Mary, although the first had all the administration; and as it was seen formerly, that the same kingdom was governed as peaceably, under the names of Philip and Mary, although the last alone had the whole administration."

Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. ii.
fol. No. 34.

A Memorial concerning the dowry of the Queen of England, and the indemnity of the King of England's subjects, given to the Marquis de Torcy, in December, 1711.

THIS memorial recites, that the late King had made a settlement of 50,000 l. sterling upon the Queen, by letters patent under the great seal, which was afterwards confirmed by acts of parliament which have never been repealed; that according to the prerogatives of the Queens of England, she had appointed her own officers and disposed of her revenues, from the date of the settlement; that, therefore, she has an undoubted right to what is due since she left England; and that, if she could claim it, according to the usual forms, there is not a court of justice in England, but what would decide it in her favour.

The memorial mentions, in the next place, that her pretensions were sustained, by the English themselves, at the treaty of Ryswick, and recites

cites the particulars, which may be seen in the preceding volume, among the papers of that period.

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“ A promise so solemn, reiterated, and confirmed, in a manner so positive and so precise, and without any condition, should not have met with any difficulty in the execution; and the more so, that the parliament of England made no difficulty of testifying, in a very effectual manner, their approbation of that promise, by furnishing the prince with the means of performing it: for, in the first session after the peace, the commons assembled in parliament, granted him a new fund of a hundred thousand pounds sterling of an additional revenue, of which they appropriated the half to supply the funds on which the appanage had been assigned, and which had been otherwise employed; and to show further, that it was their intention that the sum should be paid honestly to the Queen, according to the promise publicly and positively made, in the name of the nation, without exacting any condition from her Majesty, they added a clause, by which it was declared, that those who should be employed to remit the money to the Queen, in France, should not be subject to the penalties of the law which forbade all correspondence with the court of St. Germain. This evidently shows, that the pretended condition, which was afterwards alleged to elude the payment, was ill-founded; and that the parliament never thought of exacting such conditions.”

The memorial next proposes, that at the ensuing treaty of peace, the sum of 50,000 *l.* should be secured to the Queen for life; and that all the arrears, due since the Revolution, at least since the treaty of Ryswick, should be paid. It specifies the manner in which this should be done; particularly, that the Queen should be at liberty to nominate any person she chose to receive her money, and to grant valid discharges to the government of England, without her being obliged to sign any other deed, engagement, or acknowledgment, but a procuration to them to act in her name.”

This memorial is followed by another, demanding a general indemnity for all the English, Scots, and Irish, who went over to France, since the Revolution.

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HANNOVER PAPERS.

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TO explain the papers of the family of Hannover, in the present year, a short detail of leading facts may be necessary. The baron de Bothmar, envoy extraordinary from the Elector, arrived in London, early this year. Though the duke of Marlborough was permitted to retain the command of the army, the dutchess was deprived of all her employments; and Harley, at the desire of the Queen, informed the court of Hannover of her dismissal. The Electoral Prince, who had been elected a Knight of the Garter in 1706, was installed at Windsor in December 1710; the lord Halifax serving as his proxy. The earl of Rochester, the Queen's maternal uncle, who, from his rank, abilities, experience in business, and influence with the high-church party, was the only rival of Harley, died suddenly, in the May of the present year. A fair field being left for Harley's ambition, he became lord-treasurer, earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and was considered as prime minister.

Marlborough, endeavouring to overcome his enemies in the cabinet by the splendour of his actions in the field, made various, but unsuccessful, efforts to force the Marechal de Villars to a battle. He, however, by a sudden exertion, surpris'd the famous lines with which the French had joined the Scheld, the Sanfette, the Scarpe, and the Ugy. The consequence of this enterprise was the siege and surrender of Bouchain, the last exploit of the duke of Marlborough. Mr. Matthew Prior, having been sent clandestinely by the ministry with preliminaries of peace to France, arrived at Fountainbleau, in the month of July. Lewis the XIV. afraid either to accept or refuse the terms offered by Prior, sent to London, in his company, Mons. Menager and the famous Abbé du Bois. An intimate correspondence was established between the British and French ministers

ministers; and preliminary articles, to the satisfaction of both, were signed on the twenty-seventh of September. The Queen sent the earl of Rivers to Hannover, to assure the Elector, that the succession of his family to the crown of Great Britain should be secured in the treaty. The earl of Oxford and his associates made the same assurances, in vain; the jealousy of his Electoral Highness having been raised by the emissaries of the Whigs.

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The lord Raby, who had been appointed, in the preceding March, ambassador extraordinary to the States-general, was created earl of Strafford in the beginning of September, and in the end of that month was sent back to Holland, to press the opening of a general congress. The privy seal, upon the death of the duke of Newcastle, was delivered into the custody of Dr. Robinson, bishop of Bristol, who was intended to be joined as plenipotentiary to the earl of Strafford, on the expected congress. Doctor Swift gives the character of both very justly, in a few words. "They were practiced in business, but possessed no parts. Strafford hath some life and spirit; but is infinitely proud, and wholly illiterate." His lordship's letters, indeed, furnish no proof of his learning; and Robinson was a heavy, though decent man.

An incident, in Scotland, employed the attention of the court of Hannover, in the present year. The dutchess of Gordon, a Roman Catholic, presuming on the temper of the times, sent a medal of the Pretender to Mr. Robert Bennet, dean of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh. This piece of silver had a legend upon it, importing that the kingdom should be restored to the right owner. At a meeting of the Faculty, thanks were voted to her Grace; and Mr. Robert Dundas of Arncliffe returned them, in terms sufficiently seditious and bold. He thanked her for presenting them with a medal of their sovereign lord the King. He hoped, that her Grace would soon have an opportunity of presenting to the faculty of Advocates a second medal, struck upon the restoration of the King and royal family, and the finishing of rebellion, usurpation, tyranny, and whiggery. No inquiry was made into this affair, till the baron de Kreyenberg, in the name of his master, the Elector, complained of the conduct of the advocates to the Queen. In compliance with his representation, Sir David Dalrymple, the lord advocate, who was a Whig, when it suited with his own interest, was dismissed from his office,

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original
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No. 144.

fice, for his being remiss in the prosecution of the delinquents. The premising of these facts will explain the correspondence of this year.

The Elector to Mr. Blathwait.

An answer to Mr. Blathwait's letter of the 16th November 1710.

Translation.

SIR,

Hannover, Jan. 2, 1711.

"YOUR son delivered to me the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me. I am much obliged to you for the assurances which it contains of your attachment to my interests and to those of my family. You gave, during the preceding reign, several proofs of this, which I have not forgot. I hope your son will be pleased with his stay at Hannover, and with the reception he meets with. I wish that you may be so likewise; and that you may be persuaded, I shall be always well pleased to find opportunities of shewing you that I am, &c."

Original.
Ibid. No. 245.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

The conduct which he is determined to follow in England.—Preparations for the next campaign.

Translation.

SIR,

January 2, 1711.

"BEING ready to embark, your Electoral Highness will be pleased to allow me to thank you, by this letter, for all the attention you have condescended to shew me, and to assure you, that I am firmly resolved to conform myself, in all respects, to the excellent advices your Electoral Highness has been pleased to give me by Monsieur de Bulau. Monsieur de Bothmar, who has been detained by contrary winds till now, will be a witness of this, and will have the honour to send information, from time to time, of what passes. I shall apply myself to promote the Queen's interests with the same zeal and assiduity I always did, in order that I may have nothing to reproach myself with, in case they shall choose that I should not continue in the service, and I presume to hope that your Electoral Highness will do me justice in that respect. I must not however conceal from you that my correspondents write to me, that those who have most credit at present, are resolved to embarrass me, by depriving me of officers and others in whom I place the most confidence.

dence. You will be informed by your ministers here, that it has been resolved to take all possible measures for being in the field early next year. For this purpose all the troops must be complete on the 25th of March, and magazines of forage will be formed on the frontiers. But the principal subject of consideration was how to carry on the war in Spain with the greatest vigour. Her Majesty, on her side, makes her utmost efforts; she takes 2000 more of Imperial cavalry into her pay, and furnishes 2500 recruits for the Imperial infantry, at the rate of 20 crowns each; she is at the expence of transporting them all to Catalonia, besides an equal number of recruits for the English infantry, and five battalions of an augmentation: it is expected that these have sailed already. This is intended as an example to excite the court of Vienna and the States-general to exert themselves likewise on their side. Prince Eugene, at parting, gave reason to hope that the Emperor would send four battalions to Spain, if the States would do as much. The province of Holland has taken a favourable resolution in consequence of this; and it is hoped, the other provinces will soon follow the example, especially as count Zinzendorff has since declared his Imperial Majesty's consent to this augmentation. These troops will be a powerful succour, if they arrive in time, and the greatest care will be taken that they shall; but the bad news we have lately received from that country will oblige both the one and the other to take still more vigorous resolutions.

I entreat your Electoral Highness to continue to honour me with your kindness, and to be persuaded of the inviolable and respectful attachment with which I am, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An answer to the Duke's letter of January 2d.

Translation.

My Lord,

Hannover, Jan. 9th, 1711.

"I Have received the obliging letter which you wrote to me, when you left the Hague. I hope this will find you happily arrived in England, and I wish very much, they may render you there, all the justice which is due to you. I am much obliged to you for the trouble you are pleased to take in imparting your knowledge of affairs to baron Bothmar, and in giving him advices, which cannot fail to be very useful to him,

1711.
January.

Robethon's
original
draught.
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vol. marked
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No. 246.

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as they come from one who is so very well informed, and whose good intentions are so well known. I approve entirely of your plan for taking the field early, being persuaded that the success of the last campaign was owing to such dispatch. It is to be hoped that the misfortune which happened in Spain will not be so considerable, as that the affairs of that country cannot be retrieved by the means of which you wrote to me; especially as her Britannic Majesty gives such an example in supplying them. I wish the Imperial court may follow it; but it is to be feared, the uneasiness occasioned by the rupture of the Turk with the Czar may give them other objects of attention. Your presence in London, in such circumstances, will be very useful to the public, if that deference is paid to your sentiments which they deserve. I beseech you to believe, that I shall always have a perfect esteem for you, and that I sincerely am, my Lord, &c."

Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Miscell.
d'Etat. 2.
No. 195.

* In Robethon's hand.
"I had sent him the compliments of his Electoral Highness."

Mr. St. John to Robethon.

An answer to Robethon's letter of 17th December 1710.

Translation.

Whitehall, Jan. 9th. 1711.

"I Feel myself touched with the most lively gratitude for the honour, which his Electoral Highness hath condescended to do me *. I entreat you to renew to him assurances from me, that it is impossible to be more devoted to his service, and to that of his illustrious house, than I am. In all the situations of a life sufficiently agitated, I endeavoured to discover these sentiments, and if I was capable of changing them, I would believe myself unworthy of the character of a good protestant, a good Englishman, or faithful servant of the Queen, my mistress.

Monfieur de Bothmar is here at present, I will not fail to live in a perfect confidence with him; and he may depend upon all the services which I can render him. I indeed hope, I have already shewn him that this is my intention.

I agree with you, that during Monf. de Bothmar's residence in London, it would be unnecessary to give yourself the trouble of writing to me. I shall send you my compliments by him, and I shall always be with great esteem, &c."

Mr.

Mr. Harley to the Elector.

At the Queen's desire, he gives him an account of the Dutcheſs of Marlborough's being removed from her Majesty's ſervice.

May it pleaſe your Electoral Highneſs,

Jan. 19th, 1711.

“ I Received the great honor of your Electoral Highneſſe's letter of December 15, with that profound reſpect and thankfulneſs which is due to ſo obliging a mark of your conſideration and goodneſs.

I beſeech your Highneſs to accept the aſſurances of my utmoſt fidelity and inviolable attachment to the intereſt of your family, to which I am obliged as well by duty to the Queen, as by the common good of my country. The Queen takes all occaſions to expreſs the great eſteem ſhe has for your Highneſs, and concern for your intereſt; and as a further inſtance of her Maſteſty's deſire on all occaſions to improve that good correſpondence which is ſo neceſſary, the Queen commands me to communicate to your Electoral Highneſs a change ſhe has been obliged to make in her court, by removing the dutcheſs of Marlborough. Laſt night the duke brought the gold-key, the enſign of one of his wife's places, the Queen having indulged him his choice, to bring it, or have it ſent for. This is ſo far from hindering the duke from continuing in his poſts, that he ſeems reſolved to accommodate himſelf to the Queen's pleaſure, and go on in her ſervice.

The cauſes of his lady's diſgrace have been ſo public, and of ſo many years continuance, that it will be needleſs to trouble your Electoral Highneſſe on that head.

The places will be ſpeedily diſpoſed, and the chiefeſt will fall to the ſhare of the dutcheſs of Somerſet.

I ſhall think myſelf extremely happy, if any occaſion ſhall be ever offered me to manifeſt the great veneration and duty wherewith I am,

May it pleaſe your Electoral Highneſs,

Your Highneſſe's moſt humble, moſt dutiful,
and moſt obedient Servant,

ROBERT HARLEY.”

The Electoral Prince to Lord Halifax.

Translation.

My Lord,

January 21st, 1711.

“ I Am much obliged to you for your letter of the 26th of December, and for the information which you are pleaſed to give me of my
I i 2 installation

1711.
January.
Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 151.

Robethon's
original
draught.
Ibid. No. 146.

1711.

installation at Windsor, at last, with the requisite formalities. I know the trouble you have had to get it done in a manner suitable to my rank; and I see that I can never place my interests in better hands than yours. The opposition which you meet with, and which you have the modesty not to mention to me, increase my obligations to you, and I wish to have opportunities of showing you how sensible I am of them; and that I shall always be sincerely, &c."

March.
Robethon's
original
draught.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 247.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Sent by Robethon to the Hague.

Translation.

My Lord,

Hannover, March 3d, 1711.

"**H**AVING judged it necessary to send the privy counsellor for embassies, Robethon, to the Hague, and having ordered him to address himself to you, in order to know your opinion of the delicate conjuncture of the affairs of the North, and of the measures which the allies ought to take in order to prevent the fatal consequences which they may have; I must beseech you to be pleased, not only to give credit to what he will have the honour to tell you on these subjects, and especially with regard to the system of neutrality, but also to be pleased to speak to him about them with an entire confidence, and to desire lord Townshend to do so likewise, in order that he may profit by your extensive knowledge of affairs, in which the allies cannot act too much in concert, nor with too much precaution. I am very sincerely, &c."

July.
Copy.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 248.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Translation.

SIR,

Camp at Lens, July 18, 1711.

"**H**AVING been informed, that Monsieur de Robethon is preparing to leave his post at the Hague, and to return to your Electoral Highness, I consider it to be my duty to embrace this opportunity of thanking you, in the humblest manner, for the letter which M. de Robethon delivered to me from you, and likewise for the freedom and confidence with which your Electoral Highness was pleased to instruct that able minister to communicate himself to me, while I stayed at the Hague. I wish your Electoral Highness may be as well satisfied with the testimony which he will give of my attachment and zeal for your service

service and interests, as I am sure you will be with the account which he will give of his negotiations, which he carried on with so much address and ability. I entreat your Electoral Highness to honour me always with the continuance of your kindness; and to accept my assurances of the entire veneration and very humble respect with which I have the honour to be, &c."

1711.
August.

Heinsius to Baron Bernsdorff.

A testimony of Robethon's character and abilities.

Translation.

SIR,

Hague, August 3d, 1711.

"AS Mr. Robethon is going to return to you, I cannot dispense with testifying to you, that he executed his master's business here, and managed the tempers of men in this state so well, that his Electoral Highness could not have sent a more proper person; and that he will be always well-received; as it may happen, some time or other, that baron Bothmar may be again employed for some time elsewhere, and that you may choose to send Robethon hither. I am, Sir, &c."

Copy in
Robethon's
hand.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 249.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

News of his breaking through the French lines.

Translation.

SIR,

August 10th, 1711.

"I DID not do myself the honour to inform your Electoral Highness sooner of our motions in this country, having had nothing to say that deserved it. I fear this delay may have diminished too much the hopes which were entertained at the opening of the campaign: yet I always did every thing that was possible for me, in order to answer the desires of those who wish well to the common cause; and I have, therefore, the greater pleasure in informing your Electoral Highness that we have at last broke through the lines which the enemy, for two years, were at so much pains to raise for the preservation of their country. This was done on the 5th of this month, towards Arleux, while the enemy expected us between Arras and Hedin. They took the alarm at first, and followed us closely; but we were before them likewise in passing the Scheld, between Cambray and Bouchain, with a design of besieging

Original.
Ibid. No. 250.

1711.
August.

besieging the last; if we can succeed, it will give me a new opportunity of assuring your Electoral Highness of the attachment and perfect regard with which I have the honour to be, &c."

Robethon's
original
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 157.

The Elector to Doctor Hutton.

Translation.

Herrenhausen, August 19th, 1711.

"I AM much obliged to you, Sir, for your letter of the 13th of June, and for the testimonies which you continue to give me, on all occasions, of your attachment to the interests of my family. Baron Bothmar did not fail to inform me of the good offices which you rendered to him, during his residence in London; and with what zeal you was employed for the good of my service. I shall do myself a real pleasure, in testifying to you my gratitude for this; and it is a very great satisfaction to me to receive letters from you; I, therefore, by no means, refuse your offer of writing to me, whenever things happen, which you think proper to communicate to me. You may be thoroughly persuaded of the esteem I have for you, and of the eagerness with which I shall always do you a pleasure. I am, &c."

Robethon's
original
Draught.
Ibid. No. 257.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An answer to the Duke's letter of the 10th.

Translation.

My Lord, Herrenhausen, August 31st, 1711.

"I AM much obliged to you, for the trouble you have taken in writing to me, to inform me of your having forced the enemy's lines. That enterprize has been conducted with so much secrecy and prudence, that nothing can ever do you greater honour. I hope it will be attended with consequences advantageous to the common cause, and glorious to you. This may be expected from what you have already done to facilitate the siege of Bouchain, and frustrate the measures which the Marechal de Villars had taken to obstruct it. I wish you a speedy and successful issue, in this and in all the other projects which you may form; being sincerely, &c."

The

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Communicates to the Elector a project for the next campaign, and asks his opinion.

Translation.

S I R,

August 31st, 1711.

“SINCE we have passed the lines, and been before this place, we have had many difficulties to surmount in forming the siege; but, God be thanked, we have happily overcome them; and, yesterday morning, our batteries began to play. I have even every reason to hope for success, in so much that, in order to profit by it, it is proper for us to think early of winter-quarters, and of the opening of the next campaign. It is with this view, that I have drawn up a project, which I have conveyed, in confidence, to the ministers in England and Holland. Without having communicated it, however, to any of our generals here, I do myself the honour to send a copy of it to your Electoral Highness; and I humbly entreat you, after having well examined it, to acquaint me with your sentiments, and if you find any thing to be added to it. I acknowledge to your Electoral Highness, that I see no other means of procuring a good peace, but by pushing the enemy with vigour on this side, which cannot be effectuated but by being before them in the field. I am, with a most respectful attachment, &c.”

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Demands some of his regiments of dragoons and cavalry during the winter.

Translation.

My Lord,

Sept. 4th, 1711.

“AS it appears that the Kings of Denmark and of Poland cannot possess themselves of any place of strength in Pomerania, the season being too far advanced, it is to be presumed that the troops, after having ravaged the enemy's country, will return to take up their winter-quarters in Mecklenburg, and in other places in the circle of the Lower Saxony; and that his Danish Majesty will choose to place troops in the country of Bremen. It is easy to conceive, that, by that means, the flames of war may extend themselves farther into the empire, to the great prejudice of the allies; and you know, besides, Sir, that the situation of my dominions is such, that they cannot be safe, if the flames of war communi-

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1711.
August.
Original.
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marked
Princes.
No. 253.

Robethon's
original
draught.
Ibid. No. 252.

1711.
September.

cate themselves to the country of Bremen. It is, therefore, very necessary, either for diverting the court of Denmark from such an intention, or for giving weight to the negotiations which I may set on foot with that court concerning this affair, that I should have some cavalry and dragoons here next winter; it being impossible to be able, with four or five battalions, which are left with me, to provide with any efficacy for the safety of my dominions, and of all this neighbourhood. I will, therefore, have a very particular obligation to you, if you employ your influence to obtain permission from the Queen for some of the regiments of cavalry and dragoons, which I have in her Majesty's pay, to come back to my own dominions after the campaign, as the regiment of Haher came back last winter, and upon the same footing. They may be absent from the Low Countries, during the winter, without any prejudice to the public; and it is precisely during that season that I shall have need of them here. I do not foresee that any thing can hinder me from sending them back to you at the opening of the next campaign: but by neglecting this precaution, some events may happen, in my neighbourhood, next winter, which will oblige me to recall all the troops I have in the service of the Queen and of the States. I hope you will be pleased to exert yourself to obtain this favour from the Queen. This new proof of her kindness will attach me more and more to her interests; and I shall retain the greatest gratitude to you on account of it. I am, very sincerely, my Lord, your affectionate servant."

Robethon's
original
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 158.

The Elector to the Earl of Oxford.

The same subject continued.

Translation.

My Lord,

Sept 4th, 1711.

"IT is with an entire confidence, that I address myself to you, as a minister who has both the clearest views and the best intentions, in order to represent to you, that the advanced season does not permit the princes who are confederated against Sweden to possess themselves of any place of strength in Pomerania. It appears certain, that their troops, after having committed some ravages, will return to take up their winter-quarters in different places in the circle of the Lower Saxony, and particularly in Mecklenburg; and that his Danish Majesty will choose to place some troops in the country of Bremen. It is easy to conceive, that this may be

be the means of carrying the war to this side of the Elbe, from whence it may extend itself farther into the empire, to the great prejudice of the allies. Besides, the situation of my dominions is such, that they cannot be in safety if the war should communicate itself to the country of Bremen.

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September.

I shall employ all my attentions to divert the court of Denmark from forming this project. But, my lord, you are too penetrating not to see, that having but very few infantry, without any cavalry, in my dominions, I cannot exert myself with efficacy for the security of this neighbourhood and of my own territories; and that it is very necessary, in order to give weight to the negociations which I design to set on foot with the enemies of Sweden, and to the proposals which I may make to them, that I should have some cavalry and dragoons here next winter. As the design I have in view is the common interest of all the allies, and as I shall act in perfect concert with the Queen, I hope her Majesty will permit some of the regiments of cavalry and dragoons, which I have in her pay, to return to my dominions, as the regiment of Hahn returned last winter, and upon the same footing. I will owe you, my lord, a very particular obligation, if you will be pleased to employ your influence with the Queen, in obtaining this favour from her, by representing to her, that these regiments may be absent from the Low Countries during the winter, without any prejudice to the public, and that I can send them back at the opening of the next campaign; whereas, by neglecting this precaution, some events may happen next winter in my neighbourhood, which will oblige me to recall all the troops which I have in the service of the Queen and of the States. I wrote on this very subject to the duke of Marlborough. It is of such importance, that I cannot doubt but you will interest yourself in its success. I entreat you, my lord, to be persuaded that I shall retain a grateful sense of this, and to allow me, for the future, to testify, on all occasions which may offer, the perfect confidence I have in you, and the distinguished esteem I have for your merit. I am, very sincerely, &c."

1711.
September.
Original.
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No. 159.

The Earl of Oxford to the Elector.

The Queen grants the Elector's demand.

Sept. $\frac{11}{12}$, 1711.

May it please your Electoral Highness,
 “**T**O accept my most humble acknowledgment, for the very great honour I receiv'd of your Electoral Highness's letter of Sept. 4. I take it as a particular mark of your goodness, that you think fit to honor me with your commands; to obey which, I am equally engag'd by duty and inclination. I had the honor to communicate your Electoral Highness letter, yesterday, to the Queen at Windsor; and I wish I were capable of expressing the obliging manner wherewith her Majesty spoke of your Electoral Highness, and her readiness to comply with your desires in that way which would most demonstrate her Majesty's concern for you and your most serene house; being well assured that your Electoral Highness will desire nothing that is inconsistent with the good of the common cause. You are pleased to mention in your letter, that your Highness had wrote to the duke of Marlborough upon this subject; and the Queen thinks it will be best to leave it to be adjusted between your Electoral Highness's minister and the duke of Marlborough, as well for keeping the secret, that others may not ask the same, as also he being at the head of the army, is best able to speak with your Electoral Highness's minister upon every thing which relates to this affair; to this purpose Mr. secretary St. John has directions to write by this ordinary, to my lord Marlborough.

I should have given your Electoral Highness frequent trouble by my letters, but that I was afraid of interrupting your greater affairs; and I flatter myself with the belief that your Highness is so fully perswaded of my inviolable attachment to your interest, that I can add nothing to it by any thing I can write; being resolved that my actions shal demonstrate the zeal and devotion wherewith I am, &c.”

Original.
Ibid. No. 257.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Upon the taking of Bouchain.

Translation.

S I R,

Camp before Bouchain, Sept. 13th, 1711.

“**S**INCE the letter I did myself the honour of writing to your Electoral Highness, we have been employed in the siege of Bouchain,

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in order to secure a post on the other side of the Scheld. It will be imagined, perhaps, considering the vigour of the attacks, that the siege hath continued too long; indeed the enemy take every method to hinder us from finishing it, and the neighbourhood, not to say the presence, of a superior army, always employed in distressing us, encouraged the besieged to be obstinate. But, at length, we have found means of surmounting all obstacles, and of obliging the garrison to surrender themselves prisoners of war. I entreat your Electoral Highness to accept of my humble felicitations on the success of this enterprise, which deserves to be considered as an effect of the blessing of Heaven upon the just cause of the High Allies; since neither the number nor the courage of the enemy was able to frustrate our design. We shall be obliged to remain for some time yet in this camp, in order to repair the works of the town, and put it out of a condition of being insulted. But the enemy have taken all the precautions they could, in order to deprive us of subsistence; having for some days burnt all the forage in the country round it, and likewise plundered and burnt the most considerable towns and villages. I am, with the most submissive attachment and regard, &c."

1711.
September.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An answer to the Duke's letter of the 31st August.—He renews his demand of some regiments during the winter.

Translation.

My Lord,

Herrenhausen, Sept. 14th, 1711.

"I AM much obliged to you for your letter of the 31st of August, and for your having been pleased to communicate to me your plan of operations for the ensuing campaign. I cannot but approve of it, in all respects, and I consider it with you, as the surest means of reducing France to the necessity of concurring in a reasonable peace. But I imagine you will allow that secrecy is the life of this project, and that it is necessary to avoid, with all possible attention, to give the enemy any room to perceive it; since, in that case, they will not fail to take the necessary measures for preventing a blow which may be so fatal to them, and for forming magazines on their side, whatever expence they may cost them. I leave you, then, Sir, to reflect, if by stationing the cavalry on the frontiers, you will not discover too clearly to the French, what is so

Robethon's
draught.
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necessary

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September.

necessary to conceal from them. It appears to me likewise, that my troops, though sent to more distant places, may, by speedy marches, arrive time enough at the place where you will judge proper to assemble the army. As to the rest, I hope that the measures which you will take for the execution of your project, will be no obstacle to the return of the few regiments of cavalry and dragoons which the necessity arising from the state of affairs obliges me to demand of the Queen for some months. It is about the end of autumn or beginning of winter that I shall have principally occasion for them; and I reckon that I shall send them back to you in time. I refer myself to my preceding letter concerning the reasons which make me desirous of having them soon in my dominions. They are of such importance for the security of this neighbourhood, and for the common interest of the allies, that I cannot doubt but they will have your approbation, and that you will employ your influence to obtain from the Queen the favour which I demand. I am always very sincerely, &c."

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes,
No. 258.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

An answer to the Elector's letter of the 4th instant.

Translation.

S I R,

Camp before Bouchain, Sept. 14th, 1711.

"M Onsieur de Bulau delivered to me, this morning, the letter which your Electoral Highness did me the honour to write to me the 4th instant. I have this evening communicated it to the Queen, and you may depend upon it, that I shall always concur with pleasure, as I have assured Mr. de Bulau, in whatever your Electoral Highness shall find conducive to your interests; persuaded as I am, that you will, at the same time, have the proper attention to the interests of the common cause. I am, with the most profound respect, &c."

Original.

The Duke of Marlborough to Mr. St. John.

S I R,

Sept. 14th, 1711.

"I AM persuaded, from your friendship, you will have a particular satisfaction, in the good news you now receive of the garrison's being made prisoners at war, even in the presence of Mareschal Villars. I confess we must own it as a very great providence, that all his endea-

vours to obstruct us have meet with so little success. As I have not yet received any reply to the answer I gave to the resolution of the counsel of state at the Hague, relating to the project for the winter quarters, whereof I sent you a copy the 20th past, I have reason to apprehend they are not so fully convinced as were to be wished of the necessity of pursuing it; and, as there is no time to be lost, I have prevail'd with lord Albemarle to take a journey to the Hague, to represent the great advantages that must accrue to the publick by the measures we propose. Besides, the papers whereof you have already copies, I have furnished his lordship with the like, to be inclosed, by which you will see the arguments enforced; and how inconsiderable the expence of fforage will be, with respect to the great advantages we may hope to reap from it. I could not enter into the other articles of the expence, because they are very incertain. Besides that, it may reasonably be expect'd the great towns, who will be eased, should contribute towards it. As soon as his lordship returns, I shall let you know the success of his journey. In the mean time, I hope lord Stair will be with us, that there may be no delay on our side. Enclosed I send you a letter Mr. Bulau has just now deliver'd to me from the Elector of Hannover. I shall defer returning an answer, til I receive the Queen's directions upon the contents; which, I pray, may be as soon as you can. In the mean time, shall give you my opinion, that his Electoral Highness should not be refused his request; but be desir'd to take from us as few troops as possible; and that it might be insinuated to him, that her Majesty will expect they should return into this country early in the spring. I am, with truth, &c.

1711.
September.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An answer to the Duke's letters of the 13th and 14th instant.

Translation.

My Lord,

Sept. 25th, 1711.

" I Received the letters of the 13th and 14th instant, which you was at the trouble of writing to me. General Bulau had already given me an account of your obliging answer, with regard to the regiments which I find myself obliged to bring back this winter into my dominions. I am very sensible of the dispatch with which you wrote on this subject to the Queen; and I do not doubt of the success of the affair, since you was

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draught.
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1711.
September.

was pleased to support it. I entreat you to be persuaded that, in the measure, to which the conjuncture forces me, I shall not lose sight of the interests of the common cause. You have laboured for them, in a manner as glorious as useful, by the conquest of the important place which you have lately reduced in the face of the enemy. It may be affirmed, that this siege, and the forcing of the lines which opened the way to it, have discovered all the qualities of a great general in you, in the most distinguishing manner. I partake more than any one, in the glory which results to you from this; and I always am very sincerely, &c.

October.
Robethon's
original
Draught.
Hannover
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marked
Princes,
No. 260.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An answer to the Duke's letter of the 23d of September.

Translation.

My Lord, October 1st, 1711.

“ I Received the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me the 23d of September. I agree with you as to the utility of the project which you have formed for taking the field early next year: but it appears to me, that it will be sufficient for the execution of it, to station the English and Dutch cavalry in the places on the frontiers; where, being under the direction of their own generals, they may be easily recruited. This must have the less difficulty, with regard to the English cavalry, that they have always had their winter-quarters in places in Flanders which are not far from those now in question. It will be otherwise with my troops, which, in such quarters, will be no longer under the inspection of my generals, and will be too distant to receive their recruits with facility; whereas, when my troops are placed in their usual quarters, I shall take particular care that their recruits shall be sent to them early, and that the whole corps shall be in condition to march to the rendezvous as soon as you shall judge proper to assemble the army. I hope likewise I shall send back time enough the regiments of cavalry and dragoons which I propose to bring this winter into my dominions. In this I desire you to continue your good offices with the Queen, and to be persuaded that I shall be very grateful for them. I always am very sincerely, &c.”

The

The Duke of Shrewsbury to the Elector.

Translation.

S I R,

Windsor, October 3d, 1711.

“I Could not allow the earl of Rivers to go away, without having the honour of renewing to your Electoral Highness assurances of my attachment to your service, and to the interests of your family. I do not trouble you often with my letters; because I flatter myself that you do not doubt of my zeal and of my fidelity, and am convinced you shall see proofs of them, on every occasion in which I can show them; and I entreat your Electoral Highness to do me the justice to believe, that you have not, either in England, or in any other part of the world, any one who is more entirely devoted to you than, &c.”

1711.
October.
Original.
Hanover
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No. 166.

*The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.**Answer to the Elector's letter of the 25th September.*

Translation.

S I R,

Camp before Bouchain, Oct. 4th, 1711.

“M Onfieur de Bulau delivered to me this morning the letter which your Electoral Highness did me the honour to write to me the 25th of the last month. I am happy to inform you at present, that the last post brought me the Queen's orders, agreeably to what your Electoral Highness desires; so that I shall concert the march with the general, taking the necessary precautions, that others may not make the same demand. I humbly beseech you to be persuaded of the very respectful attachment with which I shall always be, &c.”

Original.
Ibid. No. 261.

The Earl of Oxford to the Elector.

The Queen proposes to open a congress for a general treaty.—She has taken care of the interests of the Elector and of his family.

Original.
Ibid. No. 163.

May it please your Highness,

October 5, 1711.

“THE Queen sending earl Rivers to communicate to your Electoral Highness an affair of great consequence, I presume to desire leave, at the same time, to make your Highness a tender of my most humble duty. My lord wil give your Electoral Highness the detail of what has passed here with relation to a peace, and the care her Majesty has taken, in the first place, of the interest of your Highness and your family: this
the

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October.

the Queen has done without any reciprocal obligation or promise from her Majesty to France. Notwithstanding the great need we have of peace, and that the nation is exhausted, yet the Queen would not act without the concurrence of her allies; and, therefore, your Highness will observe, that all steps taken heer are but provisional; though it would have been no difficult matter to have adjusted the interests of the severall allys, but that the Queen was resolved to give none of them any cause of jealousy, and to leave each state to make their own demands at the general treaty, which the Queen proposes to be opned immediatly.

I did myself the honor to acquaint your Electoral Highness with the Queen's compliance with your desires of having some of your cavalry returne this winter, for a particular occasion; and I shall ever esteem it the greatest felicity of my life, when I have any opportunity to shew the inviolable attachment, and great veneration, wherewith I am, &c."

Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Strafford.

The Earl of Oxford to the Princess Sophia.

An apology for the peace.—Care was taken of the Protestant succession.—A medal revived in Scotland,—and the Lord Advocate removed.

MADAM,

October 5, 1711.

"I Do myself the honor to write to your Royal Highness by earl Rivers, who comes from the Queen, with a very important commission, to give your Royal Highness the greatest proofs of her Majesty's amitie in the care she has taken of your interest, and that of your most ferene house: notwithstanding the allys had, by degrees, cast all the weight of the war upon the Queen and her subjects, while one part shifted off their own share, and others thought of nothing but eternizing the war; and in the mean time this nation was exhausted, its burdens daily increasfing, and the ability to bear them decreasfing: yet, in these circumstances, your Royal Highness will see that the Queen would not give any ear to a treaty for peace, without this preliminary provision; "That your Electoral Highness and your family's right to the succession to the crown should be established." My lord Rivers will give your Royal Highness an account, at large, of all that has passed upon the subject; from him your Electoral Highness wil know other particulars, which wil prove her Majesty's tender care for your interest; for when some factious person in Scotland had revived the memory of a medal, which

which had been stamped about two years since, the Queen ordered the persons concerned to be prosecuted; and because the Lord Advocate, (to whose care it did belong) was not very forward in putting the laws in execution upon this occasion, the Queen has thought fit to remove him, and to place Sir James Stuart in his room, who, I hope, will quickly correct the imprudence of those people. I shall only crave leave to desire you will permit my lord Rivers to present you with the assurance that I am, both by inclination and interest, as well as duty, &c."

1711.
October.

The Elector to the Earl of Oxford.

Thanks for the favour Oxford had obtained for him from the Queen.

Translation.

My Lord,

October 6, 1711.

"I Am much obliged to you for the letter of the 22d of September, which you was at the trouble to write to me; and for the earnest manner in which you was pleased to employ your influence with the Queen, in obtaining from her Majesty the favour which I asked. I see, by general Bulau's letters, that the duke of Marlborough will adjust all this affair with him; and that they will take the necessary precautions for keeping it secret. I have only now, my lord, to entreat you to make most humble acknowledgments to the Queen, for having concurred so obligingly with what I took the liberty to demand of her; and to assure her, that, neither in this nor in any other occasion, I shall ever take any step contrary to the interests of the common cause, and that I shall always act in perfect concert with her Majesty.

As to the rest, I am not ignorant how much your powerful recommendation has contributed to the success of the affair in question. I entreat you to be thoroughly persuaded of the grateful sense I shall always retain of it, and of the pleasure which I shall have in testifying an entire confidence in you, in every business which will deserve, by its importance, to have recourse to your extensive knowledge, and to your interest with the Queen. I am, very sincerely,

Your's affectionately.

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draught.
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September.

advantage of his Electoral Highness, and of restoring to the Queen the liberty, of which she had been so long deprived, were induced to intrigue with their party in the house of commons, to take notice of some imprudent expressions of the speaker; and, by that means to embarrass her Majesty's affairs, and prevent their own fall. When Shrewsbury, he says, was put in possession of his office, without the knowledge of the treasurer or the general, his duchess, with her usual insolence, began to quarrel with her Majesty. But her Majesty, wearied of hearing so much abuse from such a peevish woman, forbade her to appear in her presence; since which time, her Majesty has been allowed to transact business in peace.

"At length the earl of Rivers is gone to fulfil the office which Mr. Cresset* had to execute. An individual should never pretend to know what the commissions of his sovereign contain, with regard to affairs of state; of which, it is certain, the public is entirely ignorant. The cabal, and the public ministers of the foreign potentates, who were always closely connected with lord Godolphin, and who were almost all seduced, or rather charmed and bewitched by him, for very strong reasons, no doubt, give out in their public walks and conversation, that lord Rivers is sent by her Majesty to offer the command of the army to your Electoral Highness; at least, to come over to this country and pay a visit to her Majesty, &c. What! say they, will a great sovereign prince, as the Elector of Brunswick, leave his own dominions and visit the Queen? or will he chuse to command an army after a general who has triumphed so often, gained so many battles, and taken so many towns? These wicked men have, for a long time, exposed your Electoral Highness in this manner." He tells his Electoral Highness that Charles V. visited Henry VIII. and that King William visited the duke of Zell and his Electoral Highness. That, since her Majesty has thought proper to dismiss her general, he asks, "if there is any one so proper to command the armies of the Queen and the British nation, as the protestant successor? in which protestant successor her Majesty and her people place all their hopes," &c.

* Mr. Cresset had been sent in capacity of envoy from her Majesty to his Electoral Highness.

He professes his attachment to the Electoral family, and entreats his Electoral Highness to accept of the command of the army. He exclaims against the measures of the late ministry; and says, that her Majesty had just reason to be offended with them: and he concludes, with praying "God to preserve the person of your Electoral Highness, with your illustrious family."

1710.
September.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An answer to the Duke's letter of the 30th of August.

Translation.

My Lord,

Herrenhausen, Sept. 8, 1710.

"I Am very much obliged to you for your letter of the 30th of August, which was filled with such strong testimonies of zeal and attachment to my interests, that I cannot but be very sensible of them. I am likewise very grateful for your offer of assisting the baron de Bothmar, during his stay at London, with your good advices; for which he will have all the deference which is due to a person whose great understanding and good intentions are equally known to me. He will do every thing in his power to have the honour of seeing you before he passes the sea; and perhaps he will pass it along with you, it being very proper that he should remain here, until I am informed of the proposals which my lord Rivers will have to make to me.

I hope that nothing will be capable of inducing the Queen to take the command of her armies from a general who acquitted himself in it with so much glory and so much success, and in whose hands I shall always see it with pleasure; being very sincerely, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An answer to the Duke's letter, advising him of the taking of Bethune.

Translation.

My Lord,

Herrenhausen, Sept. 12, 1710.

"I Am very much obliged to you for the trouble which you took in notifying to me the taking of Bethune. I wish you, with all my heart, a similar success in all the enterprises which you have determined to form for finishing so brilliant a campaign. I take a very great part in the glory which arises to you from it, and in whatever can happen agreeable

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draught.
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Robethon's
Draught.
Ibid. No. 242.

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able to you. I rejoice with you at the great news received from Spain; from which there is reason to expect very advantageous consequences; and I always am, very sincerely, &c."

Robethon writes on the top of the following letter *de main propre*; so that the Elector seems to have usually transcribed his secretary's rough draughts.

Robethon's
draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
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No. 125.

The Elector to Queen Anne.

Thanks for the letter he received by the Earl of Rivers.

Translation.

MADAM,

Herrenhausen, Sept. 14, 1710.

"IT is with the utmost acknowledgment I received, by the earl of Rivers, the letter with which your Majesty was pleased to honour me. I feel, as I ought, the goodness which you have had in sending me a man of the merit and distinction of that lord. He could not bring me any thing more agreeable than the assurance which he gave me that your Majesty is so good as to continue to me the honour of your kindness. I consider it always as the most valuable of all my advantages; and I shall never cease to cultivate it with all possible attention. This is a duty which the ties of blood impose upon me, but to which I am principally disposed by my own inclinations, and by the desire of meriting, in all my conduct, the approbation of your Majesty, and of shewing you that I am, with great respect, &c."

Original.
Ibid. No. 126.

The Earl of Rivers to Baron Bernsdorff.

Baron Bernsdorff was president of the council of Hannover.

Translation.

SIR,

September 24, 1710.

"I Do not pretend to dictate to you, in what manner I wish that his Electoral Highness would answer the Queen's letter. But I am so attached to the interests of his Electoral Highness, that I take a part in whatever concerns him. It is for this reason, that I take the liberty of communicating to you my advice, concerning his answer. If his Electoral Highness would write in terms similar to these.

"It

"It is impossible to feel a more lively gratitude than I do, for all the bounty which her Majesty expresses for me. I would esteem myself infinitely happy, if I could find the means of shewing her, by effects, the zeal which I have for her service; and the greatest favour which her Majesty can do me, is to put me in a condition of being able to be useful to her."

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October.

If you can contrive that the letter may be sent to me to-day, you will oblige very much, &c."

The following letter is a matter of great curiosity. Buckingham's principles, in favour of the Stuarts, are well known; yet it seems he was persecuted by the Whigs, for his attachment to the house of Hanover. What an unjust race of men these Whigs were!

The Duke of Buckingham to the Elector.

He complains he was persecuted by the late ministry for his attachment to the Elector.—He wishes his Highness had a more faithful minister in London.

Original.
Hannover
Papers,
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No. 122.

S I R,

September 29, 1710.

"IT is so common a practise, on these occasions, to make addresses of this nature, that, notwithstanding the honour of writing to so great a prince, yet I could never have much satisfaction in doing it, if every body had not been a witness both of my zealous endeavours in your service, and of my suffering also sufficiently on that account, if it can be called suffering, to receive the honour of being excluded from the counsellors of your enemies, and from a ministry, so little favoring your illustrious family. But in what manner I become, for your sake, the mark of their malice, so as to be rendered incapable, either of serving the Queen, or of holding any longer correspondence with her Royal Highness, your mother, by letters that were sure to be intercepted, is not worthy of your attention, at this time; hoping, one day, to have the happiness and honour of entertaining your Electoral Highness on that subject. Yet, upon this occasion, I am obliged to do justice to all the most considerable of our party, by assuring your Electoral Highness, that they also were ready to lay themselves at your feet, as zealously as their duty to the Queen permitted, if some more faithful minister had

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been

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been sent hither from Hannover, which therefore, I was often desired by them to request of her Royal Highness accordingly. After this, I hope I need say no more to assure your Electoral Highness, that I shall make it still my constant endeavour, to shew my duty, both to the Queen, my mistress, and my country, by all the wayes that are capable of demonstrating how entirely I am,

Your Highness's most humble, faithful, and most obedient Servant,
BUCKINGHAM."

The Elector to the Earl of Rochester.

An Answer to the Letter he had received by the Earl of Rivers.

Translation.

Robethon's
draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes,
No. 128.

My Lord,

Herrenhausen, October 16, 1710.

" I Received, with a great deal of pleasure, the letter which you wrote to me, by the earl of Rivers. I am very sensible of the civilities which it contains. The Queen gave me, till now, so many proofs of her good-will, that I have nothing to desire but the continuance of her kindness. I doubt not, but you will be so good, as to employ your influence with her Majesty to procure it for me. You can never confer a more sensible obligation upon me, since I consider the honour of her friendship, as the most valuable of all her advantages. I shall be very happy to owe that obligation to a person of your merit, for whom I have so particular a regard.

The honour which my lord Combury has of belonging to you, was sufficient to procure for him here, a favourable reception. It was no less due to his own merit. I am very happy, that both you and he received satisfaction from it; and I shall have always a great satisfaction, when I shall find opportunities of shewing you, that I am, very sincerely, &c.

The Elector to the Duke of Shrewsbury.

An Answer to the Letter he had received by the Earl of Rivers.

Translation.

Robethon's
Draught.
Ibid. No. 130.

My Lord,

Herrenhausen, October 16, 1710.

" I did not choose to fail, in thanking you for the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me, by the earl of Rivers. I am so much the more sensible of its obliging contents, that they come from a person

person of such distinguished merit, and who has given so many shining proofs, of his good intentions toward the public and for the protestant succession. It is with great satisfaction, I learn that the Queen honours, with her confidence, a minister, who served her predecessor, of glorious memory, with so much loyalty. I doubt not, but you will be so good as to exert yourself, in confirming more and more, the good understanding which I shall always maintain, very carefully, with her Majesty. You can never do me a greater pleasure, nor render me a greater service, than by contributing, as much as depends on you, to the continuance of that valuable friendship, of which her Majesty gave me so many proofs.

I acknowledge very gratefully the honour which she did me, in sending me a person of the merit and distinction of my lord Rivers. He acquitted himself very worthily, in the commission with which she charged him. Among so many qualities which render him estimable, it is still a fresh motive for me to know, that he is your relation and your friend. I hope that he will be satisfied with the reception that was given him here; and that you will acknowledge, that I embrace with pleasure, opportunities of shewing you, that I am very sincerely, &c."

The Elector to Queen Anne, sent by the Earl of Rivers.

Translation.

MADAM,

Herrenhausen, October 17, 1710.

"I Cannot allow the Earl of Rivers to depart, without doing myself the honour of returning my humble thanks to your Majesty, for the letter which he delivered to me from you, and without expressing to you how sensible I am of the goodness which your Majesty has had, in sending to me a man of this distinction. He acquitted himself very worthily and to my entire satisfaction, of the commission which your Majesty had given him in charge. I doubt not but he will inform you of the grateful acknowledgements, with which I received the assurances he gave me, of the kindness with which your Majesty continues to honour me. I shall endeavour to make a suitable return to it, by devoting myself entirely to your service; and I shall always seek, with earnestness, for opportunities of giving you proofs of the respect with which I am, &c."

Robethon's
draught.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 131.

1710.
October.
Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes. No.
132.

The Duke of Shrewsbury to the Elector.

Violent professions of attachment.

Translation.

October 20, 1710.

SIR,

"**H**AVING learned that Mr. Cresset designs to go to Hannover, I would not lose this opportunity of renewing to your Electoral Highness, my assurances of a faithful and inviolable attachment to your interest and to that of your family; wishing for nothing more ardently, than for opportunities of shewing my zeal for your service. Therefore, I hope it will not be in the power of calumniators (with whom we abound in this island) to throw any on this truth, which I am ready to justify at the hazard of my life; but which your Electoral Highness will have the justice to judge by its effects; and I flatter myself that your Highness will be persuaded, that I am, with all imaginable sincerity and veneration, Sir, &c."

Original.

The Princess Sophia to Queen Anne, sent by the Earl of Rivers.

Translation.

MADAM,

Herrenhausen, October 20, 1710.

"**I** Received with all possible respect, the letter which your Majesty did me the honour of writing to me, and what was reported to me from you by your cousin and counsellor, the earl of Rivers, a person whom I greatly respected, both on account of his distinguished birth and his own merit. I return very humble thanks to your Majesty, for the assurances you was pleased to give me of your good-will, and I am particularly obliged to you, for the sentiments of affection, which your Majesty condescends to preserve for my family, and of which I presume to beg the continuance. I entreated the earl of Rivers, to whom I refer myself, to assure your Majesty of my very humble acknowledgments, and of the very respectful attachment with which I am, &c."

Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
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No. 123.

The Elector to the Duke of Buckingham.

The Elector takes no notice of the Duke's objections to his Minister in London.

Translation.

October 21, 1710.

My Lord,

"**I** Received with pleasure, the letter of the 29th of the last month, which you was at the trouble of writing to me. I am very much obliged

obliged to you for the civilities which it contains, and for the assurances which you give me in it of your attachment to the interests of my family. I am very happy, that having such sentiments, the Queen has called you to a post, where you shall have opportunities of shewing it. You cannot render me a greater service, than by employing your influence with her Majesty, in preserving to me that valuable friendship with which she honours me; and of which I shall consider the continuance as the greatest benefit. I shall search for opportunities of shewing you, how great a regard I have for your person, and that I am, sincerely, &c."

Robert Harley to the Elector.

May it please your Highness, London, November 1, 1710.

"I Do myself the honor to make this tender of my most humble duty to your Electoral Highness, by the hands of Mrs. Cresset; who being my relation, and her affairs calling her into Germany, I was not willing to let her goe, without putting into your Highness's hands this testimony of my devotion to your Electoral Highnesses person and your serene house. I have hitherto chose, that this should appear rather by my actions, than by bare words; but since the Queen has done me the honor to bring me again into her service, I could not be a faithful or acceptable servant to her Majesty, without studying to serve your Highnesses interest.

I do not presume to give your Electoral Highness any account of the late changes heer; I doubt not, but that earle Rivers has laid before you the grounds which necessitated the Queen to do what she has done; which has also given the greater and better part of the nation an opportunity to express their duty to your most serene house.

I have taken the liberty to write this in English, because I know your Electoral Highness has an English heart; and that you may be assured it comes from a heart entirely devoted to your service. I am, with the profoundest duty,

May it please your Highness,

Your Electoral Highnesses

Most dutiful, most humble, and most obedient Servant,

ROBERT HARLEY."

§ There was another reason. He could write no other language.

1710.

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The Duke of Leeds to the Elector.

Empty professions.

November 1, 1710.

SIR,

"I Hope your Electoral Highness will pardon my acknowledgeing, in this manner, the extraordinary favours, which I understand your Highness hath beene pleased to shew to my grandsons, Danby and his brother; and I am sorry my years will not allow me to go and do it myselfe.

Whilst I was able I was an actor, to the best of my power, to incompass those alterations which were necessary for the security of our religion and laws; and, as those alterations have justly brought the succession to the crowne of these kingdoms into your illustrious family, so, I doubt not, but they will be preserved by it, whenever they shall come to be under its protection; and although I may not live to pay my personal services, I hope I shall have a family, both as well principled in loyalty and as dutiful to your person and family, as they ought to bee, and with that esteeme which is due to your Highness from all the world, and particularly from, Sir, &c."

Not many months before the duke of Leeds wrote this letter, he made a long speech at Dr. Sacheverel's trial, wherein he owned, "he had a great share in the late Revolution; but said he never thought things would have gone so far, as to settle the crown on the prince of Orange, whom he had often heard say, that he had no such thoughts himself. That they ought to distinguish between *resistance* and *revolution*; for *vacancy* or *abdication* was the thing they went upon, and therefore resistance was to be forgot, for had it not succeeded, it had certainly been rebellion; since he knew of *no other* but *hereditary right*."

"The duke of Leeds told me," says one, who appears to have been a man of judgment and intelligence, "that he had endeavoured to sound her [*the Queen*] as much as he could upon this subject," of being succeeded by her brother, rather than by the elector of Hannover, "and he is in her confidence, and has free access to her; but though she never chose to explain herself upon this point, she says nothing against him." Mr. Lamb's memorial, in Stuart Papers, 1711.

Mr.

*Mr. D'Hervart * to Robethon.*

He gives an account of a conversation with Mr. St. John, who had received a letter from Robethon.

Translation.

SIR,

London, November 3, 1710.

" I Do not know if you will recollect my name, after an interruption of our correspondence, for ten or twelve years. The different affairs in which you have been employed, may very naturally have produced such an effect. However, Sir, I embrace, with a real pleasure, the opportunity which offers, of resuming a correspondence; no time having been able to make me forget a man, whom I always highly esteemed.

After this, Sir, I shall tell you, that having a *teté à teté* with Mr. St. John, the secretary of state, last night, he asked me if I knew you,—
" Perfectly well, Sir, and you cannot address yourself to any one that will tell you more about him than I." He answered me, that he was very happy at this; and drawing near to his desk, " take the trouble of reading this letter. I believe you will find it is written very well."

" Sir, as I was for four years, in a regular course of correspondence with him, I know what he can do." " It is a letter," said he, " which lord Rivers brought to me from him; and he said a great deal to his advantage. I want to write an answer to him. Let me know, I pray you, how his titles are to be marked on his letters;" and then immediately he said to me, " since you are acquainted with him so long, upon the footing of a perfectly honest man, I shall be very happy to be able to do him a pleasure, when the opportunity offers; and I wish we may be friends." " Do you approve, Sir, that I should let him know the favourable opinion which you have of him."—" I shall be much obliged to you."—" Very well, Sir, I shall write to him, Friday next." I perform my promise, and shall tell him so this evening.

This, Sir, is historically, what passed between him and me, concerning you, and I repeat it to you word for word, and without any ornament. I shall assuredly improve the favourable dispositions which this minister appears to have towards you; and I shall be always happy, to be able to do you a service, on this, and on every other occasion. I thought it

* Mr. D'Hervart was King William's envoy, in Switzerland.

1710.
November.
Copy in an
unknown
hand.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked Mis-
cell. d'Etat.
2. No. 192.

1710. proper to let you know, that Mr. St. John appears to be very much
November. my friend, and that I have very solid reasons to believe so."

Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Miscell. d'E-
tar, 2. No.
219.

Mr. De la Motte to Robethon.

*The same subject continued.——Both parties will pay court to the Hanne-
verian Envoy.*

Translation.

November 3, 1710.

"I Am sorry, that some business which intervenes hinders me from writing to you at leisure. The day before yesterday, I saw the new Muscovite ambassador. I imagined, after what you wrote to me about him, I thought it was my duty to pay my respects. He received me with a great deal of polite attention, for you and for myself, and desired me to see him sometimes. The letter which you gave him to me, was still in the bottom of his trunk.

Yesterday I received a visit, on your account. Monsieur de Hervart, whom I do not visit, because I am afraid of new acquaintances and drop the old, came to see me. At first, he spoke to me of you, and of the esteem he had for you; this ended, in telling me, that as the Whigs gave you some private advantages, you might hope for the same thing from the new party, (in which he is deeply engaged). I answered, that I did not believe the Whigs gave you any such advantages; that, if it had been so, I would have perceived something of it, and that you had a master, who was alone capable of rewarding your services. "I beg of you," says I, "explain to me a little what you mean, that I may understand you the better." He said to me, "what is expected from Monsieur de Robethon is, that he should act in concert with the new party in favour of the family of Hannover." This appeared to me, to have been suggested to him, by Mr. St. John, the new secretary of state, with whom I find he is so much connected, that I have little doubt, but he will be sent back to Switzerland. I replied, that you would always do your best, to support the interest of the Elector, and to shew, that the new party was well thought of at your court. I went to my closet for your ostensible letter, which I read to him all from the beginning, without giving him a copy of it. This made an impression, and I doubt not, but Mr. St. John was regaled that very evening, with what he had retained

retained of it. This is the substance of our conversation. Perhaps Monsieur de Hervart informed you of all this in the letter which he wrote you. He told me, that he had likewise seen your cousin. They do not choose to disoblige you, as you see. He assured me, that my lord Rivers was very well satisfied with you; and what is more, for your court, although the public concludes the contrary, from his returning without a present. The baron de Bothmar is expected every day. I wish he was already arrived. I foresee, that both sides will pay court to him, and that he will have occasion for all his prudence, &c."

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Upon the surrender of Aire.

Translation.

SIR, Camp before Aire, November 9, 1710.
 "I Have the honour of informing your Electoral Highness, by this letter, that we have, at length, surmounted all the obstacles, as well of the rainy season as of other unforeseen obstruction, which hindered us from finishing the siege of Aire as soon as we imagined. The governour asked, yesterday, to capitulate, and he is to evacuate the town, as well as fort St. Francis, the day after to-morrow.

I entreat your Electoral Highness to accept of my very humble congratulations on this happy success, which rendering us masters of the greatest part of Artois, will be of very great importance to us, for the operations of the next campaign. It is very much to be regretted, that the season does not permit to make another effort, before the army separates, to endeavour to bring the enemy to reason. But it is high time to give some ease to the troops, after the fatigues which they have endured, during four sieges sufficiently obstinate, and to think of the means of putting them in a condition to act, as soon as possible, next year: to which, I am persuaded, your Electoral Highness will contribute on your side, with your usual zeal and readiness.

The situation of this town obliges us to put it in a state of defence, before we leave it; after which, we will not delay to retire to winter-quarters. I very humbly entreat your Electoral Highness to be persuaded, that wherever I am, I shall do myself a great honour, in shewing you the inviolable attachment and respect with which I am, &c."

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Henry

1710.
November.

Original.
Hannover
papers, vol.
marked
Princes,
No. 243.

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes, No.
104.

bidl
No. 114.

1710.
November.
Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked Mis-
cell. d'Etat.
2. No. 193.

Henry St. John to Robethon.

Translation.

Whitehall, November 10, 1710.

"THE honour which you was pleased to do me by your letter of the 23d of the last month, deserved to have an answer made to it by the first opportunity. This is a duty in which I would not have failed, if I had not been so oppressed with business these two weeks, that it was impossible for me to perform it.

I beg of you, Sir, to believe, that I embrace, with all imaginable pleasure, the offer which you make me of a correspondence, that must be very agreeable to me, and perhaps useful to the two courts which we have the honour of serving.

The baron de Bothmar is expected here shortly, as I have sent, some time ago, the Queen's orders to the commissaries of the admiralty, to send over a yacht for him to Holland. He may assure himself, that I shall not fail to render him my services in all things. This is the least mark I can give of the respect which I always bore, and which I shall never lose for the court, of which he is the minister. Her Majesty will name shortly, the minister whom she is to send to his Electoral Highness. I hope that you will be pleased with him, and I doubt not, but you will grant him your protection.

You will always do me a particular favour, when you give me your orders. This is a truth, of which I beg you to be persuaded; and, at the same time, that it is impossible to be more sincerely than I am, with great respect, &c."

Ibid.
No. 214.

Copy of a Letter from a secret Correspondent, which was sent from London, in cyphers.

The Whigs acknowledge they defend a parliamentary right to the Crown, but deny, that they maintain republican or antimonarchical principles.

Translation.

November 14, 1710.

"MY lord Halifax and my lord Sunderland beg of you, Sir, to explain to your court, that the Whigs are, by no means, for a republic, nor for rendering the crown elective, as they consider it hereditary in the protestant line, and belonging to the nearest in that line.

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But it is not possible for the Whigs to abandon the Revolution. They advanced the late King to the throne, and they are obliged to defend his title. Now, they advanced him then in preference to the Queen who now reigns, although she was nearer, and a protestant. As this could not be done but by the authority of the parliament, it is natural for the Whigs to defend that authority, and the parliamentary right to the crown; for otherwise, they would declare themselves traitors and rebels. And as the establishment of the Hannoverian succession is a consequence of the Revolution, and a work of the late King, your court should take it well of the Whigs, that they defend the Revolution, and should excuse some expressions in their last writings, which appear to carry too far the authority of the parliament in the affair of the succession; and the more so, that the maxims of the Tories tending directly to prepare the way for the prince of Wales, and to secure his title from being called in question; it is natural for the friends of the Hannoverian succession, to maintain a contrary doctrine. The baron de Bothmar is expected impatiently, in order that they may explain themselves to him more fully upon this subject."

Mr. Blathwait to the Elector.

Nothing.

Translation.

SIR,

November 16, 1710.

"MY youngest son, having made the last campaign in Flanders, wished for nothing so much, as for the honour of paying his respects to your *serene* Highness, and of offering you all the services, which the time and his duty can exact from a person so devoted to the *serene* family. If, by throwing himself at the feet of your Electoral Highness, he can merit some marks of your kindness, and of that of the Electoral prince, he will think himself very happy, as well as he, who professes to be, with a very profound respect, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An Answer to the Duke's Letter of the 9th of November.

Translation.

My Lord,

Gohre, November 21, 1710.

"I Received, with so much the greater pleasure, the letter of the 9th instant, which you was at the trouble of writing to me, that I ex-

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pected

1710.
November.

Original.
Hannover
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Princes. No.
104.

Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked.
Princes.
No. 244.

1710.
November.

pected the taking of Aire with extreme impatience. I congratulate you, upon having finished, by so important a conquest, such a brilliant campaign. I rejoice, not only for the advantages which result from it to the common cause, but also for the honour which you have acquired thereby; taking always a very great part in whatever concerns you. I shall give the necessary orders, that my troops may be recruited, with all necessary dispatch, being very happy, on this, as on all other occasions, to shew my zeal for the service of her Majesty and of the public; and to convince you, in particular, that I am very sincerely, my Lord, &c."

Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 138.

The Elector to Mr. Harley.

An Answer to Mr. Harley's Letter of November 1st.

Translation.

SIR,

Hannover, December 15, 1710.

"MRS. Cresset delivered to me the letter which you took the trouble to write to me. I received, with a great deal of pleasure, the assurances which it contains of your attachment to the interest of my family. It is with great joy I learn, that the Queen honours with her confidence, a minister, who knows so perfectly the true interests of Great Britain, and who has always shewn so much zeal for his country. As I have nothing more at heart, than that friendship of which her Majesty has given me so many proofs; you cannot confer a more sensible obligation upon me, than by contributing to preserve it to me. I shall cultivate it, on my part, with all possible attention; and I shall be always very happy to shew you the regard which I have for you, and the sincerity with which I am, &c."

December.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked Mif-
cell. d'Etat.
No. 194.

Robethon † to Mr. St. John.

Translation.

Hannover, December 17, 1710.

"I Received while I was at Gohre, (from whence our court returned three days ago) the obliging letter with which you was pleased to honour me. His Electoral Highness, who read it, has very expressly commanded me to thank you, from him, for the protestations which it contains of your zeal for the interests of his family; and to assure you,

† Indorsed in his own hand, "My answer to Mr. St. John."

that

that he is very sensible of this, and has a very great esteem and regard for you, knowing your capacity, which renders you so deserving of the choice and confidence of the Queen.

His Electoral Highness approves much of my having the honour of writing to you, when Mr. Bothmar shall be absent from London, and business worthy of your attention shall offer. But during the residence of that minister, at her Majesty's court, you will allow, no doubt, that since he has the entire confidence of his Electoral Highness, and is perfectly well acquainted with his intentions, my correspondence would be very useless; and would but only weary you by the repetition of things, which Mr. Bothmar will not fail to represent to you verbally, much better than I can write them. I said so to my lord Rivers, and I must add now, that they hope here, you will be pleased to give Mr. Bothmar some share of your confidence; and will judge him deserving of this when you know him; having great experience in business, with a great deal of discretion, and impartiality, and known probity. I am not afraid of flattering him, in allowing him these qualities.

As to the rest, I am very much surprised, Sir, that you should demand my protection, for the minister whom her Majesty shall send here. I am not upon such a footing at this court, as to be able to protect any one; and the ministers of so great a Queen, have no need of any other protection here, but their character. But with regard to the rendering my small services to him who shall come here, and the doing so cheerfully, with all imaginable care and sincerity, I can venture to promise this, and I shall perform it with pleasure, as I endeavoured to do, to the late Mr. Cresset, to my lord Winchelsea, Mr. Poley, and Mr. How.

I received likewise, with respect and gratitude, the polite things which Mr. D'Hervart wrote to me, by your order. I desired him to testify this to you, and I doubt not, but he has communicated to you the letter which I wrote to him, entreating you to believe, that in all I can do, I shall never feel any motive, but that of acquiring the honour of your esteem, and of being considered by you as an honest man, a quality without which I would not venture to take the liberty of calling myself, with great respect, &c."

The

1710.
December.

1710.
December.
Robethon's
draught,
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes,
No. 136.

The Elector to Doctor Hutton.

Translation.

Hannover, December 21, 1710.

SIR,
“MR S. Cresset delivered to me the letter which you gave her. I also received, in due time, the three letters written in an unknown hand. I am very sensible of the marks which you give of your attachment to my interest. I learn, with pleasure, the justice which has been done you, by chusing you a member of the present parliament. If any thing passes there which you shall judge proper to communicate to me, you will oblige me by taking that trouble, and by believing that I shall be always very glad to have opportunities of doing you a pleasure. I am, Sir, &c.”

Robethon's
Draught.
Ibid. No. 140.

The Elector to the Duke of Leeds.

An answer to the Duke's letter of November 1.

Translation.

My Lord,

Hannover, Dec. 22d, 1710.

“THE letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me was delivered to me upon my return hither. I did not choose to delay to testify to you, how sensible I am of the assurances which you give me in it, of your attachment to my interests and to those of my family. What you have done for the good of your country in the last revolution is well known; and makes me wish for the long continuance of a life, of which you know to make so good use. The regard, which I always had for your person and for your great qualities would have been a sufficient motive to procure an agreeable reception to my lord Danby and his brother; but I can tell you, without flattery, that they deserved it themselves, and that their stay at Hannover did me a real pleasure. I entreat you to believe, that I shall always do myself a great pleasure, in finding opportunities in obliging you and yours; and in shewing you that I am very sincerely, &c.”

Hannover
Papers, Miscellaneous d'Etat.
2. No. 139.

Extract of a letter from Sir Rowland Gwyne to Robethon.

December 31, 1710.

“IF a prince there is so good and wise, as to be content to govern according to the constitution and laws of the land, he may employ whoever he pleaseth in his service, without regarding the opinion of others;

others ; but with this reserve, that if they act ill, that he will leave them always to be judged by the laws of the land, and such a declaration would be the best means to suppress insolence and parties.

1710.
December.

But now as to the high-church.

There are 9600 parishes in England, and consequently so many parsons; but their number may be at least 2000 more, to supply cures and who seek preferment.

Ten or fifteen of this number have made it their business to preach that the church is in danger, though the church enjoys all the privileges that the law does allow them; but the clergymen in England would have the same power over the people, that the church of Rome had in the time of its dominion over us.

The Queen and parliament have now declared, that they will maintain the church as established by law; so that they will not gain any thing by their noise, only this ministry have blown them up to recommend them and their party, to govern the helm, which point they have gained, and the poor ambitious priests will be left in the lurch.

The priests handle edged tools, which any prince may cut them with, when he pleases; for the laws are so severe against their encroachments, that they are in danger of treason or premunire upon the least fault; and the civil government hath been so jealous of their impertinence, that the convocation of the clergy, cannot do any thing but by commission from the King or Queen, and they cannot debate upon or resolve any point, but such as are permitted in their commission; and which resolved, they are not valid, unless the Queen approves them.

So that you see our church is limited by law. I think it good, in its constitution and doctrine; but shall never encourage or consent to the pride, ambition, and dominion of *priests*, which hath occasioned so much blood-shed in the world in all ages.

Sir, I ask your pardon for writing you so long a letter, but my thought suggested it to me, with a respect and good intention towards you. If any of them may be thought by you serviceable to his Electoral Highness, you may communicate them. I am, &c."

STUART

STUART PAPERS.

1711.

THOUGH the excluded branch of the family of Stuart lost the best foundation for their hopes by the removal of the earl of Godolphin, their expectations rose to an extravagant pitch, from the opinions propagated by the Tories concerning the principles of the new ministry. They were no strangers to Harley's attachment to the protestant succession: but they supposed, that he would sacrifice his principles to his prudence; especially, as his political enemies had obtained the confidence of the family of Hannover. The adherents of the court of St. Germans, judging superficially of things, built much on the supposed attachment of Queen Anne to her brother, and the violent principles of the Tories, in favour of the hereditary succession of the crown. They were too weak or too ignorant to perceive, that the timidity of the Queen was little calculated to favour their cause, and that the professions of the Tories consisted merely of empty clamour and noise. In this state of deception, they renewed, or rather continued, with encreasing vehemence, their correspondence with Great Britain; and the intelligence which they sent and received throws a new and important light on the history of the present year.

Nairne's
papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
p. 17.

"The King's letter to Lord Balmerino."

A copy in Nairne's hand. It was directed to Mr. Brown.

SIR,

March 2d, 1711.

THE friendship you have always shewn me hath been so true and unalterable, and your merit so universally distinguished, that I have not words at present to express my gratitude towards you; but hope when I dine with you at Leith, or wherever it can best happen, to give you essential proofs how great a value I have for you, and how sensible

I am

I am of your willingness to serve me. Your own prudence and firmness can best suggest to you the ways and means for effecting your good intentions, therefore I shall add no more here, but that I am fully persuaded you will lose no opportunity of serving me, no more than I shall lose any of giving you proofs of the friendship and esteem I have for you, referring the rest to the bearer, who is entirely trusted by me, and for whose honesty and secrecy I dare answer in any thing you shall impart to him.

1711.
March.

J. R."

Middleton inclosed this letter in the following to Abram.

March 5th, 1711.

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
P. 17.

"THE last post brought us nothing from Mr. Morley, whom we can only rely on. You will herewith receive what you ordered for Mr. Brown; if it is not right, the writer is not in the wrong. "It is not he who says Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he who does the will of my father. Every tree is known, not only by the bark and leaves, but by the fruit it bears." These are texts for Abram to hold forth on. There seems to be a coalition betwixt Honyton [Harley] and Williamson: cut a snake asunder, and it will join again. If Marville [Marlborough] has done this, 'tis the greatest action of his life, and of a piece with the rest. Pray enlarge and explain the visit to be made to Mr. Swift. If poor Lamb were alive, we might expect to know many things, which, I confess, are not easily transmitted otherwise. Infatuation is the word.

The Earl of Middleton to Abram.

Ibid. p. 18.

Melville is supposed to be the duke of Marlborough, and one of the letters to be delivered is probably the Chevalier de St. George's letter to Queen Anne, dated the month of May, this year.

March 19th, 1711.

"BY the last post, I received yours of the 23d of February, which gave great satisfaction to all who saw it, notwithstanding the many reasons we have to distrust Melville's [Marlborough's] sincerity. But, since it is now more his interest than formerly, we depend more on that, than his promises. But if he has the will, he wants the means; they are with him like two buckets on the same rope.

As to the letters, we can say nothing, till we see draughts. The three persons, proposed to deliver them, are very proper, if they will under-

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March.

take it, which I doubt much. As for Musgrave [supposed to be the duke of Bucks] he is by no means fit; for, if Conrad would accept them from any of the other three, yet he would not trust him. If Honnyton [Harley] would receive his own well, he would not refuse to give the other, and it must land there at last. But if he does not accept his own, then why should not you try Mrs. Settle [Mrs. Masham], who, you said, had offered herself for such a purpose? But this will not come to bear, till you are possessed of the original.

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
p. 12—18.

Ibid. p. 18.

In the months of October, November, and December, 1710, and in the months of January, February, and March, this year, the earl of Middleton and Mr. Nairne wrote several letters to Knox, Abram, and Lamb. These letters are mostly allegorical; and cannot be explained. In almost all of them, they express the greatest impatience to see Lamb; and on the 9th of April, Nairne wrote to Abram to tell him, that Lamb was at length arrived. The real name of Lamb was Lesley, the well-known nonjuror clergyman. Upon his arrival in France, he gave his opinion of things in general, in the following memorial to the court of St. Germain.

April.
Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 37.

The Memorial of the Sieur Lamb.

A copy in Nairne's hand.

Circumstances are now favourable for an invasion, the English being disgusted at the change of the ministry, and the Scots at the protection the parliament gave to Greenshields.—The credit of the Bank was endangered by a threatened, and will be ruined by a real invasion.—The Queen will prefer her brother to the family of Hannover.—His friends will declare for him.—The advantages he must derive from a treaty with the nation.—Objections against him on account of his religion.—Advices about it.—An alliance proposed with Sweden.

Translation.

April, 1711.

“SINCE the Revolution, there has not been so great a confusion of counsels and of measures in England, as there has been since the last change in the ministry; and the affair of Greenshields, a minister of the church of England, whom the parliament has lately protected against the

the presbyterians of Scotland, has irritated the latter to such a degree, that they would concur in whatever might deliver them from the Union with England, which is universally detested in Scotland; where they are all persuaded, that nothing can deliver them from it, but the return of their sovereign.

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April.

There is, at present, a concurrence of circumstances, more favourable for an enterprise than there has been since his Majesty came out of England. But all this will change in time; and for the future, they will attend only to the means of supporting, as easily as they can, the chains, from which they see no further hopes of being delivered.

There is not a man in Great Britain, who is not convinced, that, if the King of England had landed the last time in Scotland, he would have infallibly succeeded; and the conjuncture appears, at present, still more favourable than it was then. The inclination of the Scots towards their King appears visible, in their sending, as members to parliament, the same men who had been brought prisoners to London on account of the invasion; and I can assure, that these men have not changed their sentiments. The presbyterians in Scotland opposed the elections as much as they could, and their ministers preached against them; but in vain; for these members were chosen in spite of them, by a great majority of voices.

At the time of the last expedition to Scotland, men ran in crowds, and with so great eagerness, to withdraw their stock out of the Bank, that the commons were obliged to pass a law declaring all those to be enemies to the government and to the nation, who should demand their money from the Bank, at that time; but, instead of curing the evil thereby, they increased the discontent; every one exclaiming, that it was cruel to treat, as enemies to the state, those who called for their money when they had occasion for it; and, if news had not come, that the King of England had returned to France with the fleet, in twelve hours later the Bank would have been shut up. This is well known to all those who were then in London, and is known throughout all England, insomuch, that, since that time, the credit of the Bank is greatly diminished. Not long ago, the news of the sailing of 13 or 14 privateers from Dunkirk gave the alarm in England, that the Pretender was coming; upon which, several,

1711.
April.

verals, with some of whom I am acquainted, ran immediately to the Bank to demand their money; and there is no doubt, but the same thing will happen universally, whenever there is a real invasion. All the funds will fail: no tax will be paid, but what is raised by force: no one will choose to advance money upon the security of the funds; and without it, it will be impossible to make new preparations for opposing the invasion.

If the Bank of England fails, I believe there is no doubt, that the Confederates will not be able to support the war, and then his most Christian Majesty will have a safe game to play, without running any risk. Troops are daily draughted, to be sent out of the kingdom; so that few will be left to make opposition, and there are several in the army who have discovered their dispositions of returning to their duty towards their King, if they found the opportunity.

They are preparing fleets to be sent to the Mediterranean and elsewhere; so that the few ships, which will remain to guard the channel, cannot hinder the passage from Brest to Kirkcudbright; especially, if an alarm is given from Dunkirk and other ports. All the fleet of England can never hinder a squadron to pass from Brest to Ireland; and Scotland is only a little more distant in the same line.

Several in England wish the King well, who would not hazard their estates for him; but these very people would not willingly hazard anything against him, if they saw the smallest risk on the side of the government. It seems, therefore, that the greatest number want only an opportunity of declaring themselves; that is to say, the return of his Britannic Majesty, with a force sufficient to protect those who would choose to join him on his arrival. If he came with 10,000 men, it is thought there would not be a sword drawn against him; but if he cannot have that number, 5000 men would render the success probable, but not so certain.

It is generally thought, that the princess of Denmark is favourably inclined towards the King her brother; and that she would choose rather to have him for her successor, than the prince of Hannover. But she is timid, and does not know to whom she can give her confidence. The duke of Leeds told me, that he had endeavoured to sound her as much as he could, upon this subject, and he is in her confidence, and has free access to her; but though she never chose to explain herself upon this

this point, she says nothing against him. It is thought, that if the King of England was in Scotland, a treaty with him would be immediately proposed, and then the members of parliament would be at liberty to declare their sentiments; whereas, they are now restrained by an act of parliament, which declares all those guilty of high treason, who shall oppose the Hannoverian succession, by word or by writing. But the King of England being in Scotland, and all the kingdom acknowledging him, which could not fail to happen soon after his arrival in that country, then the present necessity, and the common good of the nation, would authorise the liberty, which each might take, of proposing whatever could prevent the fatal effects of a civil war. I am well assured, that some members of parliament would speak boldly in that case; and I have also reason to believe, that there are several others, who only want a similar conjuncture for declaring themselves, and who would do it cordially: and there is scarcely any doubt, but the greatest number would be for a treaty. Those who would oppose it, would not render themselves popular, and might be considered as the enemies of the peace and settlement of the nation; and the very rumour of the treaty, would make the people consider the King as already in possession, and as the rising sun. I believe there is no example in our history, that the lawful heir has been admitted to a treaty, when his right was not acknowledged; as in the case of Stephen and Henry II.; of Richard duke of York, and of Henry VI. &c.: and the princess of Denmark having no children, would render the affair still more easy, both with regard to herself and with regard to the people.

The Arch-duke had none of these motives to encourage his enterprise, and was not assured of having one miqulite for him, when he undertook to make that diversion in Spain, which has continued for so many years, and is not yet finished. The diversion of the malecontents in Hungary has been of considerable advantage to France; and it was by marching into Saxony, that the King of Sweden obliged King Augustus to submit.

The smallest advantage which an expedition of the King of England into Scotland could produce, would be a civil war; which might be supported from time to time by France, even though none of his Majesty's subjects should join him: but that is not to be supposed: for in the divisions of parties, there are now malecontents enough in Great Britain, who

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who would rejoice at that opportunity of joining him, besides so many others in distressed circumstances, or on bad terms with the government, whom fear, resentment, or hope would influence; and there are men of that character, in every country, but no where so many as there are at present in Great Britain. But it is certain that the greatest number of the Scots are disposed to join their King from inclination, and from a principle of loyalty. This is evident, from all that they have suffered, with so much constancy, for above two and twenty years; and that there is a considerable number of them, appears from the apprehensions the government entertain of them, and the measures they take to apprehend the leaders on every alarm. But there are, besides, a set of men, well-disposed, who have taken the oaths to the government only by form, and from interest, and whom general Stanhope, in Sacheverel's trial, calls the nonjuror-swearers. These are very numerous in the two kingdoms. There is not a high-church man in England that is not suspected by the government. This is the case with all those who have presented addresses for maintaining hereditary right and the maxim of the church of England, that a prince is never to be resisted; and these comprehend almost the whole nation, excepting such as are Whigs or Presbyterians by profession; who, however, are become the contempt and aversion of the people.

Malicious and injurious expressions against the King are no longer used, even by the Whigs, who dare not now express themselves as they did formerly. They acknowledged his birth in Sacheverel's trial, in order to destroy hereditary right by that means, and to convince the princess of Denmark, that she has no other title to the crown, but the settlement which has been made for the succession since the Revolution; and the generality speak with esteem and respect of the King's person.

I do not intend to conceal any thing. The only objection against the King is his religion; but that is not imputed to him as a fault, but as his misfortune and ours; and the people would endure him much more willingly, if they did not believe him a bigot to his religion; and this is the idea his enemies endeavour to give of him as much as they can.

To obviate this objection, the following means are judged useful, by his Majesty's friends, who persuade themselves that he will be ready to do, on his part, all that is lawful for him, to bring about his restoration;
and

and God forbid that more should be demanded of him, to gain even all the kingdoms of the earth.

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1st, The King of England, therefore, must not, either by word or by insinuation, give any reason to believe that he is capable of dissembling his religion. Every one would have a worse opinion of him, on that account, and less credit would be given to all that he could say.

But, to remove the objection of bigotry and blind zeal, it is proposed he should acquaint his subjects, that when it shall please God to restore him to his kingdoms, and to give him a proper opportunity, he will not refuse to hear whatever can be said to him, with respect and submission, in favour of the religion of his dominions. But whatever may be the issue of this, with regard to his Majesty's religion, that will not diminish our loyalty and our entire submission to him as our lawful sovereign.

It is not understood by this, that there is to be a public dispute, which is a sort of combat of gladiators for victory, and which ends generally in increasing the differences, and exasperating the animosities, upon both sides; the pride of man having a natural aversion to appear to be convinced: accordingly when reasons fail, pride summons all the passions to its aid, and then the combat is carried on with bitterness, and with personal reflections, which produce a hatred that excludes all means of reconciliation.

No, this is not pretended; it is proposed only, that his Britannic Majesty should not refuse to hear a reasonable man, who will explain to him, with all the deference and respect that is due to him, the principles of the church of England; and that, afterwards, he should determine as God and his conscience will dictate to him; but, at the same time, he should preserve to the church of England all legal securities for its establishment and support.

2dly, It is proposed, in order to remove all suspicion and prejudice against his Majesty, that, when he comes over, he should bring no more priests along with him than he has occasion for. It is the interest of the King of England, especially on his arrival, to give the people advantageous impressions of him; afterwards things will be more easy. When he is on the throne, and the people find that their religion, their liberty,
and

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and their fortunes are safe, he may then have as many priests with him as he pleases, without being found fault with. So that it is only proposed to deprive himself of some of them for a little time*.

3dly, If his most Christian Majesty would only connive at allowing the Protestant domestics of the King of England to assemble themselves, from time to time, at St. Germain, in order to worship God in the most secret manner that possibly could be, that would do more service than 10,000 men. For, in England, that would appear as a sort of toleration, with regard to his attendants; and, being obtained by his Britannic Majesty, every one would consider it as a mark of his inclination to favour his protestant subjects, and as a pledge of what they might expect from him, when he was restored to his throne. Besides that, it would entirely remove the objection of bigotry. If it could be said in England, that the King has procured for the protestant servants who attend him, the liberty which is here proposed for them, that would be half the way to his restoration. I only repeat here the very words which I have heard from sensible men in London.

4thly, When the King of England comes, it will be proper to have in his company some minister of the church of England, who is of an approved character, in order to preach to the people, as soon as he lands, without trusting to chance, and employing the first whom he finds on the place, and who may be either disaffected or incapable.

5thly, It is necessary to bring along with him all the Irish troops, who will be very agreeable to the Highlanders, because they speak the same language; but, above all, to bring the duke of Berwick along with him; for he is feared and loved, and his presence will prevent all the disputes which may arise among the nobility of Scotland for the command of the army; for they will all submit to him, and they all desire that he may come.

Time presses and appears short; for, according to all appearances, the next winter will produce a peace, and then the King of England must be reduced to begin every thing a-new for bringing about his restoration, and to seek new and uncertain measures to accomplish it.

* The pen is drawn through the last paragraph in the copy; probably to prevent giving offence to the bigotry of Lewis XIV. for whose perusal the translation of the memorial was intended.

If the princess of Denmark, who is very infirm, dies, and if the prince of Hannover is once in possession, he will bring along with him his German troops, who, in virtue of the last act of parliament, will be naturalized the moment they arrive; and he will humble and ruin all the King of England's friends, and render, by these means, his cause desperate."

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[The pen is drawn through what follows.]

"If his most Christian Majesty is not in a condition now to furnish troops and other succours necessary to the King of England, for an expedition into Scotland, may not some proposals be made to the King of Sweden? Will not that prince be very well pleased to have such an ally to assist him to obtain satisfaction from the King of Denmark, and to defend his coasts against the Muscovites? And, in case of a double marriage, which might be proposed to him, he would have a chance of succeeding to the crown of England, as the King of England would have to that of Sweden. Their religion cannot be objected against the Swedes, for the prince of Hannover is a Lutheran.

If his most Christian Majesty chooses rather to land 5 or 10,000 men, to the assistance of the King of Sweden, than to risk his troops and his ships on an expedition to Scotland, the King of Sweden might send an equal number of troops to Scotland much more easily, because the passage is much shorter; and considering that that prince is engaged in fitting out considerable armaments, both by sea and by land, against the Danes, and against the Muscovites, the real designs of his preparations will never be suspected. He may be the more easily reconciled to this, that the government of England is not very favourably disposed towards him, of which his Swedish Majesty appears, by his last declaration, to be very sensible; declaring war against them, in some measure, and considering them as the aggressors, because they engaged to maintain a neutrality in the north of Germany: and nothing appears more natural, and more conform to the genius of that prince, than to enter into an alliance with the King of England, who may write to him, by the means of the Swedish resident, who is here, until he can send a minister to treat with him. Besides, that prince is guarantee of the peace of Ryswick, and has a right to interest himself in the present war; and, by an alliance with the King of England, he might once more have the balance of Europe in his hands,

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and give a general peace upon reasonable terms; and these two princes thus allied, would be in a condition to maintain the peace against all those who would incline to disturb it, and to prevent any rebellion that might arise in their respective dominions."

The dismissal of the Whig ministry, last year, was followed by a dissolution of the parliament. Doctor Sacheverel's trial, and his pompous procession to the country, when he went to his living in North Wales, inflamed the passions of the people, and influenced the elections in favour of the Tories. The expectations from a Tory ministry, and the proceedings of the new parliament, reanimated the hopes of the Jacobites, as appears from their own correspondence with their friends abroad; and from the Pretender's recommending to his adherents to support the measures of the present administration.

Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 36.

A letter to a friend; with a state of affairs in England. 1711.

A copy in Nairne's hand; with corrections interlined, in lord Middleton's. *Violence of both Whigs and Tories.—The Whigs are attached to the family of Hannover.—To prevent a civil war, the King should come over, and the laws settling the succession be repealed.—The Pretender recommended to his friends to support the measures of the court and the present ministry.*

S I R,

"SINCE you desire my opinion upon the present state of affairs of our country, and that you assure me I may, with all safety, confide my private thoughts to you, I shall tell you here very plainly what I think most adviseable in the present conjuncture.

I need not go about to prove, that the house of Hannover and the States of Holland are united with the Whigs and discontented party of England, against the Queen, her present ministry, and the church of England.

Their late proceedings have sufficiently shewn their inclinations that way; and nothing is more obvious, than that the church and court party can expect no quarter from these three united powers, if ever they come to have the superiority. They think they have been very ill used, and after resenting their pretended injuries so publickly as they have done,

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it is not to be expected they will ever hardly pardon. 'Tis pretty plain they are in a sort of confederacy together, and that they are resolved to stand and fall by one another. The duke of Hannover has, in conjunction with the States, declared himself so openly for the Whig party, in opposition to the Queen herself, as well as her ministry, that it is visible he is inseparably united to that party, and will always be influenced by it; and that if ever he comes to have the power in his hands, the church and present ministry must fall a sacrifice to the Whigs' revenge; the breach being too wide to expect they can ever be thoroughly reconciled.

I am of opinion, therefore, that as matters stand now, there remains only one expedient that can possibly secure, at once, both the church and state against any attempt that may be made to their prejudice, either during the Queen's life, or after her death, by a powerful, absolute prince, supported by a jealous, interested nation abroad, and animated by an exasperated, factious party at home; and that is to call home the Queen's brother, whose just right gains ground daily in the hearts of his subjects: in order to which, I think it not only advisable, but absolutely necessary, to send to treat with him without loss of time; for all depends upon taking timely measures, it being of the last importance to the court and country interest, as well as his, to be before-hand with their common adversaries. Accidents may happen; we are all mortal; and if things be not prepared and secured before a vacancy, it will be very hard, after that, to avoid a civil war: for we all know, that, according to the laws now in being, Hannover, in that case, must of course be proclaimed King. It will be too late then to repeal those laws which make it high treason to oppose him; and it is not to be doubted but he will quickly come over here, and bring with him (if it be necessary) all the force the Hollanders and he can draw together. On the other hand, it is certain the King will not be wanting, on his side, to transport himself, at any rate, into some part of his dominions, to join with his friends, in order to assert his right, and venture all, rather than have the shame and grief to see a foreign U——r take peaceable possession of his lawful inheritance. This must unavoidably produce a civil war, which is, perhaps, what the Hollanders wish for; the fatal consequences of which may last and extend, nobody knows how far.

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The only remedy I see to prevent these misfortunes, and save our nation from ruin and bloodshed, is the proposal above mentioned, of sending, immediately upon the conclusion of the peace, to treat with her Majesty's brother, the King, and call him home privately upon the first recess of parliament.

This is absolutely the quickest, safest, and easiest way; for all other slow, dilatory methods of preparing things by degrees, managing the opposite party, waiting for new favourable opportunities, and keeping, in the mean time, this prince at a distance, are exposed to too many dangers and difficulties, besides that unanswerable one of a sudden mortality, which, as it may very possibly happen, to our great grief and misfortune, when we expect it least, so it is the height of imprudence not to prepare against it.

It would require a great deal of more time, than we can in prudence promise to ourselves, to go about to repeal the act of the settlement of the crown, in a parliamentary way, before he be called over; so I think that tedious method nowise advisable. Besides that, the undertaking itself might meet with such opposition, in his absence, as would expose it to the danger of a miscarriage; whereas, he being once upon the place invited thither, and countenanced by her Majesty (which is no hard matter to contrive, so as to make it very practicable in the recess of parliament, without the least danger of disturbance) those very persons, who would have opposed him in parliament, and every where else in his absence, will be the first to come and kiss his hand when he is here, and comply with whatever the Queen shall think fit to do in his favour.

It is so visibly the Queen's and the present ministry's true interest to call her only brother home, in this conjuncture, that he and they may be a mutual support and security to one another, that I am morally assured he will not make the least difficulty to trust himself entirely into their hands, whenever they please to call him; and that he will be willing even to come over with a page only to accompany him, upon the Queen his sister's letter, if it be thought fit and necessary for his and their common interest so to do: and when he is once here, I am sure nobody will dare to find fault with the Queen's receiving him kindly. She may safely present him to her council, own him there for her brother,

ther, and declare her good intentions towards him, and what she has thought fit, with the advice of her ministers, to treat and concert with him, for the future good and peace of her kingdoms. After which step it will be infinitely more easy and less hazardous by any other method whatsoever, to get the present settlement of the succession altered, in the next meeting of the parliament, and every thing regulated there to their mutual satisfaction; and all the rights and privileges of church and state, crown, parliament, and people settled again upon the solid foundation of the ancient laws and constitution of the kingdom.

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But to assure the success of this great work, I think it absolutely best, when he is invited over, that he be allowed to come straight to London, where his sudden and unexpected appearance will surprise and confound all his unprepared enemies, break all their measures, and make every thing go so quick and easy on the Queen's side and his, that they will soon, by the wise conduct of the present ministry, put it out of the power of either Hannover or the discontented Whigs to disturb the new settlement that shall be agreed upon, between the brother and his now only sister. But, in case things be not thought ripe enough, or sufficiently disposed to bring him straight to London, the next best will be to bring him to Scotland; which would be better by far, than sending him a travelling into foreign countries. Only one thing is to be observed, as to Scotland, that the government of the church there being Presbyterian, and the generality of that nation being discontented with the Union, which we in England think our interest to maintain, he may, perhaps, have some hard proposals made to him upon that head, by a prevalent party in that kingdom, which will make him very uneasy, by putting a disagreeable necessity upon him of refusing what he cannot grant to them, without disobliging the English, which I have good reason to believe he is resolved not to do; it being contrary to his inclination, as well as his interest, to do any thing in favour of one nation, that may be a just ground of grievance to another; his intention, as I am credibly informed, being to leave all those matters of state, as well as of religion, to be entirely decided and settled in a British parliament.

Thus, Sir, I have (in compliance to your desire) opened my mind freely to you upon a very nice point. I hope, from your friendship for me, and your known discretion in matters of this importance, that you will

1711. will not communicate this paper, but where you are sure it will be safe, and where you have reason to hope it may be of some use. I shall conclude with assuring you, that you are the only person to whom it is sent, and that neither the person by whose conveyance it comes, nor any other person whatever on your side, knows any thing of the contents of it. Any thing that tends towards Jacobitism (as I own this letter does) sounds ill in the ears of those who are always used to tack popery, slavery, and arbitrary government together; and have no other notion of a popish King, but that of a bigot tyrant. But I, who know from unquestionable hands, that the Pretender (as we call him here) besides his other great and good qualities, is too wise and too just a prince to think of persecuting any body for his religion; that, on the contrary, all those of our church, that are about him at present, have distinguished marks of his bounty shewn to them, with assurances that it shall not be his fault if they have not the full exercise of their religion whenever they go with him. I, who know also, that he has sent particular directions to his friends here, to join themselves unanimously to vote for and support the measures of the court and present ministry, with all the interest they have, am not only fully persuaded of his true affection for his sister, and love for his country, but am also convinced, in my conscience, that our established religion, as well as our liberties, estates, and employments, and every thing else that is dear to us, will be infinitely more secure under his government, than under a Lutheran foreign prince, influenced by German and Whig counsels: and, therefore, to you I am not afraid nor ashamed to own myself, so far a Jacobite as to wish a good understanding between our gracious Queen and her brother, which I look upon to be the only means to make her Majesty happy, easy, and safe, as long as she lives, our present ministry out of danger of being ever oppressed by their enemies, our church safe, and our country happy. To be a Jacobite, at this rate, in my opinion, is to be a true patriot and a faithful subject; and I hope you do me the justice to have no other opinion of, Sir, &c.

Whatever might have been the disposition of her ministry, there is reason to think that the Queen herself was now inclined to secure the succession to her brother. In the following rough draught of a letter to her in English,

English, of which there is also a draught of a French translation among Nairne's papers, and both in Nairne's hand, the Chevalier puts her in mind of a promise she had made to their father; and proposes to her, that she should send over to him a trusty person, with whom he might enter into a treaty. It is evidently the Pretender's own diction. 1711.

A letter to Queen Anne from her Brother.*

Nairne's
papers,
D. N. vol. ii.
fol. No. 38.
May.

Madam,

May, 1711.

"**T**HE violence and ambition of the enemies of our family, and of the monarchy, have too long kept at distance those who, by all the obligations of nature and duty, ought to be more firmly united; and have hindered us from the proper means and endeavours of a better understanding between us, which could not fail to produce the most happy effects to ourselves, to our family, and to our bleeding country.

But whatever the success may be, I have resolved now to break through all reserve, and to be the first in an endeavour so just and necessary. The natural affection I bear you, and that the King our father had for you, till his last breath; the consideration of our mutual interest, honour, and safety, and the duty I owe to God and my country, are the true motives that persuade me to write to you, and to do all that is possible for me to come to a perfect union with you.

And you may be assured, Madam, that though I can never abandon, but with my life, my own just right, which you know is unalterably settled by the most fundamental laws of the land; yet I am most desirous rather to owe to you, than to any living, the recovery of it. It is for yourself that a work so just and glorious is reserved. The voice of God and nature calls you to it; the promises you made to the King our father enjoin it; the preservation of our family, the preventing of unnatural wars require it; and the public good and welfare of our country recommend it to you, to rescue it from present and future evils; which must, to the latest posterity, involve the nation in blood and confusion, till the succession be again settled in the right line.

* This is supposed to be one of the letters in lord Middleton's letter to Abram, of the 19th of March.

I am.

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I am satisfied, Madam, that, if you will be guided by your own inclinations, you will readily comply with so just and fair a proposal as to prefer your own brother, the last male of our name, to the dutchess of Hanover, the remotest relation we have, whose friendship you have no reason to rely on, or be fond of, who will leave the government to foreigners of another language, of another interest, and who, by the general naturalization, may bring over crowds of his countrymen to supply the defect of his right, and enslave the nation.

In the meantime, I assure you, Madam, and am ready to give all the security that can be desired, that it is my unalterable resolution to make the law of the land the rule of my government, to preserve every man's right, liberty, and property, equally with the rights of the crown; and to secure and maintain those of the church of England, in all their just rights and privileges, as by law established; and to grant such a toleration to dissenters as the parliament shall think fit.

Your own good nature, Madam, and your natural affection to a brother, from whom you never received any injury, cannot but incline your heart to do him justice; and, as it is in your power, I cannot doubt of your good inclinations. And I do here assure you, that, in that case, no reasonable terms of accommodation which you can desire for yourself, shall be refused by me. But as affairs of this moment cannot be so well transacted by letters, I must conjure you to send one over to me, fully instructed and empowered by you, or to give security for such a one from me; for by that way only, things can be adjusted to our mutual satisfaction, which shall be managed on our side with the utmost secrecy.

I have made this first step towards our mutual happiness, with a true brotherly affection, with the plainness and sincerity that becomes both our rank and relation, and in the most prudent manner I could at present contrive; and will be directed by you in the prosecution of it, relying entirely on your knowledge and experience, as to the means and instruments.

And now, Madam, as you tender your own honour and happiness, the preservation and re-establishment of our ancient royal family, the safety and welfare of a brave people, who are almost sinking under present weights, and have reason to fear greater; who have no reason to complain

complain of me, and whom I must still, and do love as my own. I conjure you to meet me in this friendly way of composing our difference, by which only we can hope for those good effects which will make us both happy; yourself more glorious than all the other parts of your life, and your memory dear to all posterity.

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The following is the composition of the Pretender himself, who was a better, more easy, and perhaps a more elegant writer than any one of his servants.

“Abstract of a letter writ in his Majesty’s own hand, and sent to his friends in England.”

Copy in Nairne’s hand.

Nairne’s
Papers, D.N.
vol. iii. 4to.
No. 27.

His opinion about differences of religion.—Promises of toleration to all, and protection to the church of England.

Dated May 2, 1711.

“IN answer to yours, I cannot, at this distance, and in my present circumstances, enter into disputes of religion; but those of the church of England have no reason to doubt of my favour and protection, after the early assurances I gave them in my instructions, bearing date the 3d March, 1702, which you have seen, and I am resolved to make good. I know my grand-father and my father too had always a good opinion of the principles of the church of England relating to monarchy; and experience sufficiently sheweth, that the crown was never struck at but she also felt the blow; and though some of her chief professors have failed in their duty, we must not measure the principles of a church by the actions of some particulars.

Plain dealing is best in all things, especially in matters of religion; and, as I am resolved never to dissemble in religion, so I shall never tempt others to do it; and as well as I am satisfied of the truth of my own religion, yet I shall never look worse upon any persons, because in this they chance to differ with me: nor shall I refuse, in due time and place, to hear what they have to say upon this subject. But they must not take it ill if I use the same liberty I allow to others, to adhere to the religion which I, in my conscience, think the best; and I may reasonably expect that liberty of conscience for myself, which I deny to none.”

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vol. ix. 4to.
p. 19.

Mrs. Watfon, a name which will occur frequently hereafter, is mentioned now for the first time: but it is not certain whether it was a real or a feigned name.

"Nairne to Abram, 31 May, with a letter from the Queen to Mrs. Watfon." Lady Middleton likewise corresponded with Mrs. Watfon.

"June 4. My Lord (Middleton) writ to Abram, and sent the King's letter to my lord Mar, inclosed to him. Mr. Inese writ also to Abram, and I added a postscript. And I writ to Hackette, and sent him the direction by which earl Mar was to write to the King. For Mr. Andrew Flint, at Mr. John Hackette's, merchant, at Rotterdam."

The jealousy which the Tories began early to conceive of Mr. Harley, now earl of Oxford, will explain the following letter.

Ibid. p. 20.

"My Lord's letter to Abram."

September 6.

"**H**AVING made the campaign in the duke of Savoy's army, has hindered me from writing to you, which I hope you will excuse for that reason; but I hope Bayard [Sir William Ellis] has supplied my place much better, for poor Nesmith [lord Caryll, who died the preceding month] has visited the frontier of the world. But having seen one of yours, in which you say that Honiton [Oxford] shall be drove off the Exchange, except he pays his debts; I must tell you that this matter is too important to be acted, *sine permissu superiorum*: Bayard [Sir William Ellis] and I have often told you, that all these matters ought to be well explained and approved before they are undertaken. But since you proceed, I am now ordered to tell you, that you do nothing without an order from Jonathan Aitkins [the King], who should be fully informed, not only of the purpose, but of the means by which it is to be carried on; and of this you will advertise such of your friends as may fall into those courses. Mistake me not, I would still have you continue to bestir yourself, but only that you would let us know what you are doing."

Middleton wrote in the same strain to a Mr. Lilly, who will be frequently mentioned hereafter, under the name of cousin Hanna and dame Lilly.

"My

"My Lord's letter to Lilly."

September 20.

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September.
Nairne's Pa-
pers, vol. ix.
p. 20.

"MR. Smith's three letters [i. e. Mr. Lilly's] came hither at the same time. In one of them, he begins with accusing himself with rashness, with a great deal of reason, in exposing his contraband merchandise, for which he could have no ready money; nor indeed is there any thing to be expected from Honyton's [Harley's] shop, but pump and banter *. And in the end of that epistle, that he has proposals to make to him, without mentioning them, as soon as he is in a condition to stir out."

"Abram used to tell us that he had projects, as if a factor could make contracts without the approbation of the directors of the company; on which this advice was given to him."

"Your good will is commendable, your capacity respectable, but your zeal indiscreet. Your business is to watch what passes, to give just informations, to make well digested proposals; but not finish any thing without the directions of your employers; for there is nothing more dangerous for yourself, nor destructive to trade. If you are in the dark, it should make you more cautious; *qui ambulat in tenebris, nescit quo vadit*, is Gospel. If you have no directions, you should presume there are good reasons for it: you should not be so uncharitable as to think we would be wanting to ourselves; and though you only mention matters as from yourself, yet it makes those you deal with insist on higher terms."

"This is what was writ by Jonathan Young's order," i. e. probably by the King's, "to Abram."

"*Mutato nomine de te fabula narratur.*"

Ibid. p. 21.

"Nairne to Abram."

"To answer his two letters of the 11th and 18th September."

October 11.

"I Bid him write straight to Mr. de Torcy sometimes. I asked him if he heard from Leers, and advised him to write to him about Phips [the peace], and give him all the intelligence he could get concerning him."

* Oxford did not listen to the proposals which had been made to him.

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October.

The correspondence and intrigues of Marlborough, with the courts of St. Germain and its agents, have been already traced from year to year. The following letter not only continues the chain, but even makes us regret the want of access to the letters written by himself, and those who conferred with him; which, probably, lie sealed up and deposited in the Scotch college at Paris. The copies of the answers are, however, sufficient to shew the great line of the duke's intrigues. The letter which follows is the original, written by Tunstall to the earl of Middleton, to whom it was addressed, under the feigned name of M. Montigny, merchant in Paris. It is completely decyphered and explained, and thrown loosely into a volume of lord Caryll's letters.

Tunstall to the Earl of Middleton.

Lord Caryll's Letters,
vol. v. fol.
Scotch College.

Honoured Sir,

November 3.

“ I Have been away these two months since I writ my last to you, and my journey home being much about the same time your lawyer [Churchill] was in motion, made him a little concerned for fear he should not have had an opportunity of speaking to me before he left these parts for good and all: this he shewed in a more open manner than usual, for he asked particularly after [of] me of [after] one that had gone from our town to wait upon him, and commissioned him, at his return, to inquire whether I was come back or no; and if so, to tell me he had a mind to see me. But at this gentleman's return, I not being arrived, he neglected to send any more to our house, and I had like to have lost the news of this intimation. As soon as I knew it, in the uncertainty I was in to find Mr. James [Churchill], your lawyer, I writ to one of his household, to know more in particular his desires, and where I might wait upon him, who immediately answered me, as from his master, and fixed me the place where he was to stay some days: whereupon, the time pressing of both sides, I took post, and had two long conferences with him about Mr. Bernard's [the Queen's] lawsuit, and Mr. Kelly's [the King's] affairs. As to both which he shews a good-will, and gives, in appearance, sincere wishes; but how far he will be able to work effectually in the matter, I leave you to judge. First, as to Mr. Bernard's [the Queen's] deed, he says, it must be insisted upon in time; for he looks upon it certain that an accommodation [peace] will be made;

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made; and if he shall be found capable of helping on the signing this deed, he assures Mr. Bernard [the Queen] of his best services. (But he believes measures are taken in such a manner, that he shall be excluded from having any hand in concluding matters at Povey [peace]: but could not some one work to gain Mr. Mathew [Harley] and Nathaniel [Masham]?) He looks upon the strongly insisting upon, and gaining this point of the deed to be of great consequence, not only as to the making my lady Betty [the Queen] easy as to her own circumstances, but very much conducing to the advancing Mr. Athony's [the King's] interest: and this not so much again as to the money itself, as that the grant of it, (which cannot be refused, it being formerly concluded and granted at Povey [peace], and funds being set aside for it, and only diverted by "the unworthiness of him who then ruled the roast") and continual payment, will be a means to make people open their eyes, even in regard to Mr. Andrew [the King], and see better their own interest in reference to the same, "whose cause has got so much sensible ground for these latter years, that, (to assure me more, I suppose, of his real interior sentiments) he swore solemnly he thought it could not fail of coming to a happy issue: nay, that both sides would see an absolute necessity of having recourse to him, as the only means left of securing solid peace and happiness: not so much, perchance, (either Mr. Robert [High Church] or cousin Simon [Whigs]) out of any true principles of conscience or honesty, for he does not think either deserves the name of Lumfdell [Loyal].

As to Mr. Antony's [the King's] business, it must be managed with a great deal of dexterity. He was not a little startled at the news of his going to Mr. Price [the Pope]; it would not have been well at all. He says, when they begin to work at Povey [peace], perchance Mr. Edward [King of France] and his Fredlingers [ministers], (who will be willing to consecrate any thing to their own ends) will be consenting to Mr. Athony's [the King's] going to live some where with Mr. Price [the Pope], or some where in that country, and he fancies that something of that kind may be insisted upon by others in Evans [England]; by that means to persuade the tenants that they are altogether for excluding the Thomists [Catholics], and all for Gregory [Hannover]. "But he declares, as much as he can judge of things, that Mr. Athony's [the King's] going

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going thither must never be granted to." And this he looks upon as a point of the last importance; for he declares, he thinks it absolutely contrary to Mr. Athony's interest; and, therefore, though Mr. Edward [King of France] should consent to it, and people in Evans [England] push for it, it must not be done: and he desired me in particular to assure you of this, (and he swore it by the living God) that he thought, that if Mr. Benjamin [the Queen] ever consented to this, that 'twas no better than ruining and quite murdering this son's, the Grot's [King's] cause. If it be necessary, or judged advantageous to quit Forster [France], let him go to his uncle David [Germany], or rather have recourse to some free seat. But I asked him, what security for his person, there being such a writ out against him? He answered, he really did not think he wanted any security, for nobody would touch him. "As for his part, he had seen such visible changes for the better of late, on all sides, that he thought the gaining of his cause could not but follow." And when he gets his estate, he hopes he will make his tenants easy; and not thinking of annulling any regulations, made for the cutting down woods, and altering other farms, for these many years; for that will bring dangerous consequences, the interest of so many persons being engaged, who otherwise would come in to him.

When Mrs. Betty's deed [the Queen's jointure] is insisted upon, if it was to be put to Philip Cook [the parliament], you will find many, he is persuaded, even willing to help it on, and glad of an occasion of making their compliments *à bon grace*, and giving some testimony of their goodwill. If she thinks, that he shall be in any capacity of serving her in this point, she needs only to signify to him what she expects from him, and he will be very glad of the occasion of showing himself her humble servant. He insinuated a desire you should be sensible, that what he has done for these many years, (and seem to affirm the same of others) has not been out of any spleen or ill-will against you, but only to put down Foster [France], which he always judged the true interest of Mrs. Edwards [England], whose cause alone he pleaded for. He thinks certainly there will be an accommodation; for when he was, last winter, at Mrs. Evans [England], he saw so much of the disposition of the people, that if all were to be polled, nine in ten would absolutely vote for Povey [peace], being spent, on all sides, by so long a law-suit.

A great

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A great many, he says, have taken strange methods, of late, which, contrary to the intentions of those that made use of them, will prove very much to the advantage of Mr. Andrew's [the King's] cause ; and God, who rules above, seems visibly to dispose all things for the best. Neither your cousin Temple, [the Tories] nor Wilson [the Whigs] are much to be relied on, quatenus such ; but all that they have or seem to be a doing, will insensibly reduce both of them, more and more, to the necessity of doing Mr. Athony's [the King's] business, and even calling for him.

To signify these things to you, was the reason of his calling for me, and he desired I would take an occasion of waiting upon you for this intent ; but I hope the writing this will suffice ; if not, you know where to command. After my compliments to him, I told him, as to myself, I was much more afraid of the issue of his suits, in this following season, than in the former. He owned, he had been treated unworthily, upon several accounts : but that was nothing. For his part, God had blessed him with a great deal of temper, and he had taken the resolution of being quiet for the present ; but he would expect his time ; and if Mr. Matthew [Harley] or others pushed things to greater extremities, they should give him, perchance, only better hold, and they should find what metal he was made of.

He desired, that his compliments might be made, in a particular manner, to Mr. Barker [Berwick] and Mr. Wal. [E. Midd.] and bade me tell the latter, that he hoped Mr. Wal. [E. Midd.] would live to see better times, and more according to his satisfaction. He was pleased to ask me many questions about Mr. Walter's [E. Midd.'s] conversion ; and said, he had heard, at the beginning, as if he had had a mind of retiring from business, for good and all. As for his conversion, I told him, it was beyond all doubt, truly solid, and certainly upon motives altogether christian ; and for the rumour of his having a mind to retire, perchance, his retiring to our little seminary, at Onkfi [Paris], might give occasion of that rumour ; but this was only to do his work he had undertaken more efficaciously, and first cleanse the garden of so many weeds that had overrun it, and secondly plant the same, with necessary adornments. (I think he answered, it is what we must all come to ; but I did not understand him perfectly).

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As for the working at Povey [peace], he thought they had taken all their measures to do the business without him; and as for his part, he desired nothing more than to be at quiet. Some business to settle matters abroad, would detain him yet a little while, at Mr. Harrison's [Holland]; but when that was done, he would hasten home, where he would maintain himself against them all; and if Mr. Mathews [Harley] or others pushed matters any farther against him, perchance so much the better.

But, after he had used a great many compliments, &c. towards you, I thought it would not be amiss, civilly to urge him to something more positive, and endeavour to see if there were any more solid assurances to be had from him, above what one might call a compliment; and for the purpose, I objected this to him, that some might say, he being a lawyer of such interest, why would not he stickle more in Mr. Anthony [the King] and Barnard's [the Queen's] suits? He answered, he did not know what he could do directly in the matter; but only by managing people so, on occasions, as to make them enter into the aforesaid interests; and they might assure themselves, nothing should be wanting on his side, as occasions should present. He owned, indeed, that he had acted with a great deal of animosity against Foster [France], (and he always thought it the interest of his country so to do) but not against them; and really seemed to shew a great desire of all things prospering with you, and said, that God Almighty had disposed things so, that he solemnly swore again, that he thought Mr. Anthony's [the King's] business could not fail of going forward, and that his Rode [religion] would not be any hinderance to it, for all the protestations Evans [England] had made to the contrary. He says, he knows your cousin Harry [princess of Denmark] perfectly well; that he is a very honest person, but easily won and wrought upon; but, at the bottom, he certainly has no aversion from his brother Alexander [the King]. But he [princess Anne] is one that must not be frightened; and the lawyer [Churchill] says, he thinks any extern force used, will rather do more harm than good, both in regard of Harry [princess Anne] and others. Whereas, if one will but let things go on their own train, Alexander [the King's] business will go on of itself, and he does not doubt, but will come to a happy conclusion.

I wish it was in my power, in any manner, to conduce to it. It shall always lay close to my heart, and be the subject of my best prayers, with all the assurances of my most humble duty, whilst your most obedient and humble servant,

Nov. the 3d.

TUNSTALL [TREVER.]”

1711.
November.

The Earl of Middleton to Mr. Tunstal.

An Answer to the preceding.

Nairne's Pa-
pers, vol viii.
4to. No. 52.

Nov. 18, 1711.

“ I Received, Sir, yours of the 3d instant, for which I return you my thanks. As for your lawyer, he is gone; and before you meet again, we shall see clearer. His letter being intercepted, is a good reason for not writing to him. In the mean time, you must continue to see him, when there is occasion, and return compliments for compliments, which are more innocent than equivocations, because nobody is deceived by them. He had it in his power to have been great and good: but God hardened Pharaoh's heart; and now can only pretend to the humble merit of a post-boy, who brings good news, to which he has not contributed. Every body here is well satisfied with your prudent diligence; and in my own particular, you will still find me, Sir, your most faithful humble servant.”

The Earl of Middleton to Abram.

Ibid. p. 22.

November 8, 1711.

“ I Was obliged to write to you, nor did I fear you would take it ill from a friend that loves you: but when I was ordered to write to dame Lilly, I knew her to be exceptionous, and thought the best way to soften the matter, was to let her see, that there was nothing said to her, but what had been written to you, never dreaming, that she could have made so bad an use of it; but that shall be a lesson to me for the future; but I believe you are convinced as well as I, that I should shew no resentment *rebus sic stantibus*.”

“ If Phipps [the peace] comes on his trial this term, you should engage all your friends to do him what service they can.”

1711.
November.
Nairne's
Papers,
vol. viii.
4to. p. 22.

Nairne to Abram.

November 19, 1711.

"WITH a bill of the value of 300 livres, I told him again to get all Jainon's relations, and Proby's also, to favour Phipps, as also to keep well with Prior, to know all he could from him, and send account here."

A clandestine negociation had now been carried on, for five months, between France and England. Mr. Prior went to France in the month of July, and came back with Mr. Mesnager and the abbé Gaultier, in the month of August. Preliminary articles were signed, in London, about the latter end of September; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Emperor and of the States, and a spirited and vehement memorial from the Elector of Hannover, it was determined to open a general congress at Utrecht, in the beginning of the ensuing year. The court of St. Germans seem to have had such confidence in the attachment of Queen Anne and her ministry to their cause, that they were not so uneasy now at the news of a general peace, as at the time of the treaty at Ryf-wick. The Dauphin paid them a visit, and congratulated them on their prospect. They did not, however, neglect the measures which prudence suggested on the occasion.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 35.

A Memorial given to the Marquis de Torcy, from which he may form instructions, to the plenipotentiaries of his most Christian Majesty at Utrecht, concerning the succession to the crown of England.

This Memorial, which is but a copy in Nairne's hand, begins with setting forth the disadvantages of which a disputed title to the crown had been formerly, and will always continue to be, to England, and then proceeds as follows:

December, 1711.

"IT would be proper to show the English, that the monarchy and the hierarchy, having such a close connexion, and so much dependence the one upon the other; the one cannot possibly subsist without the other, as might be easily shown, by arguments and examples. A King must entirely neglect his own interests, when he does not protect and maintain the

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the church of England, in all its rights and privileges; and, therefore, as there is not a stronger tie than common interest, the members of that church may be sure, that the King will never depart from the solemn promises which he hath already made to them, and which he is ready to confirm to them, that he will protect and maintain them, in the peaceful possession of all their rights, privileges, and immunities, which have been granted to them by acts of parliament and the common law of the kingdom.

And, in order to remove all their uneasiness on the article of religion, it may be shown to them, that, in the year 1702, the King having been informed, by men of rank of the church of England, that, in order to render their religion perfectly secure under a Catholic King, they wished that his Majesty would grant them certain privileges, even beyond what the acts of parliament and common law of the kingdom allow them; his Majesty having examined their demands, granted them immediately, although they could not deny themselves, but by granting them, he derogated from the rights and prerogatives of the crown."

Then follows a copy of the declaration.

"It appears plainly then, to any one who will reflect, that it is the interest of the English nation to finish, as soon as possible, all disputes about the succession of the crown, by re-establishing it in the right line; and it appears likewise, that the catholic religion, which is the only thing that can be objected to the King, is of no prejudice to them, but, on the contrary, an advantage, as his Majesty yields to the church of England, what no Protestant King would yield to them; therefore, the members of that church will find their account, and have their privileges more enlarged, and their securities better established under the King, being a catholic, than if he was a protestant."

After proposing, in the very words of the *Sieur Lamb*, that is, doctor Leslie, that the act of settlement should be repealed, that every one might be at liberty to declare his sentiments, the Memorialist proceeds.

"After the act, which exchanged the succession, shall be repealed, it would be necessary to send over the King to England, that he might learn what is necessary for him to know, in order to govern his people, by instructing himself in the laws and customs of the country; and like-

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wife, that he might be before-hand with the Dutch, who might otherwise, upon the first news of the death of the reigning princess, transport thither the prince of Hannover, which would infallibly produce a civil war, with which they would be very well pleased, because they would find their account in it. Moreover, they know that the prince of Hannover, who has not the best title on his side, will stand in need of a foreign support to maintain him; and, as he cannot find it any where but with them, they will by that dependence, reassume the direction of all the affairs of England, as they did during the government of the prince of Orange, which will nowise suit either the humours or the interests of the English nation.

When the King would be transported to England, the best means of securing to him the succession would be to treat him as a sovereign, in which, it does not appear, there would be any inconveniency to the reigning princess; who, for associating her brother to the royal title, will not the less peaceably enjoy all her authority, during her own life; as it has been seen lately, that the kingdom was governed peaceably, under the names of William and Mary, although the first had all the administration; and as it was seen formerly, that the same kingdom was governed as peaceably, under the names of Philip and Mary, although the last alone had the whole administration."

Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. ii.
fol. No. 34.

A Memorial concerning the dowry of the Queen of England, and the indemnity of the King of England's subjects, given to the Marquis de Torcy, in December, 1711.

THIS memorial recites, that the late King had made a settlement of 50,000 l. sterling upon the Queen, by letters patent under the great seal, which was afterwards confirmed by acts of parliament which have never been repealed; that according to the prerogatives of the Queens of England, she had appointed her own officers and disposed of her revenues, from the date of the settlement; that, therefore, she has an undoubted right to what is due since she left England; and that, if she could claim it, according to the usual forms, there is not a court of justice in England, but what would decide it in her favour.

The memorial mentions, in the next place, that her pretensions were sustained, by the English themselves, at the treaty of Ryswick, and recites

cites the particulars, which may be seen in the preceding volume, among the papers of that period.

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“ A promise so solemn, reiterated, and confirmed, in a manner so positive and so precise, and without any condition, should not have met with any difficulty in the execution; and the more so, that the parliament of England made no difficulty of testifying, in a very effectual manner, their approbation of that promise, by furnishing the prince with the means of performing it: for, in the first session after the peace, the commons assembled in parliament, granted him a new fund of a hundred thousand pounds sterling of an additional revenue, of which they appropriated the half to supply the funds on which the appanage had been assigned, and which had been otherwise employed; and to show further, that it was their intention that the sum should be paid honestly to the Queen, according to the promise publicly and positively made, in the name of the nation, without exacting any condition from her Majesty, they added a clause, by which it was declared, that those who should be employed to remit the money to the Queen, in France, should not be subject to the penalties of the law which forbade all correspondence with the court of St. Germain. This evidently shows, that the pretended condition, which was afterwards alleged to elude the payment, was ill-founded; and that the parliament never thought of exacting such conditions.”

The memorial next proposes, that at the ensuing treaty of peace, the sum of 50,000 £. should be secured to the Queen for life; and that all the arrears, due since the Revolution, at least since the treaty of Ryswick, should be paid. It specifies the manner in which this should be done; particularly, that the Queen should be at liberty to nominate any person she chose to receive her money, and to grant valid discharges to the government of England, without her being obliged to sign any other deed, engagement, or acknowledgment, but a procuration to them to act in her name.”

This memorial is followed by another, demanding a general indemnity for all the English, Scots, and Irish, who went over to France, since the Revolution.

HAN-

HANNOVER PAPERS.

1711.

1711.

TO explain the papers of the family of Hannover, in the present year, a short detail of leading facts may be necessary. The baron de Bothmar, envoy extraordinary from the Elector, arrived in London, early this year. Though the duke of Marlborough was permitted to retain the command of the army, the dutchess was deprived of all her employments; and Harley, at the desire of the Queen, informed the court of Hannover of her dismissal. The Electoral Prince, who had been elected a Knight of the Garter in 1706, was installed at Windsor in December 1710; the lord Halifax serving as his proxy. The earl of Rochester, the Queen's maternal uncle, who, from his rank, abilities, experience in business, and influence with the high-church party, was the only rival of Harley, died suddenly, in the May of the present year. A fair field being left for Harley's ambition, he became lord-treasurer, earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and was considered as prime minister.

Marlborough, endeavouring to overcome his enemies in the cabinet by the splendour of his actions in the field, made various, but unsuccessful, efforts to force the Marechal de Villars to a battle. He, however, by a sudden exertion, surpris'd the famous lines with which the French had joined the Scheld, the Sanfette, the Scarpe, and the Ugy. The consequence of this enterprise was the siege and surrender of Bouchain, the last exploit of the duke of Marlborough. Mr. Matthew Prior, having been sent clandestinely by the ministry with preliminaries of peace to France, arrived at Fountainbleau, in the month of July. Lewis the XIV. afraid either to accept or refuse the terms offered by Prior, sent to London, in his company, Mons. Menager and the famous Abbé du Bois. An intimate correspondence was established between the British and French ministers

ministers; and preliminary articles, to the satisfaction of both, were signed on the twenty-seventh of September. The Queen sent the earl of Rivers to Hannover, to assure the Elector, that the succession of his family to the crown of Great Britain should be secured in the treaty. The earl of Oxford and his associates made the same assurances, in vain; the jealousy of his Electoral Highness having been raised by the emissaries of the Whigs.

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The lord Raby, who had been appointed, in the preceding March, ambassador extraordinary to the States-general, was created earl of Strafford in the beginning of September, and in the end of that month was sent back to Holland, to press the opening of a general congress. The privy-seal, upon the death of the duke of Newcastle, was delivered into the custody of Dr. Robinson, bishop of Bristol, who was intended to be joined as plenipotentiary to the earl of Strafford, on the expected congress. Doctor Swift gives the character of both very justly, in a few words. "They were practiced in business, but possessed no parts. Strafford hath some life and spirit; but is infinitely proud, and wholly illiterate." His lordship's letters, indeed, furnish no proof of his learning; and Robinson was a heavy, though decent man.

An incident, in Scotland, employed the attention of the court of Hannover, in the present year. The dutchess of Gordon, a Roman Catholic, presuming on the temper of the times, sent a medal of the Pretender to Mr. Robert Bennet, dean of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh. This piece of silver had a legend upon it, importing that the kingdom should be restored to the right owner. At a meeting of the Faculty, thanks were voted to her Grace; and Mr. Robert Dundas of Arncliffe returned them, in terms sufficiently seditious and bold. He thanked her for presenting them with a medal of their sovereign lord the King. He hoped, that her Grace would soon have an opportunity of presenting to the faculty of Advocates a second medal, struck upon the restoration of the King and royal family, and the finishing of rebellion, usurpation, tyranny, and whiggery. No inquiry was made into this affair, till the baron de Kreyenberg, in the name of his master, the Elector, complained of the conduct of the advocates to the Queen. In compliance with his representation, Sir David Dalrymple, the lord advocate, who was a Whig, when it suited with his own interest, was dismissed from his of-

fice,

1711.
January.
Robethon's
original
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 144.

fice, for his being remiss in the prosecution of the delinquents. The premising of these facts will explain the correspondence of this year.

The Elector to Mr. Blathwait.

An answer to Mr. Blathwait's letter of the 16th November 1710.

Translation.

SIR,

Hannover, Jan. 2, 1711.

“YOUR son delivered to me the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me. I am much obliged to you for the assurances which it contains of your attachment to my interests and to those of my family. You gave, during the preceding reign, several proofs of this, which I have not forgot. I hope your son will be pleased with his stay at Hannover, and with the reception he meets with. I wish that you may be so likewise; and that you may be persuaded, I shall be always well pleased to find opportunities of shewing you that I am, &c.”

Original.
Ibid. No. 245.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

The conduct which he is determined to follow in England.—Preparations for the next campaign.

Translation.

SIR,

January 2, 1711.

“BEING ready to embark, your Electoral Highness will be pleased to allow me to thank you, by this letter, for all the attention you have condescended to shew me, and to assure you, that I am firmly resolved to conform myself, in all respects, to the excellent advices your Electoral Highness has been pleased to give me by Monsieur de Bulau. Monsieur de Bothmar, who has been detained by contrary winds till now, will be a witness of this, and will have the honour to send information, from time to time, of what passes. I shall apply myself to promote the Queen's interests with the same zeal and assiduity I always did, in order that I may have nothing to reproach myself with, in case they shall choose that I should not continue in the service, and I presume to hope that your Electoral Highness will do me justice in that respect. I must not however conceal from you that my correspondents write to me, that those who have most credit at present, are resolved to embarrass me, by depriving me of officers and others in whom I place the most confidence.

dence. You will be informed by your ministers here, that it has been resolved to take all possible measures for being in the field early next year. For this purpose all the troops must be complete on the 25th of March, and magazines of forage will be formed on the frontiers. But the principal subject of consideration was how to carry on the war in Spain with the greatest vigour. Her Majesty, on her side, makes her utmost efforts; she takes 2000 more of Imperial cavalry into her pay, and furnishes 2500 recruits for the Imperial infantry, at the rate of 20 crowns each; she is at the expence of transporting them all to Catalonia, besides an equal number of recruits for the English infantry, and five battalions of an augmentation: it is expected that these have sailed already. This is intended as an example to excite the court of Vienna and the States-general to exert themselves likewise on their side. Prince Eugene, at parting, gave reason to hope that the Emperor would send four battalions to Spain, if the States would do as much. The province of Holland has taken a favourable resolution in consequence of this; and it is hoped, the other provinces will soon follow the example, especially as count Zinzendorff has since declared his Imperial Majesty's consent to this augmentation. These troops will be a powerful succour, if they arrive in time, and the greatest care will be taken that they shall; but the bad news we have lately received from that country will oblige both the one and the other to take still more vigorous resolutions.

I entreat your Electoral Highness to continue to honour me with your kindness, and to be persuaded of the inviolable and respectful attachment with which I am, &c."

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An answer to the Duke's letter of January 2d.

Translation.

My Lord,

Hannover, Jan. 9th, 1711.

"I Have received the obliging letter which you wrote to me, when you left the Hague. I hope this will find you happily arrived in England, and I wish very much, they may render you there, all the justice which is due to you. I am much obliged to you for the trouble you are pleased to take in imparting your knowledge of affairs to baron Bothmar, and in giving him advices, which cannot fail to be very useful to him,

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Robethon's
original
draught.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes,
No. 246.

1711.
January.

as they come from one who is so very well informed, and whose good intentions are so well known. I approve entirely of your plan for taking the field early, being persuaded that the success of the last campaign was owing to such dispatch. It is to be hoped that the misfortune which happened in Spain will not be so considerable, as that the affairs of that country cannot be retrieved by the means of which you wrote to me; especially as her Britannic Majesty gives such an example in supplying them. I wish the Imperial court may follow it; but it is to be feared, the uneasiness occasioned by the rupture of the Turk with the Czar may give them other objects of attention. Your presence in London, in such circumstances, will be very useful to the public, if that deference is paid to your sentiments which they deserve. I beseech you to believe, that I shall always have a perfect esteem for you, and that I sincerely am, my Lord, &c."

Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Miscell.
d'Etat. 2.
No. 195.

* In Robethon's hand.
"I had sent him the compliments of his Electoral Highness."

Mr. St. John to Robethon.

An answer to Robethon's letter of 17th December 1710.

Translation.

Whitehall, Jan. 9th. 1711.

"I Feel myself touched with the most lively gratitude for the honour, which his Electoral Highness hath condescended to do me *. I entreat you to renew to him assurances from me, that it is impossible to be more devoted to his service, and to that of his illustrious house, than I am. In all the situations of a life sufficiently agitated, I endeavoured to discover these sentiments, and if I was capable of changing them, I would believe myself unworthy of the character of a good protestant, a good Englishman, or faithful servant of the Queen, my mistress.

Monfieur de Bothmar is here at present, I will not fail to live in a perfect confidence with him; and he may depend upon all the services which I can render him. I indeed hope, I have already shewn him that this is my intention.

I agree with you, that during Monf. de Bothmar's residence in London, it would be unnecessary to give yourself the trouble of writing to me. I shall send you my compliments by him, and I shall always be with great esteem, &c."

Mr.

Mr. Harley to the Elector.

At the Queen's desire, he gives him an account of the Dutcheſs of Marlborough's being removed from her Maſteſty's ſervice.

1711.
January.
Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 151.

May it pleaſe your Electoral Highneſs,

Jan. 19th, 1711.

“ I Received the great honor of your Electoral Highneſſe's letter of December 15, with that profound reſpect and thankfulneſs which is due to ſo obliging a mark of your conſideration and goodneſs.

I beſeech your Highneſs to accept the aſſurances of my utmoſt fidelity and inviolable attachment to the intereſt of your family, to which I am obliged as well by duty to the Queen, as by the common good of my country. The Queen takes all occaſions to expreſs the great eſteem ſhe has for your Highneſs, and concern for your intereſt; and as a further inſtance of her Maſteſty's deſire on all occaſions to improve that good correſpondence which is ſo neceſſary, the Queen commands me to communicate to your Electoral Highneſs a change ſhe has been obliged to make in her court, by removing the dutcheſs of Marlborough. Laſt night the duke brought the gold-key, the enſign of one of his wife's places, the Queen having indulged him his choice, to bring it, or have it ſent for. This is ſo far from hindering the duke from continuing in his poſts, that he ſeems reſolved to accommodate himſelf to the Queen's pleaſure, and go on in her ſervice.

The cauſes of his lady's diſgrace have been ſo public, and of ſo many years continuance, that it will be needleſs to trouble your Electoral Highneſſe on that head.

The places will be ſpeedily diſpoſed, and the chiefeſt will fall to the ſhare of the dutcheſs of Somerſet.

I ſhall think myſelf extremely happy, if any occaſion ſhall be ever offered me to manifeſt the great veneration and duty wherewith I am,

May it pleaſe your Electoral Highneſs,

Your Highneſſe's moſt humble, moſt dutiful,
and moſt obedient Servant,

ROBERT HARLEY.”

The Electoral Prince to Lord Halifax.

Translation.

My Lord,

January 21ſt, 1711.

“ I Am much obliged to you for your letter of the 26th of December, and for the information which you are pleaſed to give me of my

Robethon's
original
draught.
Ibid. No. 146.

1711.

installation at Windsor, at last, with the requisite formalities. I know the trouble you have had to get it done in a manner suitable to my rank; and I see that I can never place my interests in better hands than yours. The opposition which you meet with, and which you have the modesty not to mention to me, increase my obligations to you, and I wish to have opportunities of showing you how sensible I am of them; and that I shall always be sincerely, &c."

March.
Robethon's
original
draught.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 247.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Sent by Robethon to the Hague.

Translation.

My Lord,

Hannover, March 3d, 1711.

"HAving judged it necessary to send the privy counsellor for embassies, Robethon, to the Hague, and having ordered him to address himself to you, in order to know your opinion of the delicate conjuncture of the affairs of the North, and of the measures which the allies ought to take in order to prevent the fatal consequences which they may have; I must beseech you to be pleased, not only to give credit to what he will have the honour to tell you on these subjects, and especially with regard to the system of neutrality, but also to be pleased to speak to him about them with an entire confidence, and to desire lord Townshend to do so likewise, in order that he may profit by your extensive knowledge of affairs, in which the allies cannot act too much in concert, nor with too much precaution. I am very sincerely, &c."

July.
Copy.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 248.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Translation.

SIR,

Camp at Lens, July 18, 1711.

"HAving been informed, that Monsieur de Robethon is preparing to leave his post at the Hague, and to return to your Electoral Highness, I consider it to be my duty to embrace this opportunity of thanking you, in the humblest manner, for the letter which M. de Robethon delivered to me from you, and likewise for the freedom and confidence with which your Electoral Highness was pleased to instruct that able minister to communicate himself to me, while I stayed at the Hague. I wish your Electoral Highness may be as well satisfied with the testimony which he will give of my attachment and zeal for your service

service and interests, as I am sure you will be with the account which he will give of his negotiations, which he carried on with so much address and ability. I entreat your Electoral Highness to honour me always with the continuance of your kindness; and to accept my assurances of the entire veneration and very humble respect with which I have the honour to be, &c."

1711.
August.

Heinsius to Baron Bernsdorff.

A testimony of Robethon's character and abilities.

Translation.

SIR,

Hague, August 3d, 1711.

"AS Mr. Robethon is going to return to you, I cannot dispense with testifying to you, that he executed his master's business here, and managed the tempers of men in this state so well, that his Electoral Highness could not have sent a more proper person; and that he will be always well-received; as it may happen, some time or other, that baron Bothmar may be again employed for some time elsewhere, and that you may choose to send Robethon hither. I am, Sir, &c."

Copy in
Robethon's
hand.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 249.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

News of his breaking through the French lines.

Original.
Ibid. No. 250.

Translation.

SIR,

August 10th, 1711.

"I DID not do myself the honour to inform your Electoral Highness sooner of our motions in this country, having had nothing to say that deserved it. I fear this delay may have diminished too much the hopes which were entertained at the opening of the campaign: yet I always did every thing that was possible for me, in order to answer the desires of those who wish well to the common cause; and I have, therefore, the greater pleasure in informing your Electoral Highness that we have at last broke through the lines which the enemy, for two years, were at so much pains to raise for the preservation of their country. This was done on the 5th of this month, towards Arleux, while the enemy expected us between Arras and Hedin. They took the alarm at first, and followed us closely; but we were before them likewise in passing the Scheld, between Cambray and Bouchain, with a design of besieging

1711.
August.

besieging the last; if we can succeed, it will give me a new opportunity of assuring your Electoral Highness of the attachment and perfect regard with which I have the honour to be, &c."

Robethon's
original
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 157.

The Elector to Doctor Hutton.

Translation.

Herrenhausen, August 19th, 1711.

"I AM much obliged to you, Sir, for your letter of the 13th of June, and for the testimonies which you continue to give me, on all occasions, of your attachment to the interests of my family. Baron Bothmar did not fail to inform me of the good offices which you rendered to him, during his residence in London; and with what zeal you was employed for the good of my service. I shall do myself a real pleasure, in testifying to you my gratitude for this; and it is a very great satisfaction to me to receive letters from you; I, therefore, by no means, refuse your offer of writing to me, whenever things happen, which you think proper to communicate to me. You may be thoroughly persuaded of the esteem I have for you, and of the eagerness with which I shall always do you a pleasure. I am, &c."

Robethon's
original
Draught.
Ibid. No. 257.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An answer to the Duke's letter of the 10th.

Translation.

My Lord, Herrenhausen, August 31st, 1711.

"I AM much obliged to you, for the trouble you have taken in writing to me, to inform me of your having forced the enemy's lines. That enterprize has been conducted with so much secrecy and prudence, that nothing can ever do you greater honour. I hope it will be attended with consequences advantageous to the common cause, and glorious to you. This may be expected from what you have already done to facilitate the siege of Bouchain, and frustrate the measures which the Marechal de Villars had taken to obstruct it. I wish you a speedy and successful issue, in this and in all the other projects which you may form; being sincerely, &c."

The

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Communicates to the Elector a project for the next campaign, and asks his opinion.

Translation.

S I R,

August 31st, 1711.

“SINCE we have passed the lines, and been before this place, we have had many difficulties to surmount in forming the siege; but, God be thanked, we have happily overcome them; and, yesterday morning, our batteries began to play. I have even every reason to hope for success, in so much that, in order to profit by it, it is proper for us to think early of winter-quarters, and of the opening of the next campaign. It is with this view, that I have drawn up a project, which I have conveyed, in confidence, to the ministers in England and Holland. Without having communicated it, however, to any of our generals here, I do myself the honour to send a copy of it to your Electoral Highness; and I humbly entreat you, after having well examined it, to acquaint me with your sentiments, and if you find any thing to be added to it. I acknowledge to your Electoral Highness, that I see no other means of procuring a good peace, but by pushing the enemy with vigour on this side, which cannot be effectuated but by being before them in the field. I am, with a most respectful attachment, &c.”

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Demands some of his regiments of dragoons and cavalry during the winter.

Translation.

My Lord,

Sept. 4th, 1711.

“AS it appears that the Kings of Denmark and of Poland cannot possess themselves of any place of strength in Pomerania, the season being too far advanced, it is to be presumed that the troops, after having ravaged the enemy's country, will return to take up their winter-quarters in Mecklenburg, and in other places in the circle of the Lower Saxony; and that his Danish Majesty will choose to place troops in the country of Bremen. It is easy to conceive, that, by that means, the flames of war may extend themselves farther into the empire, to the great prejudice of the allies; and you know, besides, Sir, that the situation of my dominions is such, that they cannot be safe, if the flames of war communi-
cate

1711.
August.
Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 253.

Robethon's
original
draught.
Ibid. No. 252.

1711.
September.

cate themselves to the country of Bremen. It is, therefore, very necessary, either for diverting the court of Denmark from such an intention, or for giving weight to the negociations which I may set on foot with that court concerning this affair, that I should have some cavalry and dragoons here next winter; it being impossible to be able, with four or five battalions, which are left with me, to provide with any efficacy for the safety of my dominions, and of all this neighbourhood. I will, therefore, have a very particular obligation to you, if you employ your influence to obtain permission from the Queen for some of the regiments of cavalry and dragoons, which I have in her Majesty's pay, to come back to my own dominions after the campaign, as the regiment of Hafer came back last winter, and upon the same footing. They may be absent from the Low Countries, during the winter, without any prejudice to the public; and it is precisely during that season that I shall have need of them here. I do not foresee that any thing can hinder me from sending them back to you at the opening of the next campaign: but by neglecting this precaution, some events may happen, in my neighbourhood, next winter, which will oblige me to recall all the troops I have in the service of the Queen and of the States. I hope you will be pleased to exert yourself to obtain this favour from the Queen. This new proof of her kindness will attach me more and more to her interests; and I shall retain the greatest gratitude to you on account of it. I am, very sincerely, my Lord, your affectionate servant."

Robethon's
original
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 158.

The Elector to the Earl of Oxford.

The same subject continued.

Translation.

My Lord, Sept 4th, 1711.

"IT is with an entire confidence, that I address myself to you, as a minister who has both the clearest views and the best intentions, in order to represent to you, that the advanced season does not permit the princes who are confederated against Sweden to possess themselves of any place of strength in Pomerania. It appears certain, that their troops, after having committed some ravages, will return to take up their winter-quarters in different places in the circle of the Lower Saxony, and particularly in Mecklenburg; and that his Danish Majesty will choose to place some troops in the country of Bremen. It is easy to conceive, that this may be

be the means of carrying the war to this side of the Elbe, from whence it may extend itself farther into the empire, to the great prejudice of the allies. Besides, the situation of my dominions is such, that they cannot be in safety if the war should communicate itself to the country of Bremen.

1711.
September.

I shall employ all my attentions to divert the court of Denmark from forming this project. But, my lord, you are too penetrating not to see, that having but very few infantry, without any cavalry, in my dominions, I cannot exert myself with efficacy for the security of this neighbourhood and of my own territories; and that it is very necessary, in order to give weight to the negociations which I design to set on foot with the enemies of Sweden, and to the proposals which I may make to them, that I should have some cavalry and dragoons here next winter. As the design I have in view is the common interest of all the allies, and as I shall act in perfect concert with the Queen, I hope her Majesty will permit some of the regiments of cavalry and dragoons, which I have in her pay, to return to my dominions, as the regiment of Hahn returned last winter, and upon the same footing. I will owe you, my lord, a very particular obligation, if you will be pleased to employ your influence with the Queen, in obtaining this favour from her, by representing to her, that these regiments may be absent from the Low Countries during the winter, without any prejudice to the public, and that I can send them back at the opening of the next campaign; whereas, by neglecting this precaution, some events may happen next winter in my neighbourhood, which will oblige me to recall all the troops which I have in the service of the Queen and of the States. I wrote on this very subject to the duke of Marlborough. It is of such importance, that I cannot doubt but you will interest yourself in its success. I entreat you, my lord, to be persuaded that I shall retain a grateful sense of this, and to allow me, for the future, to testify, on all occasions which may offer, the perfect confidence I have in you, and the distinguished esteem I have for your merit. I am, very sincerely, &c."

1711.
September.
Original.
Hannover
papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 159.

The Earl of Oxford to the Elector.

The Queen grants the Elector's demand.

Sept. $\frac{11}{22}$, 1711.

May it please your Electoral Highness,
 “**T**O accept my most humble acknowledgment, for the very great honour I receiv'd of your Electoral Highness's letter of Sept. 4. I take it as a particular mark of your goodness, that you think fit to honor me with your commands; to obey which, I am equally engag'd by duty and inclination. I had the honor to communicate your Electoral Highness letter, yesterday, to the Queen at Windsor; and I wish I were capable of expressing the obliging manner wherewith her Majesty spoke of your Electoral Highness, and her readiness to comply with your desires in that way which would most demonstrate her Majesty's concern for you and your most serene house; being well assured that your Electoral Highness will desire nothing that is inconsistent with the good of the common cause. You are pleased to mention in your letter, that your Highness had wrote to the duke of Marlborough upon this subject; and the Queen thinks it will be best to leave it to be adjusted between your Electoral Highness's minister and the duke of Marlborough, as well for keeping the secret, that others may not ask the same, as also he being at the head of the army, is best able to speak with your Electoral Highness's minister upon every thing which relates to this affair; to this purpose Mr. secretary St. John has directions to write by this ordinary, to my lord Marlborough.

I should have given your Electoral Highness frequent trouble by my letters, but that I was afraid of interrupting your greater affairs; and I flatter myself with the belief that your Highness is so fully perswaded of my inviolable attachment to your interest, that I can add nothing to it by any thing I can write; being resolved that my actions shal demonstrate the zeal and devotion wherewith I am, &c.”

Original.
Ibid. No. 257.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

Upon the taking of Bouchain.

Translation.

SIR,

Camp before Bouchain, Sept. 13th, 1711.

“**S**INCE the letter I did myself the honour of writing to your Electoral Highness, we have been employed in the siege of Bouchain,

in order to secure a post on the other side of the Scheld. It will be imagined, perhaps, considering the vigour of the attacks, that the siege hath continued too long; indeed the enemy take every method to hinder us from finishing it, and the neighbourhood, not to say the presence, of a superior army, always employed in distressing us, encouraged the besieged to be obstinate. But, at length, we have found means of surmounting all obstacles, and of obliging the garrison to surrender themselves prisoners of war. I entreat your Electoral Highness to accept of my humble felicitations on the success of this enterprise, which deserves to be considered as an effect of the blessing of Heaven upon the just cause of the High Allies; since neither the number nor the courage of the enemy was able to frustrate our design. We shall be obliged to remain for some time yet in this camp, in order to repair the works of the town, and put it out of a condition of being insulted. But the enemy have taken all the precautions they could, in order to deprive us of subsistence; having for some days burnt all the forage in the country round it, and likewise plundered and burnt the most considerable towns and villages. I am, with the most submissive attachment and regard, &c."

1711.
September.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An answer to the Duke's letter of the 31st August.—He renews his demand of some regiments during the winter.

Translation.

My Lord, Herrenhausen, Sept. 14th, 1711.

"I AM much obliged to you for your letter of the 31st of August, and for your having been pleased to communicate to me your plan of operations for the ensuing campaign. I cannot but approve of it, in all respects, and I consider it with you, as the surest means of reducing France to the necessity of concurring in a reasonable peace. But I imagine you will allow that secrecy is the life of this project, and that it is necessary to avoid, with all possible attention, to give the enemy any room to perceive it; since, in that case, they will not fail to take the necessary measures for preventing a blow which may be so fatal to them, and for forming magazines on their side, whatever expence they may cost them. I leave you, then, Sir, to reflect, if by stationing the cavalry on the frontiers, you will not discover too clearly to the French, what is so

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necessary

Robethon's
draught.
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No. 256.

1711.
September.

necessary to conceal from them. It appears to me likewise, that my troops, though sent to more distant places, may, by speedy marches, arrive time enough at the place where you will judge proper to assemble the army. As to the rest, I hope that the measures which you will take for the execution of your project, will be no obstacle to the return of the few regiments of cavalry and dragoons which the necessity arising from the state of affairs obliges me to demand of the Queen for some months. It is about the end of autumn or beginning of winter that I shall have principally occasion for them; and I reckon that I shall send them back to you in time. I refer myself to my preceding letter concerning the reasons which make me desirous of having them soon in my dominions. They are of such importance for the security of this neighbourhood, and for the common interest of the allies, that I cannot doubt but they will have your approbation, and that you will employ your influence to obtain from the Queen the favour which I demand. I am always very sincerely, &c."

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes,
No. 258.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

An answer to the Elector's letter of the 4th instant.

Translation.

S I R,

Camp before Bouchain, Sept. 14th, 1711.

"Monsieur de Bulau delivered to me, this morning, the letter which your Electoral Highness did me the honour to write to me the 4th instant. I have this evening communicated it to the Queen, and you may depend upon it, that I shall always concur with pleasure, as I have assured Mr. de Bulau, in whatever your Electoral Highness shall find conducive to your interests; persuaded as I am, that you will, at the same time, have the proper attention to the interests of the common cause. I am, with the most profound respect, &c."

Original.

The Duke of Marlborough to Mr. St. John.

S I R,

Sept. 14th, 1711.

"I AM persuaded, from your friendship, you will have a particular satisfaction, in the good news you now receive of the garrison's being made prisoners at war, even in the presence of Marechal Villars. I confess we must own it as a very great providence, that all his endea-

vours to obstruct us have meet with so little success. As I have not yet received any reply to the answer I gave to the resolution of the counsel of state at the Hague, relating to the project for the winter quarters, whereof I sent you a copy the 20th past, I have reason to apprehend they are not so fully convinced as were to be wished of the necessity of pursuing it; and, as there is no time to be lost, I have prevail'd with lord Albemarle to take a journey to the Hague, to represent the great advantages that must accrue to the publick by the measures we propose. Besides, the papers whereof you have already copies, I have furnished his lordship with the like, to be inclosed, by which you will see the arguments enforced; and how inconsiderable the expence of forage will be, with respect to the great advantages we may hope to reap from it. I could not enter into the other articles of the expence, because they are very uncertain. Besides that, it may reasonably be expect'd the great towns, who will be eased, should contribute towards it. As soon as his lordship returns, I shall let you know the success of his journey. In the mean time, I hope lord Stair will be with us, that there may be no delay on our side. Enclosed I send you a letter Mr. Bulau has just now delivered to me from the Elector of Hannover. I shall defer returning an answer, til I receive the Queen's directions upon the contents; which, I pray, may be as soon as you can. In the mean time, shall give you my opinion, that his Electoral Highness should not be refused his request; but be desir'd to take from us as few troops as possible; and that it might be insinuated to him, that her Majesty will expect they should return into this country early in the spring. I am, with truth, &c.

1711.
September.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An answer to the Duke's letters of the 13th and 14th instant.

Translation.

My Lord,

Sept. 25th, 1711.

" I Received the letters of the 13th and 14th instant, which you was at the trouble of writing to me. General Bulau had already given me an account of your obliging answer, with regard to the regiments which I find myself obliged to bring back this winter into my dominions. I am very sensible of the dispatch with which you wrote on this subject to the Queen; and I do not doubt of the success of the affair, since you was

Robethon's
original
draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
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Princes.
No. 159.

1711.
September.

was pleased to support it. I entreat you to be persuaded that, in the measure, to which the conjuncture forces me, I shall not lose sight of the interests of the common cause. You have laboured for them, in a manner as glorious as useful, by the conquest of the important place which you have lately reduced in the face of the enemy. It may be affirmed, that this siege, and the forcing of the lines which opened the way to it, have discovered all the qualities of a great general in you, in the most distinguishing manner. I partake more than any one, in the glory which results to you from this; and I always am very sincerely, &c.

October.
Robethon's
original
draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes,
No. 260.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An answer to the Duke's letter of the 23d of September.

Translation.

My Lord,

October 1st, 1711.

“ I Received the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me the 23d of September. I agree with you as to the utility of the project which you have formed for taking the field early next year: but it appears to me, that it will be sufficient for the execution of it, to station the English and Dutch cavalry in the places on the frontiers; where, being under the direction of their own generals, they may be easily recruited. This must have the less difficulty, with regard to the English cavalry, that they have always had their winter-quarters in places in Flanders which are not far from those now in question. It will be otherwise with my troops, which, in such quarters, will be no longer under the inspection of my generals, and will be too distant to receive their recruits with facility; whereas, when my troops are placed in their usual quarters, I shall take particular care that their recruits shall be sent to them early, and that the whole corps shall be in condition to march to the rendezvous as soon as you shall judge proper to assemble the army. I hope likewise I shall send back time enough the regiments of cavalry and dragoons which I propose to bring this winter into my dominions. In this I desire you to continue your good offices with the Queen, and to be persuaded that I shall be very grateful for them. I always am very sincerely, &c.”

The

The Duke of Shrewsbury to the Elector.

Translation.

S I R,

Windfor, October 3d, 1711.

"I Could not allow the earl of Rivers to go away, without having the honour of renewing to your Electoral Highness assurances of my attachment to your service, and to the interests of your family. I do not trouble you often with my letters; because I flatter myself that you do not doubt of my zeal and of my fidelity, and am convinced you shall see proofs of them, on every occasion in which I can show them; and I entreat your Electoral Highness to do me the justice to believe, that you have not, either in England, or in any other part of the world, any one who is more entirely devoted to you than, &c."

1711.
October.
Original.
Hanover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 166.

*The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.**Answer to the Elector's letter of the 25th September.*

Translation.

S I R,

Camp before Bouchain, Oct. 4th, 1711.

"M Onfieur de Bulau delivered to me this morning the letter which your Electoral Highness did me the honour to write to me the 25th of the last month. I am happy to inform you at present, that the last post brought me the Queen's orders, agreeably to what your Electoral Highness desires; so that I shall concert the march with the general, taking the necessary precautions, that others may not make the same demand. I humbly beseech you to be persuaded of the very respectful attachment with which I shall always be, &c."

Original.
Ibid. No. 261.

The Earl of Oxford to the Elector.

The Queen proposes to open a congress for a general treaty.—She has taken care of the interests of the Elector and of his family.

May it please your Highness,

October 5, 1711.

"THE Queen sending earl Rivers to communicate to your Electoral Highness an affair of great consequence, I presume to desire leave, at the same time, to make your Highness a tender of my most humble duty. My lord will give your Electoral Highness the detail of what has passed here with relation to a peace, and the care her Majesty has taken, in the first place, of the interest of your Highness and your family: this
the

Original.
Ibid. No. 163.

1711.
October.

the Queen has done without any reciprocal obligation or promise from her Majesty to France. Notwithstanding the great need we have of peace, and that the nation is exhausted, yet the Queen would not act without the concurrence of her allies; and, therefore, your Highness will observe, that all steps taken heer are but provisional; though it would have been no difficult matter to have adjusted the interests of the several allys, but that the Queen was resolved to give none of them any cause of jealousy, and to leave each state to make their own demands at the general treaty, which the Queen proposes to be opned immediatly.

I did myself the honor to acquaint your Electoral Highness with the Queen's compliance with your desires of having some of your cavalry returne this winter, for a particular occasion; and I shall ever esteem it the greatest felicity of my life, when I have any opportunity to shew the inviolable attachment, and great veneration, wherewith I am, &c."

Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Strafford.

The Earl of Oxford to the Princess Sophia.

An apology for the peace.—Care was taken of the Protestant succession.—A medal revived in Scotland,—and the Lord Advocate removed.

MADAM,

October 5, 1711.

" I Do myself the honor to write to your Royal Highness by earl Rivers, who comes from the Queen, with a very important commission, to give your Royal Highness the greatest proofs of her Majesty's amitie in the care she has taken of your interest, and that of your most serene house: notwithstanding the allys had, by degrees, cast all the weight of the war upon the Queen and her subjects, while one part shifted off their own share, and others thought of nothing but eternizing the war; and in the mean time this nation was exhausted, its burdens daily increasfing, and the ability to bear them decreasfing: yet, in these circumstances, your Royal Highness will see that the Queen would not give any ear to a treaty for peace, without this preliminary provision; " That your Electoral Highness and your family's right to the succession to the crown should be established." My lord Rivers will give your Royal Highness an account, at large, of all that has passed upon the subject; from him your Electoral Highness wil know other particulars, which wil prove her Majesty's tender care for your interest; for when some factious person in Scotland had revived the memory of a medal, which

which had been stamped about two years since, the Queen ordered the persons concerned to be prosecuted; and because the Lord Advocate, (to whose care it did belong) was not very forward in putting the laws in execution upon this occasion, the Queen has thought fit to remove him, and to place Sir James Stuart in his room, who, I hope, will quickly correct the imprudence of those people. I shall only crave leave to desire you will permit my lord Rivers to present you with the assurance that I am, both by inclination and interest, as well as duty, &c."

1711.
October.

The Elector to the Earl of Oxford.

Thanks for the favour Oxford had obtained for him from the Queen.

Translation.

My Lord,

October 6, 1711.

"I Am much obliged to you for the letter of the 22d of September, which you was at the trouble to write to me; and for the earnest manner in which you was pleased to employ your influence with the Queen, in obtaining from her Majesty the favour which I asked. I see, by general Bulau's letters, that the duke of Marlborough will adjust all this affair with him; and that they will take the necessary precautions for keeping it secret. I have only now, my lord, to entreat you to make most humble acknowledgments to the Queen, for having concurred so obligingly with what I took the liberty to demand of her; and to assure her, that, neither in this nor in any other occasion, I shall ever take any step contrary to the interests of the common cause, and that I shall always act in perfect concert with her Majesty.

As to the rest, I am not ignorant how much your powerful recommendation has contributed to the success of the affair in question. I entreat you to be thoroughly persuaded of the grateful sense I shall always retain of it, and of the pleasure which I shall have in testifying an entire confidence in you, in every business which will deserve, by its importance, to have recourse to your extensive knowledge, and to your interest with the Queen. I am, very sincerely,

Your's affectionately.

Vol. II.

L 1

The

Robethon's
original
draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes. No.
160.

1711.
October.
Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 167.

The Duke of Buckingham to the Elector.

The succession secured in the treaty with France.—The Medalists prosecuted in Scotland.

SIR,

Windfor, October 9, 1711.

“NOT having received the honour of any commands from your Electoral Highness by Monsieur Botemar, I have hitherto restrained myself from repeating the offers of that humble and zealous service, which I am sure your Electoral Highness can have no possible cause to doubt of, after my constant endeavours to shew it on all occasions. But this late transaction between Brittain and France, of which the earl of Rivers is sent to give you exact information, has given occasion, not only for the Queen herself, but for her ministers also, to shew their timely care and utmost concern for the succession in your illustrious line; and having myself not only an affectionate zeal, but even a jealous regard to all things relating to that matter, I can, with all assurance, give your Electoral Highness the satisfaction of my being a witness, that no part of these overtures was so much at the heart of every body employed about it, as that which indeed deserved it most, the Protestant succession: and, therefore, whatever happy occasion I had some few years ago, to be a little remarkable in my concern for her Royal Highness, your mother, I could not, at this time, with all my zeal, out-do the faithful service which every lord entrusted has shewn in this affair.

The business of the medal also in Scotland, if not immediately prosecuted, through the remissness of some who have been displaced there for that failing, is now to be strictly punished, as I am sure it ought to have been at first.

I had some particular reason not to put this letter into the hands of my lord Rivers, and hope you will pardon this liberty, in yours, &c.”

Robethon's
original
draught.
Ibid. No. 262.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Thanks for the favour he had obtained from the Queen.

Translation.

My Lord,

Herrenhausen, October 12, 1711.

“I Am much obliged to you for the letter which you wrote to me on the 4th instant, by which you have taken the trouble to inform me,

me, that you have received the Queen's orders for the march of some of my regiments. It is just that I thank you for the success of this affair, since you have so powerfully contributed to it by your influence, and by the representations which you made to her Majesty. I entreat you to be persuaded, that I am very grateful for the manner in which you exerted yourself in this affair; and for the care, which you are pleased still to take in concerting with general Bulau, the measures necessary for keeping it secret as long as possible. You are not ignorant of the strong reasons for this precaution. I always am very sincerely, my Lord,

Your affectionate servant.

The Bishop of Bristol to the Elector.

Translation.

SIR,

Windfor, October 19, 1711.

"Among the advantages which the office of keeper of her Majesty's privy seal must procure me, I esteem the gracious approbation of your Electoral Highness among the first; feeling myself greatly encouraged by the favourable opinion which your Electoral Highness has been pleased to entertain of me, according to the information I lately received from Mr. Robethon.

I observe, with joy, the harmony which subsists between her Majesty and your Electoral Highness; with regard to myself, she has been graciously pleased to advance me in her service, and your Electoral Highness testifies your consent to her choice. I return my most grateful acknowledgments for this to God, to the Queen, and to your Electoral Highness; and I entreat you, Sir, to continue this kindness to me, and to be persuaded, that it is always with a zealous attachment for the interests of your Electoral Highness, I shall do my best to deserve it, and to render myself worthy of being considered as, &c."

The Earl of Strafford to the Princess Sophia.

His Lordship recommends his own party at the expence of the Whigs.—

The principles are sufficiently servile.

Hague, October 28, 1711.

"THE first minute of my landing here I should have done myself the honour of writing to your Royal Highness, but that I could not take upon me to write a letter to a princess, for whom I have the

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greatest

1711.
October.

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 169.

Original.
Ibid. vol.
marked
Strafford.

1711.
October.

greatest duty and veneration imaginable, without informing her exactly of the contents of my commission to the States General concerning a general peace, so much wanted, and so necessary to all those who have borne the expence of this war, and which was a matter at that time made so great noise; but as the earl Rivers was dispatched, at the same time, with an ample instruction of that matter to your Royal Highness, and the Elector your son; as I was sure I could not explain that matter with all the advantage by my writing, as his lordship would do himself by word of mouth; and finding he was resolved to make all possible haste to your court, I would not let him, for whom I have a very particular regard, find I had been endeavouring to inform you before hand, with the chiefest point in his commission; and, I hope, what he brings with him will show, the Queen begins to make your court, at least, presents of better things than parchment, which your Royal Highness said formerly, merely to tell me, was all you got by the English succession; and I hope this small beginning is only a forerunner of a greater mark of the Queen's consideration for you, than what has yet been done; for before I came from England, I had a discourse with some very great people of this present ministry, and who are extreme good servants of your Royal Highness, upon a matter ought to have been thought on before, and which, I believe, will make you easy, and show you how false all those malicious stories and inventions, made to raise jealousies, are grown; for you may certainly depend upon it, this present ministry are more friends to you, to the protestant succession, than the last were; for these desire that you should succeed to the crown and royalty, whereas, if the others had been [*not*] forced to divest themselves of the regency, they had well nigh calculated to keep in their own hand, your succession was to depend so much upon them, that the name and title of Queen or King might have descended to you or your family; but that was plainly all they designed you, though, now they are turned out, they and their friends will try to prove the contrary."

In the remaining part of this letter, consisting of twenty pages, he communicates his instructions to press a general congress, and endeavours to shew that Great Britain was made the *pack-horse* of the war, and that the Dutch and Imperialists did not second her exertions.—They often frustrated the best concerted measures;—they refused to agree to a plan
of

of operations which would have soon finished the war:—the Emperor intended to enrich himself by the continuance of it;—the Dutch to ruin the English trade, and to encrease their own;—their ministers presumed to interfere in the domestic affairs of England;—the Dutch refused the stipulated succours, when the Pretender threatened an invasion;—the Queen has made no separate peace, and will make no peace till the allies are satisfied.

1711.
October.

The Elector to Queen Anne.

An answer to her Majesty's letter by Earl Rivers.

Translation.

MADAM,

Gohre, Nov. 7, 1711.

“THE earl of Rivers delivered to me the letter with which your Majesty was pleased to honour me. I received, with the utmost gratitude, the communication which you ordered him to make to me, of the overtures of France for a general peace. I consider the care, which your Majesty has taken of the interests of my family on this occasion, as a continuance of that kindness of which you have given me so many proofs, and which I shall always very highly esteem. After the great things which your Majesty has done for your allies since your accession to the throne, they have reason to hope that you will continue to act in concert with them, and take the same care of their interests in the ensuing treaty of peace, which you have taken during the course of so glorious a war. The merit and rank of the earl of Rivers, and his attachment to my family, are well known to me; and the confidence which your Majesty places in him, is a new motive for me to esteem him in the most distinguished manner. I doubt not but he will make a faithful report to your Majesty, of my gratitude for your kindness, and of the inviolable respect with which I am, &c.”

November.
Robethon's
original
draught.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes.
No. 164.

The Princess Sophia to Queen Anne.

Sent by Earl Rivers.

Translation.

MADAM,

Gohre, Nov. 8, 1711.

“IT would be difficult for me to express to your Majesty with what respect and gratitude I received your Majesty's precious letter, and saw that you condescended yourself, to communicate to me the care which you have been pleased to take of the interests of my family. As
the

Robethon's
original
draught.
Ibid. No. 161.

1711.
November.

the earl of Rivers has given me assurances of this from your Majesty, I hope he will assist me in making you my most humble acknowledgments; and in assuring your Majesty from me, that there is none who is more entirely devoted to you than I am, and who wishes more passionately, that whatever your Majesty will undertake, may give satisfaction to yourself and also to your allies, which is likewise your Majesty's desire. But, Madam, I am sorry, that it is only by wishes, that I can pretend to merit the continuance of your kindness, though I ardently desire it, and also to be honoured with your commands, in order to shew, by my obedience, to what degree I am, &c."

At this time, the Elector sent the baron de Bothmar, as his minister plenipotentiary, to London, and gave him the following letter to the Queen.

The Elector to Queen Anne.

Translation.

M A D A M,

Gohre, Nov. 7, 1711.

"AS I am persuaded, that in this important conjuncture, when France proposes preliminary articles for a general peace, your Majesty will be pleased to continue to honour me with the confidence, of which you have given me so many marks, and to listen favourably to what I have to represent; I judge it necessary, to have a person of confidence at your court. This induces me to send over, without delay, the baron de Bothmar, one of my ministers of state, and my plenipotentiary, who will have the honour to deliver you this letter. I beseech your Majesty to give credit to what he shall tell you from me, and to allow, that your ministers continue to have the same confidence in him they formerly had; the principal design of his journey being to assure your Majesty of my inviolable attachment to your interests, and of the respect with which I am, &c."

The Elector to the Bishop of Bristol.

An Answer to the Bishop's Letter of the 19th of October.

Translation.

My Lord,

Gohre, November 7, 1711.

"I Am much obliged to you for the letter which you have been at the trouble of writing to me. The choice which the Queen has made

Robethon's
original
draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 162.

Robethon's
original
draught.
Ibid. 170.

made of you, to commit to you the privy seal, having been approved, even by those to whom your reputation only is known, you should not be surpris'd at the satisfaction of this which I testify, since I am personally acquainted with you and with your capacity, and am convinced from my own knowledge, that the Queen could not bring a more moderate prelate into the church, nor a more enlightened minister into her cabinet.

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I doubt not, my lord, but in the present critical conjuncture, you will employ all your credit to terminate, by a glorious peace, a war, which has acquired so much glory to her Majesty and to the British nation, and to reject such conditions, as will leave with the common enemy, the means of giving laws to Europe, and of disturbing the wise measures which the Queen has taken to secure the prosperity of her people. I entreat you to be thoroughly persuaded, that my sentiments for you are such, as your merit and your attachment to the interests of my family command, and that I am very sincerely, &c."

The Elector to the Earl of Oxford.

He returns thanks for the care the Queen takes of his interests; but insinuates his disapprobation of the peace.

Translation.

My Lord,

November 7, 1711.

"THE earl of Rivers delivered to me the letter which you took the trouble of writing to me. I received, with the most lively gratitude, the communication which her Majesty was pleased to make to me, by his lordship, of what passed with regard to the peace, and am no less sensible of the care which her Majesty has taken on this occasion of the interests of my family. What you add in your letter, that her Majesty will do nothing in this affair, but in concert and jointly with her allies, gives me the greatest joy. This is a conduct truly worthy of so great a Queen, and perfectly suitable to all she has done for the common interest of her allies, during the course of so glorious a war, and you are too well informed, my lord, not to see that all the fruits of it will be lost, if Spain and the Indies are abandoned to the duke of Anjou, which will put France in a condition of giving laws very soon to Europe, and of frustrating all the wise measures which the Queen has taken to secure a solid and permanent prosperity to her people. I am persuaded, that
you

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you will employ all your credit to prevent such a misfortune. I renew my acknowledgments to you for your good offices, with regard to the regiments, which I wished to have this winter in my dominions. I will not fail to send them back, as soon as possible; well knowing of what importance it is to have the army early in the field. I am, &c."

Robethon's
original
draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 165.

The Elector to the Duke of Shrewsbury.

Translation.

My Lord,

Gohre, November 7, 1711.

"THE obliging letter which you took the trouble of writing to me, the 3d of October, was delivered to me by the earl of Rivers. I am very sensible of the fresh assurances which it contains of your attachment to my interests, and am very grateful, that you are pleased to give me proofs of this, on all the occasions which offer. I desire much to have opportunities which will furnish me with means of testifying the regard I have for your person, and of shewing you, that I am very sincerely, &c.

Robethon's
original
draught.
Ibid. No 168.

The Elector to the Duke of Buckingham.

He disapproves of a peace upon the terms proposed.

Translation.

My Lord,

Gohre, Nov. 7, 1711.

"IT is with great gratitude I have seen, by the letter which you was at the trouble of writing to me, the attachment which you shew for the interests of my family, and for the prosecution of the disaffected in Scotland: but you have too much good sense, my lord, not to allow, that the most solid foundation, upon which the present and future prosperity of Great Britain, and indeed of all Europe, can be established, is to humble France, and that the great object of attention ought to be, to terminate the present war, by a peace, which deprives that crown of the means of interrupting, for the future, the wise measures which the Queen has taken to secure a durable repose to her people. Every one sees what an addition of power France would receive, if the duke of Anjou should support himself on the throne of Spain and the Indies, and you fill too deservedly the post which the Queen has committed to you, not to exert yourself to prevent such a misfortune. The perfect confidence I have in your good intentions does not allow me to entertain

entertain any doubt of this. I entreat you to have no more doubt of the regard which I have for your person, and of the sincerity with which I am, &c."

1711.
November.

The Electoral Princess to Queen Anne.

Translation.

Gohre, Nov. 7, 1711.

"I Should imagine I failed in my duty, if I allowed the earl of Rivers to go away, without doing myself the honour of thanking your Majesty very humbly, for the present which he hath brought from you to the little princess, whom you have allowed to be called after your name. I entreat your Majesty to be persuaded, that it is impossible to be more grateful than the Electoral prince and I are for this fresh proof of your kindness. I embrace this opportunity of begging of your Majesty the continuance of your kindness, which will be always infinitely precious to me, and of assuring you of the respect with which I am, &c."

Robethon's
original
Draught,
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes, No.
161.

The Elector to Kreyenberg his resident at London.

Gohre, Nov. 10, 1711.

"WE have seen by one of your private letters of the 27th of October, that the lord treasurer told you, that you ought to send to England a procuration for subscribing in the funds of the South Sea company, the 9375 £ sterling which are due to us by a warrant of the late King William, and which have been acknowledged as a national debt, in the last session of parliament. As it does not become us to make this subscription, we shall not resolve upon it, but in case of necessity, preferring, in all respects, to be paid this debt in cash. Our intention, therefore is, that you should make representations to the lord treasurer to obtain this payment, assuring him, that we shall be very particularly obliged to the Queen, if her Majesty would be pleased to take, upon her own account, stocks of the South Sea company, for the sum which is due to us, and pay to us that sum, as it is very just we should receive it complete, after having waited for it so long.

Robethon's
original
draught.
Ibid. No. 171.

If this expedient is not practicable, it will be necessary to subscribe to the company, and you will find inclosed, the procuration which is necessary to authorise you to do so, on our account. But you are not to use it but a few days before the 25th of December, the day on which

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the books are closed; since it is likely, that before that day, the baron de Bothmar, our plenipotentiary, may arrive in London; he having orders to go over with the earl of Rivers; and we wish the baron de Bothmar may have time again to make representations to the lord treasurer, for obtaining payment of this money. You are to prepare the treasurer for this, and to ask him, if the stocks being only at 80, and it being unjust to give us but 80 l. sterling to pay us for 100, they could not give us stock for the 20 per cent. remaining, which upon the whole sum, would be an augmentation of 1900 l. sterling.

We leave the names blank in the procuration, in order, that if the baron de Bothmar judges it more proper to fill it up with his own, he may do it, if not, it must be filled up with ours."

Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Strafford.

The Princess Sophia to the Earl of Strafford.

This in an Answer to his Letter of the 18th of October.——She disapproves of a peace upon the terms proposed.

Translation.

Gohre, Nov. 11, 1711.

"I Consider, as a continuation of the friendship which you always testified for me, that you have been pleased to communicate to me the commission which the Queen gave you, to treat of a peace, in concurrence with the States-general. It is true, that the Earl of Rivers likewise has had orders, to communicate to the Elector, my son, and to me, her Majesty's laudable intentions; but he did not enlarge upon the subject, as you have been at the trouble to do. He has also brought a present to the Queen's god-daughter, as an honourable mark of her favours, which are infinitely esteemed. I would not, however, give my parchment for it: since it will be an everlasting monument in the archives of Hannover; and the present of the little princess will go, when she is grown up, into another family. As for the rest, I will not combat all the reasons which you produce, to make me acquainted with those which the Queen has to be dissatisfied with her allies; but as her Majesty entered into this war, for the good of her crown, and to hinder France from becoming too powerful; and as her Majesty's arms have been always victorious; as my lord Rivers, last year, spoke of nothing but war, which the Queen was determined to continue with the utmost vigour; and as all those

those things of which you speak, were then already past; you must not be surpris'd, if so sudden a change creates astonishment, especially if a peace is to be concluded upon such terms as are printed in the English Gazettes. If you had been willing to accept peace on those terms, a great deal of blood, and a great deal of the money of England and Holland might have been saved, and no one is ignorant of the state of the Emperor's finances, which indeed England has generously and bountifully supplied. As her Majesty finds now, the burden of this too heavy for her people, it is not surpris'ing that she looks out for a remedy, which I heartily wish may contribute to her glory, and to the good of her kingdoms, and of her allies. But hitherto, it was always believed, that the too great power of France would be prejudicial to them all, and especially to England. But you know this, undoubtedly, better than I, who do not pretend to understand affairs of state. With regard to those which are private, they will always incline me to be, with great esteem for you, &c."

1711.
November.

November.

STUART PAPERS.

1712.

1712.
February.

THOUGH the earl of Oxford made use of the zeal, and even violence of the Tories, to possess himself of power, he was unwilling to throw himself entirely into the hands of that party, by displacing all the real and supposed Whigs. In the inferior departments, the retainers of the former ministry still remained; and the duke of Marlborough was continued at the head of the army. The minister would have been extremely glad to have gained over to his views that nobleman. But the latter had entered into cabals with the opposite party, which he chose not to relinquish, for the uncertain friendship of a man whom he had some reason to distrust. The information conveyed to the ministry, concerning the duke's designs, induced them to dismiss him abruptly from all his offices, on the thirtieth of December, 1711. They knew that, in conjunction with prince Eugene, who was daily expected in England, he was forming plans dangerous to their own power, if not to the repose of the kingdom. The intrigues between these two great generals and the baron de Bothmar are minutely set forth by the marquis de Torcy, in his memoirs; and he seems to have been well-informed on the subject. His relation is corroborated by several anecdotes, in the correspondence of the Jacobites, in the present year. The first of their letters, in the order of time, is the following, between two persons using borrowed names.

It is difficult to say whether Mrs. White was a real or fictitious character. Mr. Watson is known to be the earl of Middleton. The letter itself is an original, decyphered by Sir William Ellis, and indorsed by him, "Mrs. White, $\frac{1}{2}$ Feb. 1712."

Mrs.

Mrs. White to Mr. Watson.

Affairs in England.—Oxford in the interest of the house of Hannover.—News concerning the peace.—The respect paid to prince Eugene.—Anecdotes concerning Marlborough and his family on the Queen's birth-day.

1712.
February.
Original.
Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 3.

"I Have done all I can towards persuading your friend to give you an account of all your affairs. The affair of the duke of Hamilton and Mr. Fleetwood is not yet determined; but he says, if the act of forfeiture, in King James the First, does fail him (which was that the late lord —, or any other being bred in a popish seminary, forfeited his estate) so if at the trial the act be deficient, he will get an act for the future shall reach all the Papists. This he said last night.

As to your affair, Mr. Harris [Harley] is entirely a friend to Mr. Sandy [Hannover], notwithstanding the disobliging measures that spark has taken to disoblige him personally, as ridiculing his endeavours; but his head is set on shewing him he is above resentment, and that he has been put in a wrong way; and that he has taken by the hand those that will ruin his credit with his uncle Garre [the church of England]; who will certainly make him his heir, if he will yet abandon that ill-family that he is so linked to at present; and, in order to prove his zeal, as soon as the quarrel is made up with Mr. Jacob Smith [the King of France] and Miss Dibby Jons [the princess Anne] he will send his relation to your cousin Sandy [Hannover], to demonstrate to him that he is sincere; and, in the mean time, he does all he can, in order to get him to prevail, by all the arts that he is capable of. Those, he knows, look another way. He finds ways to lessen and discourage, and whatever they have is what he cannot avoid. He would not have a clamorous complaint; so manages it with dexterity. Your relations [the church party] see it, but cannot help themselves; for, on the other side, Mr. Willie [the Whigs] would ruin them worse; so that, to use a modish expression, they are forced to hold the candle to the devil, at present, and after a little time he will defy them to hurt him, when the great decision is over.

Now to public news; I must inform you that the parliament, by the votes which you see, have so exposed the allies, that it is plain they do not intend to have any more of the same dealings with them, and that a peace is certain. The Portugal minister said, at Somerset-house, in public,

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February.

public, that the parliament had called his master rogue and rascal; but that he was abused in good company, meaning the Emperor and the Dutch. The Whigs croud after prince Eugene, and cabal with him hourly; but it can come to nothing. The parliament is to go on the barrier treaty: that will lay a great scene open. The duke of Marlborough did not sign it; but there is a letter of his, that proves that he ordered my lord Townsend to sign it. They say the two scored articles are, that the Dutch should have all the conquered towns from Cambray to the other side for themselves, and that they are to furnish England with 30,000 men and 40 ships, for the loyalists of England to secure them. The parliament will be judges of that design. The Queen declares they did not let her read it, but said it was approved of by the council, so she signed it. The article relating to Portugal is very dishonourable for England; they agreeing to have our fleet to attend them, on all occasions they thought proper for them. This makes a great noise, has exposed the Whigs more than all their other management, and left them without excuse. The birth-day of the Queen, the duke of Marlborough was in a chair in St. James's Park, with the curtains drawn; the mob, that believed it to be the prince Eugene, huzza'd the chair; but the duke modestly drew back the curtains and put himself out, and with a sign shewed his dislike to the salutation. The mob, finding their mistake, and that it was he, cried out, "Stop thief," which was a thorough mortification to him. His daughters, that day, to shew their contempt of the court, were in wrapping-gowns at a window in St. James's, to see the company pass, two of them, and the other two drove through the Pall-mall four times, in the worst mob-dress they could put themselves. The duke was in a black suit, that day, and his son-in-law, the duke of Montague, was at court in a plain, coarse, red coat, with a long shoulder-knot, in ridicule of the day; but the Queen had the satisfaction to see the most splendid court that ever was, and crowded more than ever, by all the church, nobility and gentry. There was a short uproar. My lord Marlborough finds his levees much thinner than they were, and daily less and less. The people are disgusted at him. In a little time he will be odious to them. How they huzza the duke of Ormond, who loves popularity too well. Prince Eugene wears the sword the Queen gave him, ever since the birth-day; it is worth 6000*l*. He has had his an-

swer

swer from the third day he was here. The court with him gone; but my lord Oxford does not apprehend any thing from him. The Whigs, since they missed sending him to the Tower by their impeachment, cannot reach him since the additional lords. They say there will be six more made. The Whigs cry out at the number that was made to serve a turn, and say it destroys one of the three parts of our constitution; and made the Queen and lords one, which ought to be two parts, and the commons the third. Though it is in the power of the crown, the trust is betrayed, when used to destroy the power of parliaments. It cannot be imagined how the votes that reflected on the allies have discouraged the Whigs; for it has ended all their hopes of having the war continued. This news of Brasfette has been an unlucky stroke for the allies. The Scottish peers will sit no more; they have absented themselves these five days; declare the union broke; and this of liberty for the church-clergy is directly against the agreement. The Scots will prove themselves the bribery, and to whom the money was given to get it signed. There is nobody made master of the horse; it is in commission, they say, till my lord Strafford's return. The duke of Somerset is not yet out of the bed-chamber. The lady Catharine Hyde is bed-chamber lady. My lord Nottingham continues to work to draw some over to the flying party, which he designed to ruin the lord treasurer with; but it will not do. The Dissenters are highly dissatisfied with the State-whigs, for betraying them, as they call it. My lord treasurer declares to them he would have prevented it, if he could; for certainly he is a friend to them, though an enemy to the State-whigs, who would have ruined him and his country."

The designs and projects of the Whigs against the Tory ministry discovered and prevented, at the time prince Eugene came, and the duke of Marlborough was turned out of all his employments.

Nairne's
papers, D. N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 7.

"**T**HE whigish faction, being disappointed in the execution of all their black designs since their being turned out, industriously made use of the Emperor's and Hannoverian ministers (who were well prepared to break off the treaty) to procure the aversion of the vulgar against a peace.

The first step made towards it was, that the Emperor's ministers having acquainted baron Bothmar and the whigish faction, that he was well assured

1712. assured the Tory ministry intended to procure a match to be made, and a marriage solemnized between the Pretender's sister and the King of Sweden; and that restoring the Pretender would be the consequence of such a match; and that he is in the bottom of the present negotiation for a peace.

This was calculated for a bait to bring over the ignorant part of the commonalty on their side, as Doctor Sacheverel's sermon was serviceable for the Tories, upon which ensued the late change of the ministry; and accordingly Bothmar was prevailed upon to present the late memorial to the Queen, who surreptitiously got it printed and published against the fitting of the parliament.

But finding it had not the desired effect, they were resolved to leave no stone unturned, and accordingly pressed prince Eugene's coming for England, to lay before the Queen and parliament his master's mighty proposals, viz. that England should have all the West Indies, and a free trade throughout all Spain, and that 90,000 men, at his Imperial Majesty's proper charges, should be employed wherever the Queen should appoint.

These high proposals put them in mighty hopes of prevailing with the Queen, having the house of lords already prepared, the majority being Whigs: but, on the contrary, the Queen and ministry were so averse to it, that, to balance the lords, she made twelve new peers all of a start, whereby she has established a majority of the lords, as well as of the commons, of her side for the peace.

But her Majesty, finding the faction so earnest for the prince's coming, upon these occasions, dispatched a messenger to Holland, to prevent his coming over, who missing him, by reason of his having embarked before the messenger's arrival, and his being detained by contrary winds for several days, it was thought necessary (in order to weaken his pretensions and discountenance the faction) to remove the duke of Marlborough from all places of trust, which sudden and unexpected change quite broke all their measures.

The prince at his landing, finding things in this dismal posture, and foreseeing his fruitless errand, would expose him to a public ridicule, concerted with his party to form another plausible scheme of laying before the Queen and both houses, viz.

That his master had formed a new alliance with Holland, Prussia, Denmark, Poland, the Czar of Muscovy, Hannover, and the other princes of the Empire, and all the Hans Towns, for securing the protestant succession, and if possible to bring his Swedish Majesty into the alliance. But the ministry look upon all this to be only a design to get the management again into their own hands, rather than a sincere intention of performing any better, than the last treaty has been executed on the late Emperor's part; and accordingly rejected it.

Then little Eugene thought of another project, viz. To have the duke of Hannover's son brought into England, wherein he is like to fail, as well as in all the rest.

But I must not omit, how the party have premeditated and concerted the manner of the reception of this little emissary.

First, to render him the more popular, and his errand the more plausible, he was to be met by several thousands on horseback at his landing, and conducted with great acclamations and huzzas through the city, where great illuminations and ringing of bells was to be made, and the mob to cry out, No peace, No peace; and then great and splendid entertainments were to be made by subscription for him. All which fine doings were timely prevented, by the vigilance of the ministry, who were truly apprized of it.

Prince Eugene's nephew is dead of the small pox.

Here is a Flemish that has given articles to the Queen, my lord keeper, lord treasurer, and lord president of the council, against my lord Marlborough; what will be proved, is not yet known *."

The following curious petition of the generality of Ghent is probably meant by the writer in the last paragraph of the preceding paper.

* The last paragraph is in the same hand which wrote Mrs. White's letter. The rest of the paper is a copy in an unknown hand.

1712.

A copy communicated to the Editor.

To her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain.

“THE deputation of the city of Ghent in Flanders, representing the generality of that province, cast themselves at your Majesty’s feet, and, with all respect and submission, set forth: That the glorious battle of Ramillies, which was fought by the troops of her High Allies against the French, had given us hopes of being freed from their tyranny. Whereas general Cadogan, whom your Majesty was pleased to appoint, in the room of Mr. Stepney, for the general government, and my lord duke, persons who tread under foot the glory of your Majesty and of all the English nation, in that, in the year 1706, at the taking of the city of Ghent, they immediately made an agreement, with the members of that province, promising them their protection and continuance of it, notwithstanding they had served the enemy, the French, which they performed, and thereby reaped the benefit of the sweat and blood of the poor provinces of Flanders; my lord duke having got six thousand pistoles, and general Cadogan one thousand in specie.

After a regulation was forthwith framed, for the better direction of the said province, signed by the said lord duke and the deputies of the States of Holland, the 6th October 1706; but the same being to the prejudice of those persons who were in offices, and whose perquisites were thereby somewhat restrained, they entreated the said lord duke and Cadogan to inhibit the same, which was likewise granted them, whereby Cadogan got for himself 40,000 guilders, out of the said poor and exhausted province, which has been for so many years the seat of war, and supplied with bad directors, who have made themselves rich as Croesus, and entirely impoverished the province.

The consequence which befel the High Allies, by those infamous and contribution-thirsty thieves, the lord duke and Cadogan, in their causing the aforesaid persons to be continued in their employments, namely in the magistracy, was, that in the year 1708, they contrived and accomplished the betraying the towns of Ghent and Bruges; the army of the High Allies being thereby brought in the greatest danger of perishing all at once. My lord duke and Cadogan, whether they had a hand in it or not, agreed anew with the said persons in offices to procure for them a general pardon, which my lord duke promised to obtain by your Majesty, as it also happened, notwithstanding that the said lord duke and
Cadogan

Cadogan were fully informed and knew themselves the secret correspondence of our governors with the generals and ministers of the enemy, as also the persons who contributed thereto; and for the said general pardon, the first got two hundred thousand gilders, and the latter ten thousand pistoles, all out of the remainder of the revenues of the said ruined province of Flanders. 1712.

The aforesaid members or governors of the said province have, not long since, given to the said Cadogan, the sum of five thousand pistoles, upon his promise that they should be continued in their employments; which sum he has received at Brussels, in the house of the Sieur Vandergote, one of the council of state, his great friend; besides other gentlemen of the said council, who are enemies of the High Allies and protectors of their enemies; and that was done at the time that our convoy was beaten between Ghent and Courtray, in the parish of St. Eloyvive, when instead of furthering the service of the war, he preferred his own interest.

Over and above the several sums, which he and my lord duke have otherwise exacted from our poor province, we shall allege no other for shortness sake, this serving only to observe that they have continued such members in the magistracy of Ghent and Bruges, notwithstanding they had served the French before, and had contrived and accomplished the betraying of the said towns, only thereby to continue to feed their avarice by extortions from the poor province, that those persons might not discover to your Majesty and parliament their thieveries.

The matter is come to that pitch, that her Majesty having no opinion of the conduct of those two money-thirsty persons, the duke and Cadogan, they are capable to induce the aforesaid members to give attestations of their good behaviour in having reaped no profits from this province; but, it is hoped, that your Majesty and the parliament will have no regard to them, it being certain, that one thief will not willingly discover another; that is to say, that the said lord duke and Cadogan, who have procured to the said directors of our province the amnesty concerning the said treachery, will easily be induced to excuse those that protected them: and to discover the truth of what is above mentioned, that her Majesty will please to cause an inquiry to be made into the conduct and roguery of those two persons during the war in the Netherlands, by

1712. such members of the new parliament as have been employed under them as officers in her Majesty's service.

We prostrate ourselves at your Majesty's feet with all humility, that your Majesty will be pleased to reflect on the premises, and consider the miserable condition, in which our aforesaid province is involved by this long war, and to deliver and free us of the said lord duke and Cadogan, two professed thieves to our province and the reputation of your Majesty and the whole English nation, who are pleased to pay their troops and officers so largely with their own money and never permitted that any of their chief officers, as these two, should enrich themselves so unreasonably with the money of our poor country, much less to protect such persons, as shewed their affection entirely for the French, and still correspond with them. There is so much of this, that all the favours they have shewed to the enemy would be sufficient to fill a book, the sending of money to sustain the war against us being one of their least favours.

We further pray your Majesty to send another plenipotentiary to our government, with express orders, to turn out all such persons in the magistracy, who have served the enemy, and to put in their room such persons, who are fit to serve your Majesty and to ease our poor province. As for secretary Laws, like masters like men, of whom no good testimony can likewise be given. Wherefore, we pray, likewise, your Majesty to appoint another in his room; and, in so doing your Majesty will find plainly more prosperity in your arms, restore the reputation of the nation, and further have the blessing of God Almighty, for having punished the bad, for which all superiors are ordained. And in case your Majesty is not pleased to appoint other ministers, in the room of Cadogan and Laws as also my lord duke, who will better promote the glory of your Majesty and the reputation of the parliament and English nations, who must immediately change the respective magistrates, as is usual every year, according to the customs and privileges of the country, we shall still be governed by, and remain under, traitors to your Majesty and the High Allies, who were serviceable to the enemy, and were put into those employments and have now continued in them for four years together, which if not remedied, we should be happier to be governed by Turks than by that British thief Cadogan. Relying on the protection of your Majesty,

jefty, and hoping for the same, we remain, with the utmost respect,
&c. &c."

1712.
February.

Letters from Nairne to Abram and Berry, from the 11th to the 21st February 1712.

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
P. 24.

Nairne wrote to Abram, February 1th, "To tell him to make what haste he could to come over to Holland, where he would find orders with Hackett, to furnish him with what money he wanted:" and to Berry, "To tell him to inquire further into that report of the King's being to remove to Rome at the peace; and that he might see his two old friends, to see what new professions of friendship they will make him."

To Abram.—February 14th.—"I told him to enquire if Mr. Hook was in England; bid him endeavour, in his absence, to get somebody to correspond. I hoped he was preparing for his journey. *Mes compliments* to Mr. Brown [lord Balmerino]."

To Berry.—"I mentioned again his two old friends †, and the report of removing to Rome. I desired him to see his old acquaintance, W. Pen, and endeavour to discover, by him, whether Harley at bottom had real good intentions for his Majesty or not. I told him, his letters were always acceptable to his friends, who valued his opinion of matters, and desired him to continue to write always his mind freely."

To Berry.—February 21st.—"I told him, his author was either imposed upon, or did impose upon him, when he told him, that the King was to be sent to Rome, and was actually on his way thither; and that he might assure himself, though his Majesty was unalterably attached to his society with Adamson, he would never set his foot in Mr. Deane's house [Rome], if he could help it, and that he had had no intimation given him as yet upon that subject. I told him, it was very improbable that Armsworth [Marlborough] and Baker [Harley] had any intelligence together."

Ibid. p. 25.

Nairne wrote again to Abram, "To own the receipt of his of the 1st and 5th of February, and tell him to come away without further delay for Holland; and that we should write no more to him to England.—I told him, he would find with Hackett a credit for some money at his arrival, with a letter of recommendation to Mrs. Panton [abbé Polignac].

† Marlborough and Godolphin.

1712.
February.
Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 4.

"Two letters from John Scrimger. Copied by Mr. Nairne, Clerk of the Privy Council." 26th Feb. 1712.

The original letters which are signed John Scrimger were probably from Mrs. Jane Murray; there is one of them, No. 11, signed J. M. They are addressed to Mungo Smith, supposed to be the earl of Middleton. These letters are allegorical; but they clearly express the hopes of the Jacobites and the increase of their party.

Extracts from the first letter.

FOR God's sake take great comfort and pleasure, and let your dear noble heart be now easy, and assure yourself Q. A. [supposed to mean Queen Anne] does withstand all storms and base usage, and all things that concern your little law-suit go as well as heart can wish, all things considered. Whatever you hear, let it give you no sort of trouble. You will be happy soon, by the blessing of God, and will possess these little lands that belong to you, in tranquillity and without force of law.—I could not be at rest till I went and talked with several of your friends to express the thoughts of my heart against that, (viz. sending the Chevalier out of France and to some distance) and I find great satisfaction in that part. They were all of one opinion to be easy. I hope there will be found good lodging for you and E. M. in a wholesome air, till Q. A. does business to provide better, which, I trust in God, will be of no long time. Her law-suit and yours are now so linked, that the one cannot subsist without the other.—New tenants come to me and desire me to set some piece of ground to them. They are willing to be fair tenants, and I have let some little house (he had mentioned his engaging some in their party); and they promise, if by-gone rents be forgiven, they will pay all repairs and duties in time to come; and I have, on my part, promised, if they will pay their rents when demanded, I will answer that he that owns those grounds will be a very good master, and that I can assure them he is the best of men, and will shew his poor tenants all kindness. There is hardly a day but one may let some little house or other of yours."

Extracts from the second letter.

I Shall tell you a piece of news, that earl Arran [duke of Hamilton] does not know himself as yet. It is still in the breast of Q. A., E. M. [supposed to be the earl of Marr], and Harley; and I was de-
fired

fired to say nothing of it to him, till things be adjusted. When that business is at an end, where earl Arran is, princess of Denmark thinks to send earl Arran to France, to remain there; his business has been a troublesome affair to her, and is not yet ended. Friends say, their fears are still great, that France will not part with you, and still bring on that story of your visit to Scotland, and what was done to Scotland at that time. They cry any where but to stay in France, then we can have the King, as soon as we can get a house and furniture for him."

1712.
February.

Mrs. White to Mr. Watson.

This letter is in the same band with the preceding, which is said to be Mrs. White's. It contains the state of affairs in England.—A vote passed in the House of Commons against lord Townshend.—Eugene cabals with the Whigs.—The Scotch Lords leave the house, and the Whigs carry a vote;—but the ministry will prevail.—Oxford's cautious politics.—Letters taken from a servant of the Hanoverian Minister.—Eugene's intrigues.—Swift's political writings.—Marlborough courts all parties.—Conversation between the Lords Oxford and Wharton.—Scandalous news from France.—The Hanoverian envoy disoblige Oxford.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 5.

SIR,

"I Have received yours of the 1st. I shall, since it is a satisfaction to you, give you an account of all the public news that I hear. The vote of the house of commons against my lord Townshend, for signing the Barrier treaty, which declares him an enemy to the Queen and country, it is believed, will have no other consequence, 'till after the peace, but to give a latitude to our plenipotentiaries, to act on the most advantageous terms they can, notwithstanding that treaty. The death of the Dauphin has put the Whigs in fresh hopes, that prince Eugene has prevailed to get it insisted on, that Spain and the Indies shall be the Emperor's. He cabals daily with the Whigs, in a very indecent manner; the great project is, to have the prince of Hannover here, to nose the Queen, at least; but their aims are further. The Dutch, Hannover, and Emperor's ministers here, are laying a scheme for it, and have carried it so far, that the command of the army, this Summer, is not offered to the prince of Hannover, as was intended. The duke of Ormond com-

1st 12.
February.

mands in Flanders, and is fitting up his equipage. The vote of the Lords, which they got by surprise, the house being thin, and the Scotch lords retiring, to make themselves considerable, the Whigs carried it, and addressed, with a detestation to the articles from France, though they did not come judiciously before them; it was only to encourage the Dutch, and Emperor, and Portugal, to insist on great demands; but had no weight here. The house of commons being zealous for the good of the kingdom, out-balances all their tricks, and the ministry treat sure and gain ground daily. The scheme is only to expose and discourage, and undeceive the kingdom; their punishment will be left 'till the peace is finished. It is my lord of Oxford's politics to smooth and check, and would not have removed the duke of Marlborough, if it had not been absolutely necessary. The Hannover minister is highly displeased at an accident that has happened; his letters he sent by a servant, betwixt 11 and 12 to the general post house: at ———, he was robbed of his letters and what little he had about him. The ——— will have it, our minister laid the design to come by his letters. It was not amiss to find what he and prince Eugene have been contriving with the Whigs. He has had his answer, from the first of his coming, and has been told, by a side wind, that the court is not satisfied with his stay, since he is so close in cabals with the dissatisfied lords. He told him, that said this to him, that he knew that; but he should do what was convenient to his interest. If he stays much longer, he will be sent away, contrary to the Queen's first resolution. His nephew is taken ill of the small pox; so that gives a fresh pretence. The Whigs have so contrived it, that it will be moved, at the congress, to remove the prince that is in France. By the instigation of the Whigs, this is moved here, by prince Eugene, in the Emperor's name, and that all the allies shall be guarantees for the succession of Hannover; but it is believed our plenipotentiaries have instructions not to have any such guarantees, which would limit the people of England; for hereafter, in case of necessity, they must ask all the allies leave to choose a King, and my lord chief justice has declared it treason in those that signed the Barrier treaty. On that account, all the people in the country have got the book which I hope you have, called "The conduct of the late ministry and the allies;" and another, "The obligations that the Dutch have to us." They are two books worth reading.

reading. They have set us in a right light, and have so exasperated all the counties of England against the late ministry and our allies, that they are in some counties ready to address the Queen, to punish those that acted in all their vile practices; and now the barrier treaty itself, with remarks on it, is published, written by the same hand, which is a very good one. They are approved and directed by my lord Oxford; the Whigs answer them, but in that railing evading manner that has no force.

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February.

My lord Marlborough is very humble, visits every creature that has any credit. To general Webb, he sent to know, when he would be at home, he would visit him. He sent him word, he never would be at home to him; that he had done him all the injustice he could, when he was in power, and that now he would do him all the justice he could, which he thought he deserved; and my lord Wharton told my lord treasurer, that he played well at whist. What he could not make by tricks, he made up by knaves. The treasurer answered him, that they believed the game up before he took the cards, and had made tricks out of all the knaves, let who would hold them; but he observed their game, and should be sorry to be thought a bungler. The house of commons are resolved to throw Walpole out of the house again. He was chosen again; but now they have lodged a petition against him. The Hannover resident took the liberty to threaten some of the leading members, with his master's resentment, if they pretended to meddle with the barrier treaty, but did not deter them; but, as a jest, it is said, the same members caused his servant to be robbed of his letters, to see what he had writ of them. All here believe the peace certain. We have strange stories sent from France, of the duke of Orleans being taken in the very act of incest with his daughter, the dutchess of Berry, when he had made her, and the lady the duke de Berry had a design of, drunk; whilst one debauched her, the other abused his own daughter; and that the Dauphin was poisoned; these stories are common; they were first told by Madam Malous, the niece of the late lord Feverham, who lives at Somerset-house, where prince Eugene is every night, at least, three times a week. She pretends to have letters of it from France. There all the foreign ministers are two or three times a week. Baron Bothmar, the Hannover Envoy, daily shews his dislike to my lord of Oxford, and

1712. does his master great prejudice by it, and has turned the court against his proceedings. Prince Eugene is angry, that ——— put in his advertisement by way of jest: a reward for any that could bring the names of these fifty persons, his mother the dutchess of Bollin poisoned. Adieu.

“The last page of Mrs. White’s letter is written in a cut paper.”

This paper is, perhaps, the last page of the preceding letter: it is written in Sir William Ellis’s hand.

Nairne’s
Papers,
D.N. vol. iv.
4to. No. 6.

“*Anecdotes of Plunket, Harley, &c.*”

“PRAY know if count Azzuri did attend the King with the account

Mr. Plunket gave him. It is he that sends this, inclosed only as a beginning; he will, from time to time, give you an account how affairs go. Mr. Harley trusts him in some affairs; count Gallasch trusted him, and he did great service, in acquainting Mr. Harley with the Whigs intrigues.

If it is insisted on by the King of France’s plenipotentiaries; I am sure the King will be left as he is, without any alteration; Mr. Harley has said so in private, to a friend of his and mine.

Bromfield, the quaker, is here, and is daily with Mr. Harley. He is to be sent by him, a spy, to the place where you are; he does great mischief; he would be a consul for some of the places, where he might be useful to them here.”

The truth of the following anecdotes is, in some degree, ascertained by collateral proofs. The marquis de Torcy, in his memoirs, mentions them, with corroborating circumstances; and he was not a writer, that advanced facts upon mere surmises, being a man of integrity, intelligence, and abilities. The Stuart Papers of the present year are full of anecdotes of the same kind; and the ministry, by the precautions they took, seemed to have been convinced, that dangerous conspiracies were formed. There can scarce a doubt be entertained, that Marlborough, prince Eugene and the baron de Bothmar talked concerning violent measures; though perhaps, the circumstances are exaggerated. The ruffians called the

the Mohocks, who infested the streets, at the time, sitting noses and maiming passengers, were considered, with some degree of justice, as instigated by the discontented party. A proclamation by the privy-council and an attention to the disposition of the guards, prevented the mischiefs that were, perhaps, intended.

1712.
April.

Anecdotes concerning the Duke of Marlborough, the Peace, and the designs of the Duke and prince Eugene against the Ministry.

Carte's Memorandum
book, 8vo.

April 10, 1749.—“**M**R. Erasmus Lewis told me, that at the latter end of 1709 or beginning of 1710, Queen Anne sent for lord Somers, and told him, as they were alone, she having an opinion of his judgment and impartiality, desired him to tell her his opinion of the Duke of Marlborough. He said he would; and told her that he was the worst man that God Almighty ever made; that his ambition was boundless and his avarice insatiable; and that he had neither honour nor conscience to restrain him from any wicked attempt, even against her person, as well as against his country, &c. Somers (as the Queen was weary of the d—fs) expected to be made first minister, but was balked. The Queen had expressed herself advantageously of his honour, integrity, and capacity. During the debates about the peace, in opposition to it, M. de Torcy acquainted lord Oxford, that after the Duke of Marlborough had hindered the peace of 1706, when it should have been made, he had treated with the French court to make them one, and was to have two millions of crowns for it. This would have been done, but for M. Chamillard, a weak minister, who during the siege of Lisle, came to Valenciennes, sent the duke of Marlborough word, that he expected he would raise the siege of Lisle, as a proof of his sincerity in the peace they had treated and settled. The duke of Marlborough was angry, and wrote to the duke of Berwick, that there was an end of the affair, and he would have nothing more to do with the treaty.

When M. de Torcy discovered this, the King of France allowed lord Oxford to make use of it, to send the duke of Marlborough abroad; but insisted that his life should not be touched; and so it was. They had a meeting at Thomas Harley's house, in James street, Westminster. Oxford coming to the street door, in his coach, the duke of Marlborough in a chair to the garden door opening into the park; it was then resolved,

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that the duke of Marlborough should go abroad. Prince Eugene and lord Wharton both said, on the occasion, that the duke of Marlborough had not a clear conscience, or he would not have submitted to that step.

Several measures were proposed to oppose the peace, and several schemes sent to Vienna; some for seizing the Queen, others for seizing the ministry, and one for assassinating Oxford and Bolingbroke in their chairs. Prince Eugene wrote about this last, to count Zinzendorff, then at the Hague; who wrote, in answer, that such measures were extremely hazardous, and scarce to be undertaken; but if this was resolved on, he advised prince Eugene to come over to Holland, before it was executed.

Among other schemes, one was for the duke of Marlborough, by his power, as general, to assemble 2 or 3000 men, at an hour, in different squares of Westminster, and to seize St. James's. This was discovered, and lord Oxford sent to Mr. Lewis to come immediately to the office, that morning, his presence being necessary by ten o'clock. When he came, he found the lord chancellor and all the lords of council there. The business was to supersede the duke of Marlborough's commission, as general, under the broad seal. There had been before an order under the privy seal sent him not to act more as general; but his commission being under the great seal, could not be superseded, but by a revocation under the great seal. When this was done, the duke of Marlborough would not act so against law, as to rendezvous the men: he was not made for hazards.

He said, the duke of Marlborough's quitting the opposition to the peace, had ruined his credit at Hannover and at the Hague. King George was resolved to make no alteration in ministry, but 40000 *l.* given to Bothmar, at the Hope, caused the duke of Marlborough's apology to be accepted, and all Queen Anne's ministers to be turned out †.

A Let-

† Erasmus Lewis, was under secretary to the Earl of Oxford. He is often mentioned by doctor Swift, in his letters. Swift charges prince Eugene with the designs mentioned in the two last articles §; but bishop Burnet * and the Whig writers speak of him in a very different manner.

§ History of the four last years of Queen Anne, p. 76 of vol. xvi

* History of his own times, vol. iv.

*A Letter signed Charles Johnson, and addressed to Charles Adams; but indorsed by Sir William Ellis, "Mr. Ken." 22 February, 1712.
4 March.*

1712.
April.

He gives an account of affairs in England.—The feigned names are explained in Sir William Ellis's hand.

SIR,

"BY one of our late mails I received a letter from you, but without date; however, it being the only one I have of yours unanswered, you will have no difficulty in judging of what I speak. Mr. Wat. Thomas [Mr. Lilly] who is, at present, a part of our family, desired me to tell you, that he had yours of the 18th instant, which he will answer shortly, as business shall arise. What I hinted in my last, of Mr. Matthew Jude and party [the Low Church], seeming in a disposition to play some frolick of youth [rise in rebellion] has even a greater appearance than before. But how to give direction for Mr. Kee's [the King's] behaviour, in such an event, is not easy, at this distance, to do; however, what I am asked, I will tell you the thought of our house and partners. At what time, or in what court these gentlemen will think fit to prosecute

The Marquis de Torcy relates, in his Memoirs, that he had his master's orders, to offer four millions of livres to the duke of Marlborough, at the Hague, in 1709, if he employed his interest in contributing to a peace †. His Majesty's words are, "I don't in the least question, but you avail yourself of the opportunities you have of seeing the duke of Marlborough, to let him know, that I have been informed of the steps he has taken, to hinder the progress of the conferences of peace, and even to break them off entirely; that I had been the more surprised thereat, as I had reason to believe, from the assurances he had already given, that he was willing to contribute to this end; that I should be glad his conduct was such, as to deserve the reward I have promised him; and in order that you may be able to come to a clearer explication, I am willing you should give him a positive assurance that I will ——— In short, I am willing you should offer the duke of Marlborough four millions, should he enable me to keep Naples and Sicily for the King, my grandson, and to preserve Dunkirk with its fortifications and harbour, and Strasburg and Landau, in the manner above explained, or even the same sum were Sicily to be excepted out of this last article ‡."

De Torcy does not tell what answer the duke of Marlborough made to these offers.

"At the same time, news came, that the duchess of Marlborough, first lady of the bed-chamber to the Queen of England, was disgraced. The duke of Marlborough himself gave notice of it to his nephew, the duke of Berwick ||."

† vol. i. p. 299.

‡ Ibid. p. 391.

|| Ibid. vol. ii. p. 75.

their

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their frolic, is difficult to say; it is talked, as if Mr. Diederick Hamilton [Hannover] was to come hither, assisted by cousin Jasp and party [the Dutch]; and to countenance his coming, Mr. Jafelin's relations [the house of lords] are waiting a favourable opportunity to give him an invitation. Be it by this, or what other means soever, Mr. Matthew Judd [the Low Church] begins his work; it seems absolutely necessary too, that Mr. Lours [the King] should be upon the place as soon as possible, to take care of his own effects; his aunt Susan [Scotland], if one may believe her, will give him a most hearty welcome; and though she cannot advance much money for carrying on of the suit, yet his adversaries will probably be no better supplied; every body being unwilling to venture in the present state of things, in which there are hardly three persons, how long soever friends, who would be able to take council together. In short Mr. Lours [the King] will undoubtedly provide himself the best he is able, and for the rest *Deus providebit*. There is a report here, as if he intended to make a journey to see his kinsman Obedia Townsend [Savoy duke] and country; but, to tell you true, his friends think that a great way off. But it is time to tell you something of our public matters. The occasional bill, whatever misery might be intended by it, has not yet raised any stir, nor gives the least appearance of doing so. Prince Eugene, besides his feasting from house to house, has proposed very little business; and, if he thinks fit to stay a month longer, in the same way, will be as little mentioned as any ensign in his army. Our court keeps still its disposition for peace, in which it is backed by the house of commons; but the Tory majority in the lord's house is but small, and by the absence of some of them, they are now and then trapped in an odd vote. In a little time, we shall see what is to be hoped for, as to peace; and as that proceeds or goes back, our parties shape their hopes. Pray my service to honest Hicks, and tell him his friends are well, but want to hear from him. I am, &c."

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
p. 26.

Letters from Nairne to Abram.

Desiring him to go to Holland, and inclosing a letter from the Earl of Middleton to the Abbé de Polignac.

Nairne to Abram.—March 3d.—“To give him notice I had sent a bill to him of 574 gilders, in a letter inclosed to Hackett, to be delivered to him at his arrival in Holland. I bid him lose no time to come

away, and endeavour to be informed of every thing relating to the trade he was charged with, in order to give the necessary light for the King's service to the Abbé Polignac in Holland, or to transmit hither."

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Nairne to Abram.—March 3d.—"By the name of Sanderfon with his bill, and to tell him, when he went to Utrecht, to send a message to the Abbé Polignac, to let him know he was come, and had a letter from Mr. Massey [Lord Middleton] for him; and that he would wait his directions to go to him either in public or privately, as he should think fit."

Nairne to Abram.—March 6th.—"To cover my lord's letter to the Abbé Polignac, in which I told him to go by his own name in Holland, to write as soon as he arrived, and continue to give account of all that came to his knowledge relating to the King's affairs; and that he should receive new directions from Mr. Massey [lord Middleton], as occasions offered to require them."

Nairne's
papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
P. 27.

The Earl of Middleton to the Abbé de Polignac.

Ibid.

Nairne inclosed this letter to Abram; and it appears from it, that Abram's real name was Menzies.

Translation.

SIR,

St. Germain's, March 6, 1712.

"THE person who will have the honour of delivering this to your Excellency, is the Sieur Menzies, whose fidelity and capacity I am acquainted with of a long time. He is thoroughly instructed in every thing that regards our Isles: He will give you all possible lights concerning them; and I doubt not but you will be satisfied with him. He has no other orders from this place but to follow yours.

I shall add nothing further, Sir; not doubting but you are thoroughly persuaded that I am, very respectfully, &c."

Nairne to Abram.—March 10.—"To tell him that there being no occasion of any factor, at present, at Halloway's [Holland], and he being more useful where he is, I had orders to bid him stay in England, and continue to correspond as usual. I owned his of the 15th February, and hoped this letter would come in time enough to stop his journey."

Ibid.

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Nairne to Hackett.—"To bid him forward Abram's, and keep the two former for Sanderfon by him till further orders."

Mr. Menzies, so often exhibited under the feigned name of Abram, is the Scotch gentleman mentioned by Monsieur Menager, in the account of his secret negotiations in England.

Menager having signed the preliminary articles of a separate treaty between France and Britain, employed the time he staid afterwards in London, in attempting, according to his instructions, to render some service to the court of St. Germans, and introduced the subject in a conversation with Mr. St. John. They foresaw, that the King of France would be obliged, in the ensuing treaty, "not so much to abandon the chevalier, as to acknowledge the succession of the crown in the house of Hannover, as it was mentioned in the second preliminary*."

Menager proposed that a secret article should be made by the Queen, to disengage the King from all the obligations of such agreements upon such subsequent occasions as might happen; and a declaration from her Majesty, that all the engagements the King should enter into in the treaty of peace, should be so understood by the Queen. St. John was afraid the Queen would not sign such a declaration; but he thought she would declare, by word of mouth, that she would be satisfied to understand the treaty in such a manner; and that whenever she disengaged the King from it, the obligation on him, as to the recognition of the succession, should cease. Bolingbroke mentioned this proposal to the Queen; and, with her consent, introduced Menager to Mrs. Masham, that he might learn her Majesty's intentions from that lady, as he himself did not choose to meddle further in the affair.

Two points were agreed upon between Menager and Mrs. Masham: First, "that, for the satisfaction of the people at home, and the allies abroad, the King should be required, in the Queen's name, to abandon her brother and his interest, on pretence of adhering to the succession as it was now established."

2d. "That nevertheless, this seeming to abandon the said interest, was to be so understood, that the King should not be obliged, in case of her Majesty's decease, not to use his endeavours for the placing the said prince on his father's throne, to which he had an undoubted right †."

* *Minute of Monsieur Menager's negotiation.*

† *Ibid.* p. 276.

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Mrs. Masham told him, "that it was the present unhappiness of the Queen to possess the throne of her brother, which she had no other claim to than what the political measures of the state had made legal, and in a sort necessary; which, however, she believed, gave her Majesty oftentimes secret uneasiness: that this was not all the misfortune, but that, by the same necessity of state, she was obliged, not only against her disposition, but even against her principles, to further and promote the continuance of the usurpation, not only beyond her own life, but for ever. That I might be sure, under such circumstances, it would be an inexpressible satisfaction to her Majesty, to see herself delivered from the fatal necessity of doing so much wrong; and if it could be possible, with safety to the religion and liberties of her subjects, to have her brother restored to his right, at least, after her decease, if it could not be done before."

"That it was true the Queen did not see through this; and it seemed next to impossible, "the rage and irreconcilable aversion of the greatest part of the common people to her brother being grown to such a height:" nay, she said, the Queen found it would be impossible to enter upon any treaty of peace, or so much as to let the people hear of putting an end to the war, without entering into the strongest engagements possible for the confirming the succession in the house of Hannover; "a thing that I am sure, says she, is all our aversions;" and we have no retreat but to his most Christian Majesty, in hopes of his ordering things so at this treaty, that he may be at liberty to support and assist in the work, whenever an opportunity should present itself: that, to this end, the plenipotentiaries from hence, "though there was no communicating any thing to them by way of confidence," should be instructed not to insist upon things more than necessity obliged; and "some reserves, sure," says she, "may be made, to leave room for justice to take place in time to come*."

Menager, upon his arrival at Utrecht, where he acted as one of the plenipotentiaries from France, found that the British ministers had not received the private instructions which lady Masham gave him reason to expect would be sent to them; and he afterwards discovered, that the agents of the court of St. Germain had made the concerns of the chevalier the subject of a private negotiation with the ministry in

* *Minute of Monsieur Menager's negociation*, p. 282.

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England. These agents were obliged, at last, to write to the King of France "in plain terms, that the ministry in England were men of no honour; that they had held them in suspense for a long time; and that now, they not only did not come to the point with them, but declined any conversation on the subject; only said in general, that a certain person would be sent over to Utrecht, who should discourse by word of mouth freely, and should settle that affair so as should be agreeable to all parties *."

Lady Masham, in a letter to Menager, dated St. James's, March 2, 1712, says, "I take it for granted, that they (the court of St. Germain) are fallen into the hands of my Lord Treasurer: he loves a secret, and is famous for making intricacies, where there is a sterility of intrigues; and no less renowned for causing every thing of such a nature to miscarry. If their assurances are from him, I doubt not, he values himself upon having deceived them; and if the person to be sent to Utrecht comes from him, I dare promise you, that when he comes there, he wants his instructions †."

Menager, who hated all the agents of the court of St. Germain, and was equally hated by them, says, that "all this was owing to the impatience and jealousy of the court of St. Germain, who, though the King had agents of his own in London, who, perhaps, did their utmost, yet they at St. Germain, being uneasy, could not refrain sending a secret embassy themselves. This, it seems, was a Scotchman, who pretended great interest with a Scotch lord, who was an officer of state in England; but either the messenger failed in the interest he pretended to have, or the Scotch nobleman failed in what he promised to do for him; seeing the sum of his negotiation was briefly this; that after a long stay, he performed only there two notable exploits, viz. first, that he spent a great deal of their money; and secondly, that he ruined and exposed the business which he was entrusted with; and at last, came away with nothing but an empty promise from the said Scotch lord, that a person should be sent over to negotiate that matter with the French and British ministers together ‡."

Menager had strong prejudices against the earl of Middleton. He gives the postscript of a letter he wrote to lady Masham. "A Scotch-

* *Minute of Monsieur Menager's negotiation*, p. 305.

† *Ibid.* p. 310.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 314.

man from St. Germain, and a Scotchman in your court, have been the agents to deceive one another, and to abuse their masters. As to the inquiring who the secret has remained with, they confess now, at St. Germain, that it has really remained with no body: for so ill a choice did they make of their agent, that he has not only exposed his errand but his employer: and our people in London are very free to send word hither how ill he has acquitted himself; though, by the way, I must observe, that this was not done till after they had been amused with the persuasions of this person, to believe things were in a good train, when they were indeed in hands who intended nothing less than to perform what was proposed *."

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Menager's account of this negotiation appeared so extraordinary, that it hath hitherto met with little credit from the public; but it will be found to coincide with what relates to Menzies, under the borrowed name of Abram in Nairne's letters, and with the account which the well known John Plunket gives of his own intrigues. He acknowledges, that he allowed himself to be amused with promises by the earl of Oxford.

A letter from Mr. Lilly, under the Signature of H. J. and in an affected bad spelling, and addressed to Mr. Edward Jones, at Mr. John Hackett's, Merchant, in Rotterdam.—Jones is Sir William Ellis; the letter is indorsed by him, "Mr. Lilly; dated 10 March, but came with the letters of four pacquets, of which the freshest was of $\frac{1}{12}$ April, 1712."

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No. 15.

"A Good friend of mine, of whom I formerly desired you to give a just character to his father [Mr. Sheridan] at Amsterdam [Sr. Germain], I hope will be with you before this; and this is to recommend him to your friendship and good offices, in the way of trade. I have writ to the same purpose in the inclosed to Allen [my lord Middleton], which, pray let my friend know, for he knows nothing either of that or this; only I told him I would write to you, to let him have a list of the goods and the debts that are with you [a copy of the cyphers], that he may give me an account sometimes, for I have tried him, and can trust him, as also does the college where he is in very good esteem; and they will take kindly how much soever he is employed there, as also all the friends of old Ambros [church of England] that know him: by

* Minute of Monsieur Menager's negotiation, p. 316.

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his means I got two of the books left here, which Mrs. Puke [Traveller] should have carried to Mr. Kitron [the King], which now must wait another opportunity. The last I had from you was of the 18th last month, which I desired the bearer to let you know I had received it, having nothing worth the postage to tell you, or friends there, but what I know you had from other hands; yet I neglected not your business with what acquaintance I had of little Patrick [the parliament], more especially his cousin Hilson [house of commons], whom I found more kind. I hear cousin Knox [the King] is to leave your town of Rotterdam [St. Germain], and go either to Amsterdam or Toruere, for better trade. You know Stanhope, the merchant in Shut [Scotland], would put him into present business, and he wants such a one just at this time for a book-keeper. But if you cannot get him in there, what think you of Knowles at Amsterdam [King of Sweden]; I hope you have not neglected him all this time; his sister Susan [the kingdom of Sweden] was always kind to Knox [the King], and to his brother Scrimger [Scotchmen], who would not fail going to see him, if he were so near as I have heard him say.— My humble service to Mr. Sands [Mr. Stafford]. Remember me kindly to Mrs. Emerton [F. Eyre]; and say something obliging from me to honest Jackson [Mr. Innes]: I have nothing worth their charge for particular letters to them. God send us a good meeting. Yours, sincerely,
H. S."

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 10.

"*Extracts of a letter from Mrs. Jane Murray, 14th March, 1712.*"

These extracts are in an unknown hand.

The state of affairs in England, and anecdotes of the times.

After her ordinary compliments, she says, "It cannot be determined to what place the King is to go, till the peace is concluded; but she hopes it will be near England. She thinks Mr. Harley will be for the King's coming first into England, rather than to Scotland, when all is disposed for that; meantime, E. M.* will let the King know to what place he is to go, as soon as that is resolved upon."

Princess Anne has been indisposed, but is now better.

A report of the King's being indisposed.

E. M. desires an answer to his last letter to the King.

* Earl of Mar.

She assures that the King's concerns are in a better way than E. M. writes in his letter.

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E. M. a hearty friend to the King, but very cautious.

She is mightily taken up in managing the King's friends who know not the secret, and are alarmed at every thing that seems contrary to his interest.

That it was mighty well taken that the King had sent an intimation to his friends to go again to parliament, and join with the court.

She thinks Harley, and even the princess Anne in danger, from these Mohocks, who commit great abuses. She sends a printed list of these of that party now in prison.

She longs for the picture, and to hear from the King.

"I forgot to tell you this dismal report has distinguished the honest men by their faces, and that was seen in the face of multitudes, that have been kept secret in their hearts. God send good news, or all your friends will be heart-broken."

Letters from Nairne to Berry and Abram.

Nairne to Berry.—March 17.—"To acknowledge his of the 19th February, desire him inquire further about the place designed for the King's removal: that the King was glad to hear that Laton and Pen were still honest, and to find that he, Berry and others, had still good opinion of Young [princess Anne] and Baker's [Harley's] intentions."

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix. 4to. p. 28.

Nairne to Abram.—March 17.—"To answer his of the 22d; glad to hear Marishal and Athol were come up, but do not well see what measures Snel's family [Scotland] can take to redress themselves, or serve the King at this time; these being dark times, and friends and foes hardly to be discerned; so no advice could be given them, but to keep united and do for the best, according to the lights they have upon the place: that the King longs to hear from Mr. Brown [lord Balmerino], to know if he delivered my lord's letter to Lamb [Lesly]."

"That Jonathan's [the King's] trade goes well may be possible, though the appearances be very opposite, but that I could not be of his opinion, that it was as sure as demonstration, especially Jonathan not being trusted by

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by Charles [the Queen] or Honyton [Harley], with one word of comfort from themselves; at the same time, such unanimous steps are made on all sides, in favour of Laurence [Hannover], that he has desired, long ago, to know what Joseph's [the King's] friends advise as to the place of his removal at Phips [the peace]. It is hoped Charles [the Queen] will not propose sending him to Rome, which would be very unkind, and where he declares he will never go, unless he be forced."

The Pretender foresaw that the King of France would be obliged, by the treaty of peace, to dismiss him from his dominions, and he presented the following Queries to the Marquis de Torcy.

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Papers, D.N.
vol. iii. 4to.
No. 26.

"Articles necessary to be explained before I can leave France."

They are in his own hand writing.

Translation.

1. **WHO** is to provide for my maintenance? How much is it to be, and how shall it be paid?
2. What treatment shall I receive, and what security shall I have in the place to which I am to go? How, and with whom, and by whose means is all this to be concerted?
3. If they insist on a Protestant country, shall I and my family be allowed the free exercise of my religion, since without that I cannot go there?
4. Why some town in Germany, where the exercise of the two religions is tolerated, should not, in that case, be a proper place to reside?
5. What objections are there against Cologne, Liege, Flanders, or Lorraine, if I can have the necessary security in these places?
6. Having a security only in the place where I am to reside, can I leave it; since otherwise I shall be a prisoner in that country, and cannot reckon myself free, unless I am at liberty to go and come wherever I choose, without passports, and without being obliged to give any reasons for my journies, according to the permission which a general peace gives to every one? This was already demanded for me at Gertrudenberg, and at the Hague. They made no difficulty about it; and it may be

be even necessary for me in certain cases, for example, in case the air of a certain town or country does not agree with me.

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7. For what purpose is all this demanded of me? How long is it to continue, and what advantage shall arise from it to me? it being neither just nor reasonable to distrust me in my own affairs.

Lastly and principally, How shall a correspondence be settled with me in the country where I shall reside, and what measures shall be taken, in case of my sister's death, to secure to me what, according to all the laws which have been made, must then belong to Hannover?"

The following letter is in the Pretender's own hand, and indorsed by him, "*a letter to my sister.*" It is indorsed by Sir William Ellis, "Copy of the King's letter to the princess Anne, March 28, 1712."

A letter to Queen Anne, from her brother.

"IN the present situation of affairs, it is impossible for me, dear sister, to be any longer silent, and not to put you in mind of the honour and preservation of your family; and to assure you, at the same time, of my eternal acknowledgment and gratitude, if you use your most efficacious endeavours towards both. Give me leave to say, that your own good nature makes me already promise it to myself, and with that persuasion, I shall always be ready to agree to whatever you shall think most convenient for my interest, which, after all, is inseparable from yours; being fully resolved to make use of no other means, but those you judge most conducing to our mutual happiness, and to the general welfare of our country. Your most entirely affectionate brother."

Rough
Draught.
Nairne's pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. iii. 4to.
No. 26.

A letter from Mrs. White.

Rather Extracts from it in Sir William Ellis's hand, who calls them,

Ibid. vol. iv.
No. 16.

"Copy of the three first pages of Mrs. White's letter, which are written in a cut paper. The letter is not dated, but came with those of $\frac{1}{2}$ March."

About restoring the Pretender at the Queen's death, and the part the Earl of Oxford acted.

"WHAT you see demanded by England will not be insisted on by the parliament, in relation to his leaving that country, if the King
of

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of France is firm in desiring the King's stay; for, although Harley is, as I have always told you, a Whig, and an enemy to the King, the parliament would be friends if they could find a way to show it. But he cramps all, and makes each man afraid to appear inclined to the interest their inclinations would lead them to. All well-inclined are enraged at Harley's proceedings, and that part of the commons they call the October-club of forty. He screens, I mean Mr. Harley, that not any of the first nobility can get an audience, but with the utmost difficulty; so that he will govern this affair, I mean the peace, and certainly intends to make up with Hannover, although at present they differ. But, after all Hannover's attempts have failed, he will be glad to make up with Harley. But the best part of the gentry, and half the nobility, are resolved to have the King; the parliament would do it in a year, if it could be believed he had changed his religion. They would not impose it, but would have it reported, to give them a handle: for to change, on that account, would render him unworthy of wearing what was ~~so~~ got; but they tell me, they do not desire it to be done, only said to be done.

The paper that comes a-part is from Mr. Plunket, who would have M. Torcy to know the contents; it is what prince Eugene has been contriving with the cabal.

Princess Anne and Harley have had it discovered to them, that prince Eugene and the cabal have laid a design to have Harley, the keeper, and St. John taken off; and the ways that are now practised * was to be the forerunner, and done as a frolic, till it had raised a tumult, and in the disorder to act that part, and Hannover's agent here was in the consult. Princess Anne was terribly frightened, and Harley has got lodgings in her house, and after it is dark does not stir out of that house: the honest men wish him out of the way, but dare not appear against the peace, because it would ruin the nation; they would be glad otherwise to oppose it, because it would ruin him; for the nation cannot bear the war a year longer, but would sink.

What is on the fourth page is not written on the cut paper.

She says the paper that comes apart is from Mr. Plunket; but there came no paper apart with this letter, or by this ordinary; there came one with

* The Mohocks sent, by night, through the streets.

her last letter, which was delivered together with her said letter, and no other is yet come*.

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The Earl of Middleton to Berry.

An allegorical letter.

SIR,

March 31st.

“MR. Arnold’s letter to Nelson [Middleton], of the 4th, O. S. came safe, with Berry’s inclosed, which was delivered to Plessington [the King] and Wisely [the Queen], who desired me to tell Berry, that they were very glad to hear he had seen Mr. Armsworth [Marlborough]. They are fully persuaded, that he is now very sorry that he has not followed their advice, in compounding their debts, whilst he had sufficient effects in his hands; but it is the misfortune of very many just men to let themselves be over-ruled by pretended friends, who have different views. However, pray see him as soon as you can; and you may very truly assure him of the friendship that Goodall [the King] has for him, the confidence he has in him, and the assistance he expects from him; for, though his affairs are in a low condition, by reason of his losses at sea, yet his prudence and experience may be of great use; and his substantial associates may put him in a condition to appear again on the Exchange, and establish his credit on a sure bottom. But it is very natural for Plessington [the King] to expect to hear from him, to know by what ways and means, when and how he designs to do him justice.

’Squire Young [princess Anne] is so entirely in Goldsmith Baker’s [Harley’s] power, that we cannot tell what judgment to make of him. Manning [the King of France] knocks under the table; so that we must shift for ourselves. Nothing but want of bread can make us go to Mr. Deane’s door; being sensible that would be the greatest misery that could befall us. I am confident that Gurney [Marlborough] and Gilburn [Goldolphin] will be grieved at heart to see our present distress, and use their best endeavours to relieve us.

R. CROFTON [MIDDLETON].”

* It appears, however, that M. de Torcy was well-informed, concerning the cabals of the Whigs and the designs of prince Eugene and Marlborough. Vid. his memoirs, vol. ii.

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
p. 28.

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April.

Letters from Nairne to Abram and Berry, from the 31st of March to the 12th of May.

*The Queen's Jointure.—The Pretender and his sister take the small-pox.—
The princess dies.—He recovers, and leaves St. Germain.*

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
p. 29.

Nairne to Berry.—March 31st.—“To cover my lord's letter to him, and to tell him that he might shew it to Gurney, as from himself, and in confidence.”

Nairne to Berry.—April 3d.—“With a draught of a letter of attorney about the quit-rents [the Queen's jointure.]
I told him the King had the small-pox.”

Ibid. p. 30.

“Mr. Dicconson's draught of a letter which I wrote to Berry, with a letter of attorney the 3d of April, 1712.”

The draught which Mr. Nairne mentions here, is in the earl of Middleton's hand, and as follows.

SIR,

“THE Queen having some assurance, that, at this treaty of peace, her jointure will be allowed her, or rather a pension equivalent to it, her design is to make use of your assistance in the receiving of it; but that matter not being yet settled, she is not willing to have it publicly spoke of, or to say any thing further relating to it, than to consult about a form for a letter of attorney, or power to authorise you thereunto.

The difficulty consists in this, how to avoid owning the government in what she signs herself, and yet not to offend it: so that to compass these two points, and yet make the instrument valid, is the matter you are desired to advise with some judicious council about.

Should the Queen style herself Queen-mother, she supposes, that will not be allowed; should she style herself Queen-dowager, that would be a lessening of herself, and a prejudice to the King her son; which she will never do.

The question is, therefore, whether the instrument may not be good without any title at all, only the word “We”; (for in as much as it will be signed Maria R. and sealed with her seal, one would think the person would

would be sufficiently denoted); but if that be not sufficient, then whether any other expression can be invented to the intent mentioned.

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April.

Our council here think she might style herself thus: 'Mary, Queen Consort of James the Second, late King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.' to all unto whom these presents may come, sends greeting, &c.; and so go on according to the form here inclosed. In fine, you are desired to advise about this matter, and send the result, as soon as with convenience you can, that her Majesty may not be to seek in so material a point, when the time comes to use it.

If the inclosed form, upon other accounts, be improper, please send a draught of such an one as is thought fit; and, if it must be drawn upon stamped paper, please to send a sheet or two also.

Her Majesty is to allow you two hundred pounds a year, as a salary for this trouble, besides all incident charges, and is sorry her circumstances will not permit her to make it more considerable; however, is desirous that what advantage was to be had by it, it should be given to you, preferable to any other person, as a mark of her Majesty's sense of your constant zeal and fidelity in her service."

Nairne to Abram.—April 3d.—"With a letter from my lord to Mrs. Watson. I bid him desire the Scotch peers from the King to join together in every thing to go along with princess Anne and Harley, and to forward the peace. I told him the King had the small-pox."

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
p. 29.

Nairne to Berry.—April 7th.—"To tell him how the King was, and that Mr. Ogle † did not correspond here; but if he could by himself, or some other, engage him to correspond, or at least to send by another hand what advices might be for the King's service, it would be kindly taken; and that he should use his influence with Baker [Harley], to convince him that his true interest was to join with Goodall [the King]."

Ibid, p. 31.

Nairne to Abram.—April 7th.—"A note in Mr. Innes's letter to tell him, I had wrote to Hackett, to send him a bill of 500 livres. I wrote to Hackett accordingly, and bid him keep the other 500 livres till further orders."

Nairne to Abram.—April 10th.—"To cover my lord's letter to Watson, and captain Murray's to his nephew. I told him how the King was,

† It is not known who is Mr. Ogle.

1712.
April.

and that he would certainly travel when he was well, and change air. I bid him know the doctor's advice about what air would be fit for him; and told him we should be able to judge of Charles [princess Anne] and Honyton's [Harley's] kindness, by the place they sent him to."

Nairne to Berry.—April 14th.—"To tell him the princess had got the small-pox; and that both the King and she were in a very good way; and that the Queen was very well: that Pleffington [the King] counted upon parting from Manning at the peace, but that it was uncertain where his friends, Young and Baker [princess and Harley] would allow him to set up shop."

Nairne to Berry.—April 17th.—"To give him account how the King and princess were."

See this account, D. N. vol. i. No. 58.

Nairne to Berry.—May 5th.—"I sent him Dr. Garwan's and Dr. Wood's account of the princess's sickness and death; and told him, that the King was now entirely recovered, and the Queen as well as her affliction could allow her to be."

Ibid. p. 32.

Nairne to Abram.—May 8th.—"I told him the King was quite recovered, and beginning to go abroad; and that we reckoned he might begin his journey in about three weeks hence."

Nairne to Abram.—May 12th.—"I told him the King carried no Jesuits with him, but that he carried all his protestant servants with him; that my lord and Mr. Innes went along, and that I should follow. I bid him take some prudent method to caution Freeman and Sparrow to be very wary in seeing or dealing with their friend Mildmay, not to give jealousy to Honyton [Harley]."

Nairne to Berry.—May 12th.—"I told him of the Manly Galley [the King] being fitting out soon for a voyage; that no Jesuit was to go; that all the protestant servants went; that it was hoped the church of England would see by this the King's inclination towards them; he being resolved, on this, as on all other occasions, to be just and kind to them, and to be an impartial common father. I told him Mr. Crofton [Middleton] would write to himself concerning Gurney [Marlborough] and Ryder, and for the letter of attorney about the quit-rents; that we had no directions as yet, and that we expected to hear further from him upon that subject."

"A copy

"A copy of the three first pages of Mr. White's letter of $\frac{22}{3}$ April. ^{May.} Which
are written in a cut paper, in Sir William Ellis's hand."

The subject of her letter of the $\frac{18}{29}$ March continued.

1712.
April.
Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. iv,
4to. No. 164

"MR. Plunket is gone, and you must not refuse to meet him, with all the speed you can, at Mr. Hacket's at Rotterdam. He will tell you what will be of the greatest consequence to the King, and to the King of France; he is sent by Mr. Harley and the cabinet-council; his stay may be but short; you must make haste. I hope the King is in a condition of health to give his orders to you. My lord Middleton may, if he pleases, acquaint the King of France's minister, Monsieur de Torcy, to send one too, or let you bring back what is fit they should know. By arts, Mr. Harley has kept Mr. Plunket from going till now; but he cannot now hinder the King's being established; for it is resolved by the parliament and the leading men. The discovery of the allies and Hannover have given the blow.

Where the King was to land last time, is where his friends desire may be the place; but things are not ripe yet. Mr. Plunket will let you see how all things are carried; and he desires you may be the person sent to meet him. He wrote to you, by my direction; and when you come to Rotterdam, you must not take notice he is Mr. Plunket, but call him Rogers to the merchant, Mr. Hacket, who does not know him. I need not desire this to be the greatest secret; you will guess at the reason of it.

The King of France is sure in the wrong, not to grant us every reasonable thing; since it is resolved to make a separate peace. The Whigs, sure, must have used art to bring them to refuse us good terms, which would justify our leaving the others to treat for themselves.

All the practices I have sent you word of, will be laid before the parliament. It has ruined Hannover; he will never come here, if he comes not now, by the Whigs means, and contrary to the desire of princess Anne and the parliament, and all the body of the church party; the Dutch dare not venture on such a prospect.

You must write to Mr. Plunket, and inclose it to Mr. Hacket, and Mr. Plunket will send for it before you come, that he may know you are coming. Direct your letter for Mr. Rogers.

1712.
April.

Pray know, of my lord Middleton, what account Monsieur Azlini brought of what Mr. Plunket gave him to deliver to the King, and be very punctual in it, if he did desire that one should be sent from the King of France.

What is written on the 4th page is not in the cut paper."

A letter from ——— to ———.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 9.

Condolance on the death of the Princess, and the Pretender's sickness.

April 22d.

"I AM very sorry that winds have been so cross, that my dear kinswoman should have any addition to her distracted mind on my account; for I am very well, and have often told you so, could my letters get to you, which I hope they have long before this, and that Mr. Massy [lord Middleton] has had mine in answer to his last. I wish you all happiness in your new employment, though the occasion of it was dismal to all; and you cannot imagine how generally she is lamented, even by those, that have ever been enemies to her family. I and mine have shared so in your loss that we thought our sorrows could have no addition, when we heard your Chevalier was recovered; but now we find our mistake; for, since we had yours to my daughter Jeany, 'tis said at court he is despaired of, and on the Exchange that he is dead; that he eat too much meat, and got a cold with going out too soon. If this be true, all honest people will think no more of this world; for sure never was mortals so unfortunate as we. You may guess at our condition; which, by the worst of natures, would be pitied. Your doctor gave us hopes, last night, there was no good grounds for such reports; but whom to believe, or what to think, our concern is too great to know; but every moment we are either going or sending to inquire for comfort, but find none yet. Pray Heaven this day gives us some, for the wind is fairer for it. I beg you will make my condoling compliment, for to write it myself to your only mistress is tormenting her now; but pray assure her I grieve for her loss, and the sense I am sure she has of it, to a degree not to be expressed, but felt with true affection and duty, and to yourself and partner all love and faithful service from Bob and me, who begs he may be remembered when you make my compliments; for he is more concerned than ever I saw him.

This

This is to acknowledge the receipt of two of your letters. I would have writ last post for my mother; but she was so well she would write herself. I do not question but you must guess at the concern my sisters, &c. were in, when we received the news of your loss; upon my word I was stupified with it, and cannot still help being anxious about the brother's health, notwithstanding your assurances of his recovery; for we have so many cruel reports about him, that it is enough to make one distracted. Pray assure his afflicted mother of my most humble duty. God in heaven send her comfort, for she wants it; nothing but her goodness could resist such a stroke. We are all well and entirely yours. My sister desires you would make her compliments, as she is entirely yours."

1712.
April.

A letter from Mr. Matthews to ———.

It is not signed, but it is in the same hand with the letters supposed to be Mr. Matthews's, i. e. duke of Buckingham, whom the Jacobites called lord Mulgrave.

Nairne's papers, D. N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 16.

The same subject continued.

Dear Sir,

April 22d.

"I Will not take the liberty to trouble you with my concern for our late loss. It is something I cannot express; and yet is light when I consider the condition my dearest nephew (the King) is in. You will know it is for him, and for him only, I have taken pains; 'tis in him I had proposed my whole satisfaction, and should it please God for my sins to deprive me of him, I am resolved to quit the stage of the world, and pass the remainder of my days in quiet; since I have no other of my name, to whom I can leave the fruit of my labour.

I am told he is most dangerously ill. Why do you not write? Judge my concern by your own; and, by no means, be silent on this occasion, let the consequence be what it will. Adieu. God give us all comfort, and him health. I assure you I know now what it is to pray most heartily, and to address Heaven with fear and trembling. In all events, be comforted my dearest friend, and love me, as I truly love you. My heart is full. My poor sister's (princess Anne) heart will be broke with the insufferable affliction."

Extracts

1712.
April.

Extracts of a letter from John Scrimger.

All the letters signed John Scrimger are probably from Mrs. Jean Murray. The following, which is in the same hand, is signed J. M. but the extracts inserted here are copied by Mr. Nairne.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 11.

The subject of the two preceding letters continued.

April 22d.

" I Had yours, last night, of the 21st, to give me the fatal news of that worthy lady. I was like a poor distracted thing as I am, &c."

" If I did not know the King's affairs perfectly well, your fears would have cast me to the gates of death. No, no. All is as my heart can wish; and I am not easily content with every little affair concerning him. Take my word, all is right, and will soon bear. All his friends are earnest for his changing his lodgings, and rejoice he is to leave France. I confess it strikes a damp sometimes upon me; but I must submit to his lawyers, who know best what he is to do. Alas! I was to-day to have sent him a paquet from his friend, but he has delayed it till I hear again. O! what is my dear angel doing at this time? He represents himself always to me as my blessed saviour. Men and angels cannot tell the heart I bear to him. I hope God will pity me, and preserve him. I know that is all that is wanting, and that you will soon see. I hope you are to go with him to his new house, and pray God for it; it will put me out of all my senses, if I do not often hear of you and from him; and, to be sure, nobody will be so kind and so careful as I now find you are. I thank you ten thousand times. For God's sake, continue it to me. Is he not my all on earth? It is like a mill-stone about my neck to keep me from writing him. If we do not hear any more bad news, we will write on Friday, and I must beg of you to represent E. M---r's faithful duty to him, and tell him, I am sure he would give 500 guineas, at this moment, for a thing he promised: he said it was both for his own sake and mine, and he does this day pity me at his heart. I have no eyes in my head, but that which look like red blood. We parted about an hour ago. He kept the first illness from me, till I had yours. When I had yours of the 3d, I was for coming to see him, and roared and cried I would do it; and I told him I would not desire to stay but four days with him, and I would be back before his affairs wanted me; but E. M---r told me, the world could not save my life, I would die before I was two days journey. I said if I died

died coming back I did not care, but I was sure I would not die in the going; the joy to see my dear angel would support me. All my friends in general were against it; but it was to E. M——r I was to submit. I had interest enough to have come the short way. I trust in God I shall see him soon, and give me the satisfaction to assure him of my humble duty, and leave my poor heart with him. I am sorry to trouble you with so long a letter, but pity my present distraction, and believe, Sir, &c.”

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April.

“I cannot omit to tell you, that a worthy person, whom you know to be my relation, is a great friend of yours, and says he knows not an honest man; and that is D. Hamilton, and I am sure he is what he ought to be. He run away when he found me, last night, and could not see my tears.”

There is another long letter in the same strain from Mrs. Murray, signed John Scrimger, and dated the 25th April, 1712. But the above is a sufficient specimen of her manner.

J. Johnson to ———.

This letter is in the same hand with the letter of ^{22 February,}_{4 March,} signed Charles Johnson. The key is in Sir William Ellis's hand.

Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 17.

On the death of the Princess and the Pretender's illness, and the peace of Utrecht.

Dear Sir,

April 22d, 1712.

“I Was sat down, with great delight, this day sev'night, to rejoice with you in the happy recovery, as I then thought, of our two friends [the King and princess], when a report was brought me in of what, God knows, has been too well confirmed since, and which made the pen fall from my hand. Well! God's will must be obeyed, and we must be truly thankful, as we ought, for the safety of one, who must now be doubly dear to us, and is, indeed, our only comfort and hopes. I will not undertake to tell you what his friends have felt during the event of so doubtful a distemper; when, even those who are less so, have expressed a concern upon this occasion. Should there be the least remains of any hectical disposition, we hope he will remove, for some time, into a milder air and warmer climate. You will excuse this officious imper-

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R r

tinence;

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tinence; but I do not say this as the opinion of only one physician: the whole college (Mr. Lilly, Downes, &c.) are most heartily yours, and think themselves infinitely obliged to you for your constant remembrance of them, and your frequent accounts of late, which honest Mr. Rye [Edwards] has not failed to communicate to us, in concerns which touch us so very sensibly, that public affairs have lost their taste; nor indeed, if I was so disposed, is there much to say. A peace is no ways doubted to be well advanced; but whether the negociations at Utrecht contribute much to it, is more than I can say. The house of commons is summoned, with great solemnity, to meet the first of May our stile; and it is the general expectation to have a sketch of the peace then laid before them.

I know not but it may be my lot to go to Holland in a little time; and if so, I am sure it will be my greatest pleasure, to be anywise useful to you there, or any friends with you: however this matter is, you shall be sure to hear from me again very shortly. I am ever, Sir, &c.

You will pardon me the trouble of the inclosed
to Mr. Flig [Mr. Taylor].”

May.
Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 15,

Mr. Lilly to Sir William Ellis.

The same subject continued.

This letter is addressed “For Mr. Edward Jones, at Mr. Hackett’s, merchant in Rotterdam;” and it is indorsed in Sir William Ellis’s hand, “Mr. Lilly, $\frac{2}{28}$ May 1712.” It is in an affected bad spelling.

Dear Sir,

May 9th.

“**H**ANNAH [Mr. Lilly] says, yours of the 29th past was the joyfullest ever her eyes saw; for it restored her to life, after being dead about a week, but not to perfect health, for her dear Lowder [the princess]; and her heart bleeds for poor Quaille [the Queen]. But we must submit to the will of God; the world is his, and he may do in it what he pleases. We see Kings and princes have their afflictions, as well as our poor families; and a little time will bring us all together again. I hope you have seen the gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) I recommended to you. He is a worthy man; I sent a book or two by him, but have not heard

heard from him but once, upon his first getting to Amsterdam [St. Germain], and he could not then tell me how to direct to him, and he knew not I had writ to you concerning him, and may neglect going to you; but if you hear of him at the Exchange or otherwise, pray send for him, and let him know this, and that his friends are in pain for him, not hearing from him, nor knowing how to write to him. It was by his means I recovered two of the books the old woman [Mrs. Traveller] left behind her, else I had never got one of them. Let him know I writ to Allen [my lord Middleton] concerning him; inclosed to you, I writ of others matters, but have had no answer from him since; so he is a letter in my debt: I pray my hearty service to him and good landlady [lady Middleton], and tell him, his house at Putney [the peace] is near finished and will be ready for him; and if he has any further commands for me, let me know them. You are constantly remembered at the college, with sincere respect and kindness. Ned shewed me yours of the 14th; but neither he nor I could make any thing of Alban [church of England]; so that is to be explained. Is Mr. Emerton [F. Eyre] still at his house in your town, or gone to Toruine [Liege] where he lived before? His leaving off trade, at this time, for himself, is of great service to his master, and I doubt not, he did it very willingly, in which I have done him justice here; from what I know of him myself, I have really a great value for him, and would let him know it from myself, if it would be worth the postage; therefore, pray do it for me. My kind service to good Mr. Sands [Mr. Stafford], and honest Jackson [Mr. Innes]. When shall we three meet again? God keep us all; my heart is full. Yours most sincerely,

H. S."

Copies of two letters, supposed to be from Mrs. Jean Murray.

They are indorsed "Mrs. Jean." The copies are in Mr. Nairne's hand. See the originals signed John Scrimger, *ibid.* No. 12.

Nairne's papers, D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 21.

The Earl of Mar's interest with the Queen and Oxford.—His attachment to the Pretender.—He is determined to bring him over.

May 9th.

"LET me see the dear hand of Mr. Kennedy [the King] again. I sent you one inclosed from E. M. this day fourthnight, and I

R r 2

writ

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May.

writ another myself since, but have had no returns, which makes E. M. uneasy. He longs for your opinion of the circumstance of your law-suit; he believes 'tis all for your good and advantage, in all points, and is very angry with me that I cannot be content; and then he will tell me, if it were to save Mrs. Ord's [Queen Anne] soul from death, she could not proceed otherwise, nor faster. Your friends do not know this, and they come every day with some new story to me. But my joy is, that you are secure, on all hands, as E. M. tells you in his last. Scotland is always ready, but I am sure it will be England that will have the first honour; but all your friends may submit to that, for I am at my old saying, Welcome Turk, Jew, and Infidel, to help to end that long law-suit; and I dare say it will end in great joy and friendship.

The parliament is out of town, and will not be in town till Monday; and, for that reason, E. M. is out of town for a few days; but desired me, if I had any letter from you, to send an express for him. I need not tell you how he longs for his present, although he says, he has no doubt of seeing the original in a short time. I am sure he takes true pains for it, and this is doing him justice. All your friends and correspondents may do that piece of right, to own it is he of all the Scots has the best interest with Q. Anne and E. Oxford; and also he is believed by the English as a good and great lawyer, and a man of much goodness and honour. If he was not my kinsman and dear friend, I would say much more; but that I can justify. His being a faithful attorney to you, is perfection enough to make him happy in this world and in the next; a good conscience is the world's ease; and I am sure, 'tis a great ease to my poor heart, to see the friendship of your creditors increase every day, and it will bring you with ease to town, when your debts will be compounded, and I am well informed not to be uneasy at your leaving France. It is the safest way to bring you to your own; and that you are not to stay long in any settled place till then, only tour about till your debts are near paid; and the parting word between E. M. and me, when he went to his country-house, was to beg me to cheer up my spirits, I should see my best beloved, and that he would then tell all my faults. So the Almighty God permit it me, is my poor and hearty prayer. Yours, &c."

SIR,

SIR,

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"I Hear there will be some pocket-money provided for you, as well as for the Queen. I do not desire to name another person; God's will is to be done. The loss is great, and I can justly say, it was sensible to me. Sir, for God's sake, settle a way of correspondence, that E. M. may write to you about your law-suit; and for me, if I do not hear from you, it will be my death. D. Hamilton was with me last night; he and Kilsyth, and lord Balmerino, and others, are always very earnest to know what E. M. thinks or says. I tell them, they may ask himself, I do not know his thoughts; and 'tis always his request to me, to let them think and say what they please; but to keep Queen Anne's secret and lord Oxford's, and it is the best service I can do. Sir, I must not omit to tell you, the E. Mar's only sister is married to the most honest man that can live; he has been married about ten or eleven weeks; he is a man of a good estate and power; he is a parliament-man, and will contribute to the last farthing he has, to pay your debts; he bore a part with me, in my tears and affliction. It will be great joy to him, if you will honour him to be remembered to him in my letter. Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn went out of town with E. M. Mr. Prid is a good man; mind him, I beg."

Mr. Plunket, under the name of Rogers, to Mr. Watson [E. of Middleton].

Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 13.

The original is not in Plunket's hand, but the key is in Sir William Ellis's. It is indorsed by him, "Not dated, but supposed to be written before he left London."

Negotiations for the Pretender's service at the peace of Utrecht.

SIR,

"ONE Mr. Rogers [Plunket] being desirous of an accommodation between Mr. Jenkins [the King] and his sister, in hopes to reconcile them so far, as that she might let him enjoy his pretensions, descended to him by birthright, laboured to compass so good a work, and in order thereunto, he provided as follows.

First, by founding Mr. Simson and his associates for several months together, not perceiving in them a real disposition for an agreement with Mr. Maine [King of France], with an inclination to do justice to Mr. Jenkins.

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Jenkins [the King], with safety to themselves; but the current running too strong against them, for such an attempt, at that time, they resolved to take a year or two's time to stem it, though they knew it would redound to the prejudice of the sister and all her tenants, the said Rogers [Plunket] conceiving they wanted but a plausible handle to justify such proceedings, resolved to procure them one if possible.

Accordingly, being intimate as well with Mr. Goodman as with all those that were entrusted by him, he became master of all their secrets, and of the methods that were taken to prevent the sister from entering into any accommodation with Mr. Maine [King of France], in order to do Mr. Jenkins [the King] justice, and produced the vouchers from time to time to Mr. Simson, whereof he got as many as were sufficient to justify the sister's [P. Anne] making a separate agreement with Mr. Maine [King of France]. Upon which she took courage, and made a firm resolution to treat with him at all hazards; whereupon, Rogers [Plunket] was pitched upon, as an indifferent man, to deliver a message to Mr. Maine [the King of France] to that purpose. But, upon second thoughts, he being found more useful and capable of rendering further service here, Mr. Simson sent another that was a creature of his own; but, in the meantime, Mr. Maine [the King of France] sent hither one Mr. Ciprian, in order to try the sister [princess Anne] and Mr. Simson's pulses, which Mr. Rogers [Plunket] communicated to Mr. Simson, wherewith he seemed to be well-pleased, whereby a true understanding was settled between them, which has been the foundation of the present agreement between them.

Mr. Williams's master [prince Eugene's], having a dark notion of the matters, and conceiving them to be much to his detriment, came hither by the instigation of the Wylens [Whigs], in order to frustrate and render all abortive, cost what it would; wherein he was so desperate as to form a design of laying violent hands on the sister, rather than he should be disappointed of his ends; but Mr. Rogers [Plunket], being vigilant upon this occasion, found means to discover all his intrigues; and, accordingly, communicated the same, from time to time, to Mr. Simson and his associates, which put the sister [princess Anne] upon a resolution of closing immediately with Mr. Maine [the King of France] and keeping a good correspondence with him for the future, in order to do Mr.

Jenkins

Jenkins [the King] justice, upon occasion; whereby it is in Mr. Maine's [King of France's] power to give the rest of his adversaries what terms he pleases, about which we shall not dispute much with him.

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Mr. Rogers [Plunket] desires you would be pleased to meet him at Rotterdam, where Mrs. White directs her letters: for he has orders from Mr. Harris [Harley] to set out immediately;

Being with respect yours,

R——RS."

Plunket to Mr. Watson.

The original is in Plunket's hand, and decyphered and indorsed by Sir William Ellis.

Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 13.

Rotterdam, May 9th, 1712.

"MRS. White having assured me, before I parted from London, that you were to meet me here, at Mr. Hacket's, at my arrival; I stayed two days here, thinking I could enjoy that happiness, to impart to you something that might be useful for Mr. Jenkins [the King] to know, at present. A post or two before I left London, I sent you the general heads of them, that you might judge whether your coming hither might be requisite or not.

If Mr. Jenkins [the King], or Mr. Jacob [the King of France], thinks well of it, I will consign the papers and vouchers to one of those gentlemen at Utrecht; but I must have a letter or some token or other to introduce me to them. I shall call for an answer at Mr. Hacket's house; and forbear going to Utrecht till then; being, in the meantime, with due respect,

Your humble servant to command,

ROGERS [PLUNKET]."

Sir, Pray speed your answer.

Rogers to some foreign Minister.

Ibid.

In Plunket's hand, and written probably to one of the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht.

Translation.

Rotterdam, May 9th, 1712.

"AS you assure me, that the small efforts I made, during eighteen months, to serve your master were agreeable to you, I take the liberty

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liberty to assure you, that I am now come hither to render him still further service. I have papers, which will be of great advantage to you, when you have them in your hands. It is in your master's power to give laws to his enemies. It is of the utmost consequence to you, to send here a man of abilities. I shall put into his hands the papers which I have along with me, and communicate to him my thoughts concerning them. I am come to this place with orders to remain for some time; for this reason, I do not think it proper to wait of you personally.

If you do not judge it proper to send any one to me, you will send me a letter to introduce me to your friends at Utrecht, and I shall communicate to them my sentiments and my papers; the affair is too delicate and of too much consequence to lose more time. Embrace the opportunity, and matters will succeed hereafter to your liking. My address is, To Mr. Harper, merchant, for Mr. Rogers at Rotterdam. I am, with great respect, yours,

ROGERS."

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 13.

Rogers to Mr. Watson.

The original is in Plunket's hand. The key is in Sir William Ellis's, and it is indorsed by him, "Mr. Rogers, 11th May 1712, from the Hague."

Hague, May 11th, 1712.

"I Gave Mr. Hacket a letter, in order to be sent to you; 'twill be of use to Mr. Jenkins [the King] and especially to Mr. Jacob [the King of France] at this juncture. I have some things of moment to communicate to you, relating to Mr. Jenkins's [the King's] affair. I am come hither to do him service. His immediate re-establishment depends much on my good success here; and when Mr. Jacob [the King of France] knows the sentiments of those gentlemen, that sent me, he will think himself in a condition to give what terms he thinks fit to his antagonists, and establish his affairs for the future. But, as those things cannot be so well done by writing as by word of mouth, it is fitting Mr. Jacob [the King of France] should send one along with you to meet me at Rotterdam, at your friend Mr. Hacket's; or, if that should not be found the best way, let me have a letter to those gentlemen at Utrecht, and I will discourse them at large, especially of Mr. William's [prince Eugene's] negotiations at London. That letter I sent you this post is his;

his; he sent it hither the 15th of February last. It had great influence on Mr. Simson and the rest of his companions and will make them firm to Mr. Jacob's [the King of France] interest for the future.

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I am heartily sorry for the death of Mr. Jenkins's [the King's] sister. The loss of her, at this time of day, is inconceivable; however, if Mr. Jenkins's [the King's] affairs is rightly managed, he stands fair to be restored to his right. It is not proper I should go in person to Mr. Jenkins [the King] or Jacobs [the King of France] because I am under direction, and my presence here is much more useful to them, as they shall be made sensible in due time.

Young Mr. Sheridan is arrived here lately from London. I gave him, last winter, some papers to keep. He has them still, I suppose, in his custody. Pray lay an injunction upon him to keep them safe; for they will be of great use to Mr. Jenkins [the King] and Mr. Jacobs [the King of France] hereafter; having no more to add, but that I am with due respect,

Your humble servant and true friend,

ROGERS [PLUNKET].

I am extremely glad to hear Mr. Jenkins [the King] is in a fair way of recovery.

Mrs. White to Mr. Watson.

This letter is decyphered by Sir William Ellis.

The measures taken to restore the Pretender.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 14.

SIR,

May 12, 1712.

"YOUR last letter has given me a great deal of concern, because I do believe it had been of great consequence to the cause in Chancery, that you should have settled the accounts with Mr. Rogers. He could have told you what the best counsellors had said to him, upon his laying the merits of the cause before them, Mr. Tom West [lord Mulgrave] who is a friend to Mr. Jenkins [the King] told Mr. Roger [Plunket] that what he had informed him of, would do Mrs. Bess Smith [England] the greatest service that had been done her ever since the suit began, (which has been these twenty odd years), and Mrs. Bess Smith [England] has very nobly rewarded him for that service; for it has dis-

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covered

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covered Mr. Sandys's [Hannover's] practises, and laid them open, which would have ruined Mrs. Dibby [princess Anne] who abhors him now. Mr. Rogers [Plunket] did believe, that young man [Mr. Sheridan] was sent by Mr. Peregrine [Ferguson] to Mr. Jenkins [the King], because Mr. Peregrine [Ferguson] did acquaint Mr. Tom. West [L. Mul.] of Mr. Rogers's business, unknown to Mr. Rogers; for he had taken measures to have it laid before the friends in Mr. Medlicot's family [the parliament]; and the pleading first council [cab. coun.], both at a time, when he found Mr. Hans [Harley] concealed all from them; but when Mr. Peregrine [Ferguson] had taken that way, Rogers was satisfied, though he was not privy to the doing it, for it had the end he wished; and in a little time it will be laid before Mr. Medlicote himself [the parliament], though he is very tender in openly exposing Mr. Sandys [Hannover], because of the tenants love to him yet; but all the others, that are injointly with him, will be openly exposed, which will justify Mrs. Bess Smith [England] acting apart from them; a greater service could not be done to Mr. St. John [the King] than this has been. Mr. Tom West [lord M.] has been informed, that Mr. Wealy of the country of Mr. Peregrine [the Scots Whigs] has sent to Mr. Sandys [Hannover] to assist him against Mr. Carres [Church of England], and desired him to come to them; therefore, now Mr. Carres has no better way, than by Mr. Jenkins [the King] to do himself justice; and that is what he is resolved on. But the many difficulties he must go through, is what they are labouring under, because of the jointure Mrs. Dian Johns [princess Anne] has upon the estate; and after her death it will be too late, because of the entail that will then take place. Mr. Peregrine would have had Mr. Rogers to have let him have managed it; to have a friend of his to have come to him, to settle the accounts, and said, Mr. James Staff [Mr. Stafford] would, he believed, come himself to settle the accounts with Mr. Rogers [Plunket]; but he having given Mrs. White direction to write to you, he would not alter that; so that he will be disappointed extremely, because, for many reasons, he cannot do it, by writing at a distance; besides, you may guess how impossible it is to direct you, by writing all the particulars of what he would let you understand, for he knows a great deal of the affairs of the entailed estate. He said, he did not acquaint the young man [Mr. Sheridan] of any

any thing, not believing him a proper person; but Mr. Peregrine having done that to Mr. Tom West [lord Mulgrave], he believed, by the young man's going of a sudden then, away he had sent him; but Mr. Rogers has no patron [cut paper], and cannot get the work done any other way, effectually; so you will not have the work. I fear he is, what I told you, expecting Mr. Sam Hamey [Sir William Ellis]; he will write to him: Mrs. White gave him a direction how to write. He, poor man, is in danger in that ill air, considering his weakly constitution, so he will stay as little a time as he can; but he has much to do, being fully apprized of his business, from the first hands. I believe there could be nothing of greater use in the cause, than your sending this account with him; but since that, you say, cannot be done, pray write to him, and let him know the reason, and tell him how you think it ought to be done. Direct for Mr. Rogers as you send Mrs. White's, to be delivered to him by Mr. Hacket; so you and he must do it the best way you can; the term is now, and it will be a great damage to those you value most, not to know how to instruct the counsel. Your friend Mr. Matthews, tells me, that he has writ to you. He is now in Mr. Medlecot's family [Scotch parliament], and that more than half of those children, with us well, as he does the prosperity of your cousin St. John [the King]; but they were deceived in this last affair, in relation to Mr. Jenkins [the King] by Mr. Hans [Mr. Harley], and hate him heartily for it; But you know, they must take no notice of it, but are resolved to make what reparation they can, and as soon as they can do it. Mr. Peregrine is ordered to receive 100 l. for laying the business of Mr. Rogers before the lawyers [cabinet council]. Mr. Tom West [duke of Buckingham] has got it done, on that account, by Mrs. Debby's [princess Anne's] directions. I have not seen him a great while, he and I being long sick."

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Letters from Nairne to Berry and Abram.

The Pretender's removal.—The Queen's jointure.—The Jacobites desired to support the Ministry.

Nairne's
papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
p. 32—3.

May 19—26.

Nairne to Berry.—May 19.—“I received his of the 22d of April; a caution about his seeing Armsworth [Marlborough]; that he take measures to avoid giving jealousy to Baker [Harley] and Young [princess Anne]; that we were endeavouring to profit of his advice, as to the

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quit rents [the Queen's jointure], though it was feared, Wisely [the Queen] must be content to take what the creditors will give, and in their own way; and that Maning "having measures to keep would not press too much on that point, for fear of displeasing; that Goodall [the King] and Wisely [the Queen] were well; that nothing was said, as yet, to Goodall, as to his journey when or where."

Nairne to Berry.—May 26.—"I told him the King was perfectly recovered, and was riding out daily; about Ogle's unwillingness to meddle; that the case of the additional quit rents was fairly laid before Maning; that the place and time of the King's departure was not fixed yet; that Maning was close and reserved with him, upon all his transactions with Young [princess Anne]; desired him to communicate what he could learn of these matters; that Plessington's [the King's] too great distance might prove very prejudicial to him, in case Young [princess Anne] should die in that interval, because Hannover would, in that case, be certainly before him, and that it was Baker's [Harley's] true interest to prevent this, and to manage matters so, that he might not be sent too far off; that Lorraine would be more convenient, and more liked than Switzerland."

Nairne to Abram.—May 26.—"To answer his to my lord, of the 2d of May, concerning Paterfon [Sir Hugh Paterfon of Bannockburn]. He is desired to represent to Paterfon, how dangerous it would be for the King to be removed too far off, because, being at a distance, it would be out of his power to prevent Hannover upon any sudden accident; in which case, Hanover getting the start of him, with the help of Holland and the Whigs, it would be morally impossible for the King's friends to do any thing for him after that; that it was Harley's interest to look to this, that he might assure Paterfon of the King's discretion and secrecy in any thing he told him, in confidence; that it would be dangerous speaking to Calliford about the Queen's jointure, which must be left to Harley, to secure in his way. The Jacobites to be advised to go along with him in every thing. Lorraine proposed as more convenient than Switzerland."

Rogers

Rogers to Mr. Watson, i. e. Plunket to the Earl of Middleton.

An Account of his negotiations continued.—It evidently appears from his Letters, that the King of France obtained a peace by the means of the Jacobites.

The original is in Plunket's hand, and indorsed by Sir William Ellis;

"Mr. Rogers, May 26, 1712."

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vol. iv. 4to.
No. 13.

Hague, May 26, 1712.

"YOURS of the 20th came to hand the 24th. I am glad that my letters, especially that of Mr. Williams [prince Eugene], in French, came safe to your hands. I hope you will excuse me for sending so much blotted. I did not know, but Mr. ——— might have private orders to search me, as I was coming abroad: this apprehension made me blot out a great many things and crosses, that it be looked on as a thrown away paper. It is a true copy of the original: he is a German that wrote it, as you may see by the orthography. It took extraordinary with the great one.

I go, in a day or two, with the imperial resident to Utrecht, where I shall have a long discourse with the other ministers, of which I shall give you as good an account as I can. But you will pardon me, if I do not it, as fully as I should: my motions are so narrowly observed, that I can hardly get a fair opportunity to write any thing as I should do.

I hope, by this time, you received the papers I sent to you by the last post. The rest I expect from London every post that comes in, which you shall have as they come to hand. But I am afraid they will not give you that light into the matters as I could give you by word of mouth: as for the gentlemen at Utrecht, I shall not trouble my head much about them. If Mr. Jacob [the King of France] and his substitutes don't think it worth while to be fully apprised of the services that have been done for him, this year and three quarters past; I don't know why he should be courted to it. He may thank Mr. Jenkins [the King], or he should not have found matters go so well to his mind as they do; for I can tell you, from the very mouth of the greatest one at the helm, in England, that they would not dare close with Mr. Jacobs [King of France] without those papers; nor could Mr. Jenkins's sister [princess Anne] be brought to any thing, if she had not them laid before her, and have we been daily keeping up their sinking courage and drooping and wavering spirits,

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spirits, and told me, that they had nothing else that could bear water, but the papers which I have been procuring for them all this while, with the hazard, not only of my own, but other gentlemen's lives, besides other expences I have been at? It is true, at present, and especially here, I am handsomely allowed, in the last letters I had from London, that I gave them greater light into affairs than they have had yet, and were pleased to return me hearty thanks for it; but I cannot do that service I would or should for Mr. Jenkins [the King] or Jacob [the King of France], if I have not the assistance of some body, to communicate from time to time what passes between me and those of the opposite party.

I am courted much to go to Vienna, in order to lay before the Emperor, what I know of affairs relating to his interest; but as my instructions confines me to this country, I gave a plausible excuse, which will, I hope, satisfy those that made me the proposal; being in haste, I remain your affectionate friend and servant,

ROGERS."

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. iv. 4to.

The blotted Scroll of a Letter from prince Eugene (probably to Count Zinzendorff) mentioned in the preceding to Mr. Watson.

He gives an account of his intrigues in England.

Translation.

London, February 15th, 1712.

"I Don't imagine I shall be able to leave London as soon as I proposed. The Whigs continue always to sow the seeds of division, by forming new projects for destroying entirely, if possible, the party now in power, and they flatter themselves much, to accomplish this the more easily, that the treasurer, who is at the head of it, is universally hated, that is to say, by both parties; consequently, no one will regret him. It is for this reason they urge me to stay for some time longer, in order to see what their projects will come to. I shewed them again, that they would have the same success with the former, and that my stay would be of no advantage to them, as my presence serves only to sour the minds of the ministry; and, in order to disengage myself the more from them, I communicated to them the sentiments of the Grand Pensionary, upon the clause which I sent to you, in my dispatches of the 25th and 29th of January. They answered me abruptly; and among the rest, the Duke of

of

of Marlborough, that the grand Pensionary had changed his sentiments very soon, since he began to be apprehensive of disobliging a handful of factious members in the house of commons, and to be afraid of a ministry who are pensioners of France, and consequently enemies to the common cause, and will continue so as long as they subsist. It seems to me, that the States have already forgot, that they formerly resisted France and England at once; and if I am not mistaken, they will find themselves soon in the same necessity. "Yes," says baron Bothmar, "of sending thither the prince of Hannover, as they sent the prince of Orange, to deliver the nation and to prevent the ruin of the common cause."

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They urged me instantly to send you the following particulars to be added to those, which I sent you in my dispatches of 25 and 29 of January, and to make up a memorial of them, to be printed there first, as it might then be printed here without any suspicion.

The Queen of England upon her accession to the crown, declared the following particulars.

That trade being the support of the nation, and she having religion so much at heart, had made no difficulty of engaging in this war, though the nation was then in debt, being well convinced, that she could not be secure upon the throne, while Spain was in the possession of the house of Bourbon; and she had engaged herself deeper in this war than she had at first proposed, to the great detriment of her kingdoms.

But the measures of the present ministry sufficiently shew, that they were not hearty in the cause from the beginning, and that the most discerning see very well, that every thing tends to a separate peace, and to pave the way more easily for her brother. I told them, that appeared very probable; but that the Pensionary would start the same objections, as baron Bothmar did not think proper to undertake such a delicate affair without communicating it to his master; and that it is now too late to produce any great effect, as the people in England were already biassed by the resolutions of the house of commons; but the junto made the following answer: "by this method of proceeding, we shall never succeed, for you made the same objection to the loans which we had proposed from the bank and from rich merchants, by engaging the revenue of the kingdom of Hungary, and other hereditary dominions; and by that means, the Emperor would find himself in a condition, jointly

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with the States-general, of besieging a town, and at the same time, taking the field, by which, of consequence, he would put an end to the cessation of arms, and infallibly break up the conferences at Utrecht, and dispose the people to believe all the projects that might be formed. I imagine we have still time enough to insert this in the memorial."

I answered them, that we were foolishly employed in building the tower of Babel, for there are not three among you or us of the same sentiment. Sometimes you would choose to have the prince of Hannover, and sometimes you would not; and I see that the greatest number of you are for an aristocracy; and what vexes me most is, that you have obliged the Emperor to make demands, from the greatest part of which he will be obliged to desist."

June.
Nairne's
Papers,
D.N. vol iv.
4to. No. 19.

Rogers to Mr. Watson.

The original is in Plunket's hand, and decyphered and indorsed by Sir William Ellis, as usual.

An account of his negociation continued.

SIR,

Utrecht, June 3, 1712.

"SINCE my last to you I had two letters from London, wherein I am desired not to stir from hence till orders from Mr. Han [Harley]; and if I can send over the fellow, and not to appear in that matter myself, for weighty reasons, which I shall know hereafter. The English of this I take to be, that they are for having that man over, in order to stop his mouth, or lay him aside, so that he can do no service to Mr. Jenkins [the King]. By the last letter I am desired to tell my friend, the resident for the Emperor, that the English court is willing to make up the breaches and keep a good correspondence for the future, provided they come into the present ministry's measures: this I communicated to the said resident this morning, who seemed well pleased with it. How far this will be conducive to Mr. Jenkins [the King's] interest, or Mr. Jacob's [King of France's] affairs, I leave you to judge. We shall now think of the properest method to bring this thing to bear. If Mr. Jacob's [the King of France's] manager thinks this accommodation will affect his master's interest, let him speak to me in time. I believe it will do good to Mr. Jenkins [the King], seeing the Emperor seems satisfied as

8

things

things stand now. He should have his own; but if he thinks this accommodation will in the least prejudice him, it shall go no further. I had no more papers come. I sent again this post for them. I am, &c.

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I shan't send the fellow to London, but rather dispose him to come into our interest, and, by this means, keep Harris [Harley] in awe, and make him more pliable; for he knows none can do him more harm, at present, than I. These two points ought to be reserved for hands of higher reach than mine; therefore I should have the help of good heads while I am here: it is not every day such opportunities as these offer."

There is a letter from John Scrimger [Mrs. Jean Murray], dated London, June 10, 1712. D. N. iv. 4to. No. 18. It is written with her usual enthusiasm; but it appears from it, that it was the general opinion, and that Mr. Menager owned it, that the King of France was much obliged to the English Jacobites for the peace.

Letters from Nairne to Abram, Berry, and Hacket; and from Middleton to Mrs. Watson, from 5th to 19th June.

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix.
4to. p. 33.

The Pretender's removal from France.—Measures for his restoration.

Nairne to Abram.—June 5.—“I told him again of the danger of the King's going far off, in case the princess should die suddenly: bid him discourse of it with Paterfon, thank him for his good services, and assure him of secrecy, and that the King would have no dealing with Mildmay, but would trust to Christopher [princess Anne] and Honiton [Harley]. I told Freeman's son would not only go with the King, but also be put in his father's place; and that Throp [probably some protestant clergyman], would also go, and have the King's leave to exercise his calling, and that not one of Cowley's family [Protestants] would be left behind.”

Nairne to Berry.—June 5.—“I repeated the danger of the King's being at too great a distance, in case of accident; bid him send a fair draught of the power of attorney, with all the amendments proposed by his lawyer and himself, with a sheet or two of stamp paper: told him he should have directions how to write when the King parted.”

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Nairne's
Papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
P. 34.

Nairne to Abram.—June 13.—“To inclose a letter from my lord to Mrs. Watson, in which was a little cypher, and a paper to be given by her to the doctor.”

“My lord's letter was as follows here below, and the paper is upon the following sheet.”

The Earl of Middleton to Mrs. Watson.—June 12.

“**T**HIS is to tell you that I writ by the last post, and that the inclosed is for the doctor, with a new key, that the old one may not be discovered. Persuade him to take it, if he thinks it may be useful: it is all written in a hand he has seen before, that he be sure nobody else knows any thing of it; and that he may assure his friends, but especially Honyton [Harley], that it is no penny-post letter from Williamson [the Whigs]. If he thinks it useless or dangerous to meddle with it, I have nothing to say, but shall still have the satisfaction of doing my duty for my well discerning friends.”

Nairne to Hacket.—June 13.—“I writ to Hacket to recommend the letter to Abram, in which was my lord's for Mrs. Watson, with the little cypher hereunder, and the following paper; and I sent him at the same time the name of *Waterson*, being an address for Bishop Giff's letters to Dr. Singleton, which I bid him forward to me.”

“*Cypher or Key of the following Paper.*”

Richard	-	-	is	-	-	The King.
Thomas	-	-	-	-	-	Princess Anne.
Lawyers	-	-	-	-	-	The ministry.
Troops	-	-	-	-	-	The parliament.
Tartars	-	-	-	-	-	The Whigs.
Janisaries	-	-	-	-	-	Tories.
Craffus	-	-	-	-	-	Hannover.
Cræsus	-	-	-	-	-	Marlborough.
Pedlars	-	-	-	-	-	Hollanders.
Letter of attorney	-	-	-	-	-	Treaty.
Sir Roger	-	-	-	-	-	London.

Jones

Jones - - - - - Canaan.

Marriage - - - - - Union.

Augures - - - - - Bishops.

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There is nothing more frivolous than to go about to prove what carries a clear evidence along with it. A mathematician would be laughed at, that should undertake to demonstrate that two and two make four; and, in doubtful cases, it is sufficient to prove the fact, and learned men must decide.

Nairne wrote
in the mar-
gin, "paper
in my lord's
hand, sent to
Mrs. Watson
for the doc-
tor, June
12." P. 35.

"What is more evident than that Crassus [Hannover], with the Pedlars [the Dutch] and the Tartars [Whigs], have declared against Thomas [Queen Anne] and his lawyers [ministry], and that there is no means to ward that blow but by doing justice to Richard [Pretender]? One must want both sense and manners to mistrust such eminent persons; and it would be as absurd to instruct them in the ways and means of managing a matter so necessary for their own security, and the advantage of their pupil Canaan. As for instance, would it not be a strange presumption to tell them that delays are dangerous, that if Thomas [Queen Anne] should die, whom God preserve, Crassus [Hannover] must certainly get possession, because the decrees made in his favour, though unjust, could never in that case be reversed? That Richard is a person of too much spirit to submit, but would immediately appear armed, with equity, and supported by many good friends and relations, to assert his right; so that the estate in debate would be utterly ruined, and the present lawyers [ministry] could not escape the rage of Tartars [Whigs]; and that though Cræsus's [Marlborough's] case be not so desperate, yet it cannot be doubted but he wishes he had made better use of his time.

That the surest way to prevent these miseries, is for Thomas [Queen] to send a letter of attorney [treaty] to his brother Richard [Pretender]; and when that is signed, to call him home immediately, when the troops [parliament] are dispersed in their respective quarters: that this merry meeting must be at Sir Roger's [London], to make it more solemn and secure, by surprising the Tartars [Whigs] in their head quarters, by a good guard of Janisaries [Tories]: that those who never had a good thought of Richard [Pretender] would crowd to embrace him, and tell him, as they did his uncle, that it is the happy day they all wished for:

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that when the troops [parliament] were assembled, and the brothers should appear together, they, no doubt, would not only applaud what had been done, but would make a secure title to the estate: that it would be dangerous to begin with the troops; for, besides the case of mortality already mentioned, they are fickle and humoursome; and even the Janisaries themselves are jealous of one another.

That there is more prudence, and as much courage shown in preventing danger, than by running into it: many great occasions have been lost by too much caution; whereas, by stealing a march the secret is kept, and the enemy found unprepared: that for that end and purpose, Richard [Pretender] should be as advantageously posted as can be, to prevent Craffus [Hannover] in case of the worst.

These considerations, and many more, would be superfluous to be offered to such vigilant, clear-sighted lawyers, which is the beginning and end of this scribble."

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
p. 36.

Nairne to Berry.—June 19th.—“I approved his caution in trafficking with Gourney [Marlborough]; told him how dangerous it would be, at this time, to give any jealousy to Young [Princess Anne] or Baker [Harley]: that the journey was not fixed yet, neither as to the day nor place: that what he advised of the duke of Lorrain making difficulty, was probable enough: that it were to be wished Young and Baker would consider well the danger of distance and delay; and that they would lose no time to shorten Goodall's [the King's] travels, and hasten to secure his marriage, for fear of accidents: and that young Sparrow was not named to go; but that he, and all others, had leave to follow if they had a mind.”

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 22.

A letter from the Duke of Hamilton, with a French translation, both in cyphers, but decyphered.

June 19, 1712.

“IF you knew all that has happened to me, you would not wonder at my silence hitherto; but if Mr. Hall's health could have permitted his coming to you, the King would have had the best accounts which the duke of Hamilton could have sent; but you cannot imagine, as things are at present, the difficulty of trusting any one, people are grown so corrupt.

corrupt. I was sorry to find, by yours of the 19th, to Moncrief, that the King was kept so much in the dark ; for, though we are so here, I did not doubt but Queen Anne had explained matters fully, with relation to the King of England, to the King of France, and he to his Britannic Majesty. Will not you send me a new address, and I shall explain matters? I asked one from Lesly, who gave it, but I durst not use it hereafter, upon account 161, or hope or hobby. But what is said now is more to try if it comes safe, than any thing else: opposite to 113 set Abbé Gaultier, or Colston.

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If 231 is not, I am indifferent to other things: compliments are not necessary, where deeds shall give conviction of fidelity. If the King of France remembers 33, he will not refuse the duke of Hamilton; and he hopes that the King of England will interest himself for him, and the Queen likewise. The duke of Hamilton has been much pressed to go ambassador to Vienna; but lately insinuations have been made to him, as if they would send him to Philip after the peace; but he did not choose to engage himself in any thing, until he knew the King's sentiments upon it; he will do in that what he thinks fit.

The present situation of affairs gives more hopes than any particular man can tell you. But if the King will let the duke of Hamilton know with whom he may communicate himself here, he will speak without reserve to them. Place Richard Hamilton opposite to 129, or Husie. I am sure I have wearied you now, for it is long since I used this way of writing; but I cannot omit to present my duty to the King and to the Queen."

It appears they were not able to decypher the whole of this letter: we find the following note after the French translation.—"Note, That the names which are between the lines are explained as well as we were able to guess at their meaning, it being impossible to be sure of it; but with regard to the rest, we have found out the key."

Both the translation and this note are in Mr. Nairne's hand.

Rogers

1712.
June.
Nairne's
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vol. iv. 4to.
No. 19.

Rogers to Watson, i. e. Plunket to Middleton.

The original in Plunket's hand, and decyphered and indorsed by Sir William Ellis, "Mr. Rogers. June 20, 1712, from Rotterdam."

An account of his negotiations continued.

Rotterdam, June 20, 1712.

"I Had the honour of yours before I left Utrecht; and was surpris'd to find by it, you had not my letters of the 23d ult. with the inclosed papers relating to Mr. Williams's [prince Eugene's] negotiations, because it will be of ill consequence, to me in particular, if they should fall into bad hands; Mr. Hacket tells me he sent them as usually, and that they will come safely to your hands. I wish his words may prove true. I wrote to you as you desired, with a great deal of freedom; if Mr. Harris [Harley] should find them, it may turn to an ill account to Mr. Jenkins [the King]. As soon as he comes from his country house, I shall desire him to let you know to whom he sent them, that you may inquire after them.

On my arrival here, I found a letter from Mr. Cyprian [Menager, as I conjecture], wherein he tells me his son was to set out from thence the 5th instant, by Mr. Jacob's [the King of France's] orders, to supply the defect of your coming to me. You will be pleased to desire him not to give himself the trouble, for I communicated all to one of the gentlemen at Utrecht; besides, he could not do it so well, or any foreigner. If it be he that is to bring me yours of the 25th last month, I'll receive him kindly, and impart to him something that may be useful for Mr. Jenkins [the King] to know, to whom you will please to give my humble duty, and let him know that the relations I sent to Vienna since I came hither, have had good effect, and made such an impression there, that they seem to hint, as if they would willingly have Mr. Jenkins [the King] home to his own house, and forward it as discreetly and safely as they can. Here they begin to speak favourably of him, which they did not use to do.

To-morrow morning I go to Utrecht, and the next day to Amsterdam and North Holland. Pray let me know per next, if you had my letter and the papers; I wrote you two from Utrecht. I am loth to trouble Mr. Hacket, because he is timorous. When you write next,
direct,

direct, if you think it fit, to Mr. Gibbons, at the Portugal Ambassador's, at Utrecht; it will come safe. Mr. Jacob's [King of France's] friends at Utrecht, seemed well pleased with the account I gave them of things. They thanked me; but I told them they should thank Mr. Jenkins [the King], and that what was done is owing to him; and if Mr. Jacob [King of France] gives but a helping hand, he may be soon at home, if rightly managed; for we have laid such schemes for it, that he can hardly, humanely speaking, miss of carrying his point. I am, &c."

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The following letter is not signed, but is marked on the back in the hand which decyphered it, "Mr. Mathews; dated $\frac{1}{2}$ July, but came with the letters of $\frac{4}{15}$ July, 1712." John third earl of Mulgrave rose to high preferments, both civil and military, during the four reigns he lived in. He was created marquis of Normanby by King William, in the 6th year of his reign; and duke of Normanby by Queen Anne, on 9th March, 1702-3; and duke of Buckinghamshire on the 23d of the same month. He made his addresses to her some years before her marriage with the prince of Denmark; and though they were checked as soon as discovered, she always retained a great regard for him. He was married, at this time, for his third wife, to lady Catharine Darnley, natural daughter to King James II. by Mrs. Catharine Sedley. The Jacobites, who acknowledged no titles given after the Revolution, called him always lord Mulgrave; and he is mentioned under the names of Mr. Mathews and Tom West, in their correspondence.

Mr. Mathews to Mr. Watson.*

He gives, in this letter, an account of a conversation with Queen Anne.—

The state of affairs in England with respect to the Pretender's restoration.

—The sentiments and intentions of the Queen, and of her Ministry.

Original.
Nairne's
Papers,
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 76.

$\frac{1}{2}$ July 1712.

"I Have considered very seriously the subject of your last letter, and the more I reflect upon it, the more diffident I find myself; not only from the importance of the subject itself, so nearly concerning the welfare of my nephew [the King's affairs], for which I have the tenderest

* Duke of Buckingham to the Earl of Middleton.

concern,

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concern, as I truly love him, and design him my heir, notwithstanding the difference of religion; but also from the great difficulty of giving an opinion, where I do not well understand the law. Yet, that I may leave nothing undone, I must say it is my opinion, that the chief matter is to regain my brother's [princess Anne's] good liking. I shall, therefore, mention such steps as I think Harry [the King] may best take to please his uncle [princess Anne], and, at the same time, get the good will of the old servants and tenants, who I find in general much better inclined to Harry [the King] than to his cousin [Hannover]. You know the first dislike my brother [princess Anne] took, was upon Harry's [the King's] changing his religion; though, as I have often told him, it was no more than he might expect from the manner of sending him abroad; for I did not think so very young a man, indeed you know he was a very boy when he went, should be trusted altogether to his own conduct, and the event hath shewn my fears were not in vain. Yet my brother [princess Anne] will not so much as own any imprudence, far less any fault, as I think it, in this management; and whenever I touch upon this string, I can very seldom get any other answer, than, 'You see he doth not make the least step to oblige me. I have no reason to think he values me or my estate, and therefore I am resolved to give it to Dick [Hannover].' Once, indeed, I was observing to him, that my cousin Richard [Hannover] frequently abused his best servants; that he often shewed very little respect for himself; that he seemed to me, by his behaviour, to think it not in his power to alter the will he had made; and that, underhand, he gave him all the obstructions he could in the management of his estate, for no other reason, that I could see, but because he could not put what servants he had a mind about him; that, for my part, I should not think it safe to have servants near me recommended by a person of Dick's [Hannover's] temper; and that Harry [the King] never offered anything like this. I am sensible this made a very great impression on my brother [princess Anne]; for he replied very hastily, 'What wouldst have me do, Jack [lord Mulgrave]; you know, as the law stands, a Papist cannot inherit; and, therefore, should I alter my will, it would be to no purpose, the law would give it all to Dick [Hannover], and therefore I had better do that with a good grace, that I cannot help.' I told him then, I believed Dick [Hannover] himself was no better than a Papist: that

that I had good grounds to suspect him, for I never saw him at church in my life, nor did I ever hear he went thither; and certainly a Papist was better than one of no religion at all. I then said, that I had been told, that, by deeds of trust, and by other devices, the lawyers often found means to evade the act of parliament; and I do not doubt, but if he would give good fees and good encouragement, the law would speak whatever he would have it: that the lawyers never suffered an act to be made without a loop-hole to creep out at, and I believed it was so in this case. Besides, brother, said I, you know Dick hath not the reputation of being the best husband in the world: but, added I then, this his wife's behaviour too well excuseth; yet, at the same time, give me leave to tell you, brother, this doth not so much commend your settlement, since it is plain you have no certainty that Dick's children are his own. This made him very uneasy, and he said upon it, 'you must not believe all that is reported upon that subject. However, be that as it may, I do not see how I can undo, what I myself have done, and done in such a manner: Harry [the King] may thank himself for it. He knows I always loved him better than Dick [Hannover].' I could not think it proper to press further at this time, but rather chose to leave him to his own reflections on what had passed, and, in the mean time, I will consult some good lawyers what can best be done in such a case. I am convinced, that if Harry [the King] would return to the church of England, all would be easy; nay, for what I know, if he would but barely give hopes he would do so, my brother [princess Anne] would do all he can to leave him his estate. I am satisfied he hates Dick [Hannover], and loves Harry [the King] now rather better than ever.

I was in the country about a month since, and could not but be pleased to see how almost all the tenants cared for me; on my conscience, it was for Harry's [the King's] sake, whose part they know I always take. Old Tom Simmonds [lord Mulgrave] told me a thousand stories of Dick [Hannover], and swore when his lease was up, that he would not renew again, if Dick [Hannover] had the estate. Ah! Master, said he, if Master Harry [the King] was not a Papist, we would soon give Mr. Richard [Hannover] his belly-full of law; we would all turn tenants to Mr. Harry [the King], and see whether Mr. Richard's [Hannover's] annuities would hold out against such an estate; i'faith he should have

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enough of law before he should set a foot here. You certainly remember old Tom [lord Mulgrave]; he is worth, at least, 5000 *l.* which he hath got by his own industry; and I verily believe he speaks the hearts and minds of his fellows.

By what is above, you will pretty plainly perceive my [lord Mulgrave's] opinion, and I would have Harry [the King] remember he is not the first of his family who have thought a good estate worth changing an opinion for, and ten thousand pounds a year is a pretty thing for a young fellow to play withal; but if his scruples are so very strong, that he cannot go this length, let him endeavour to try to make his uncle [princess Anne] believe, at least, that he is in himself desirous to come back, but is ashamed, lest the world should think he changes his religion for an estate, which he will hardly get quietly, if at all, without it. Pray tell him this in the strongest terms, and that I myself [lord Mulgrave], though my fondness makes me overlook it, would be very glad that he was of my opinion; much more, he may well think, is expected by my brother [princess Anne], who is, and ever was, very obstinate in all his opinions: if, therefore, Harry [the King] can prevail upon himself to do as much on his side as I will do on mine, I by no means despair of persuading my brother [princess Anne] to consent to let him go live on the estate in Yorkshire [Scotland] where he hath most friends; and when he is once there, the rest will surely follow at my brother's [princess Anne's] death, who I must tell you by the bye, notwithstanding his care to hide it, I can perceive to be so infirm, that it well behoves Harry [the King] to be speedy in his resolutions, lest Dick [Hannover] should, in that case, get into possession before him, which, by the help of God, he shall never do, at least without a law-suit; but then Harry [the King] must join, or nothing effectual can be hoped for. Pray give him my kind love, and desire him carefully to consider his old uncle's advice, and to take this with him, that I find he can hardly depend upon the tenants assistance, whilst he continues the opinion he is of; and that whoever tells him the contrary, deceives him; my assistance and firm friendship he may be most sure of at all events, and in all circumstances. Tell him likewise, and I have pretty good means to know it, that my brother [princess Anne] and his best servants are now so angry at Dick's [Hannover's] late insolence, that if Harry [the King] will but put it in their power to help him, they will do

do all they can for him; and I do not know but my brother [princess Anne] may go so far as try his interest to get an act of parliament to settle the estate on him, which, in my conscience, he hath friends enow to obtain, if he will go heartily about it. Adieu. Love me as I do you."

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Two letters from Mr. Sheridan, under the name of Singleton, to Mr. Jones †.

Nairne's Papers, D. N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 26.

This probably is the Mr. Sheridan whom the Chevalier de St. George appointed to be governor to his son, and who came over with him to Scotland in 1745.

Negotiations to restore the Pretender.

LETTER 1st.

SIR,

July 3d, 1712.

"MR. Napper [Netterville], to whom I delivered the message you entrusted me with, desires to know where Allen [lord Middleton] lives, and how he may direct a letter to him. I promised to write to you about it, and to let him know your answer. He assured me, at the same time, that old Putney [Peace] would soon be at liberty, and make his public appearance in three weeks or a month's time at farthest. As for news, this place is altogether barren since the parliament broke up; for though the resolutions, on which the happiness or misery of Europe depend, must all come from hence, yet we are never acquainted with the truth of them, till we find it by their effects, and the reception they meet with on your side of the water. According to the last advices we had from thence, the Dutch, and consequently the rest of the confederates, will, after all their blustering, come into her Majesty's measures, which will certainly prove their safest way; but of this we ought to expect informations from you that are on the spot. Mr. Lesly, I suppose, writ to you by last post, and therefore I shall add no more than I am, Sir, &c.

THO^r. SINGLETON.

LETTER 2d.

SIR,

"IT is some time since one Plumtree, an attorney of this town, informed you that he had put into my hands some papers which might, hereafter, prove of the greatest consequence to Mr. Knox [the King] and Mr. Kennedy [King of France]. Having myself lately been obliged to

† Sir William Ellis.

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make a journey into the North, I had put these papers into the custody of a friend, who being himself absent at my return, I could not get them back till lately. After looking them over, as attentively as I could, I cannot see how they can be of any great use hereafter, unless it be as a proof of the zeal and industry of the person who collected them, and who, as far as I can judge, had chiefly in view the service and advantage of Mr. Kirkton [the King]. That gentleman can best tell how far his interests are linked with that of Mr. Putney's [the peace]; but it cannot be doubted but the latter has been much forwarded in his affairs, by the light those papers have given Henderson [Harley], who thereby discovered the knavery of Edward [Emperor], and his ingratitude to Quanton [Queen Anne] and Eden [England], and his close union with Wishart [the Whigs]. This, Sir, is all that I can say at this distance; but I shall take particular care to preserve the premises till we meet, as I hope we one day shall. I suppose you expect that every letter from hence should bring you a great deal of news; but instead of that, I can only tell you that our affairs are managed with greater secrecy than ever, which I think is one important proof that the changes made some time since, have been for the better; and I believe we shall be daily more and more convinced of this: for though the Whigs talk big, they lose ground visibly, and the calumnies which they continually throw on the Queen and ministry, with the utmost efforts of malice and impudence, have little effect on the body of the people, who heartily long for peace and Dunkirk, which we hope is, as this day, in English hands. The Whigs do all they can to possess the people with a notion that there are evil designs on foot against the succession; and they are even malicious enough to give out, that Scotland is, by the peace, to be yielded to the Chevalier de St. George; but there is nobody simple enough to give ear to such suggestions. All friends here are well, except Rowley [Rivers], who is dying, and poor Sanders [lord Somers] who cannot live long, and is already dead in effect, to the great grief of Harry [Hannover] who depends more on him than on any one friend besides. I hope, Sir, you will do me the justice to believe that I am, with the greatest respect and sincerity, Sir, &c.

JO. SINGLETON [SHERIDAN.]

Letters from Nairne to Abram.

Nairne to Abram.—July 3d.—“I told him we were ready to remove at a day’s warning, but no day fixt yet, nor place; that uncle Arthur [the King] waited (as we believed) to have Dr. Edgebury’s directions in that matter; that we hoped Morley had informed Paterfon and other friends of the nicety of Jeny’s [the King’s] constitution and present circumstances, as to travelling; and that we hoped all would be directed for her good.”

Nairne to Abram.—July 7th.—“To desire him to inquire if Mrs. Oglethrop had credit with Honyton [Harley], and how far.”

A letter from S. Johnson.

Negotiations in England for the Pretender’s restoration.

SIR,

July 8th, 1712.

“THE thoughts I had of changing place are now over, at least for some time; the present world is in so troubled a posture, one would be glad to see it settle a little. In the mean time I will give you the best account I am able of our private affairs: poor Mr. Matthew Turner [the low-church] and partners are upon their last legs; and if, in two or three months, they are not able to give some new turn to their business, which must be by some notable trick of youth [rebellion], their great dealing will dwindle to nothing, and their name be almost forgot upon the Change. To do them right they are not idle; and yet I hardly think they will make any great venture; or if they should, I hope we may be able to turn it to some profit in our way; for, indeed, the struggles and endeavours they and Mr. Diederick Gould [Hannover] have hitherto made, have been very useful to us, and brought our business into credit; so that I have often thought we have as good service from those that do not love us, as even our best friends. What business Mr. Stephen Cosen [Mr. Thomas Harley] may be employed in to Mr. Diederick [Hannover] I cannot say; but I am very much mistaken if it be at all complied with, be it what it will, such is that gentleman’s temper and present humour. You will wonder when I tell you, that Mynheer Klaas [the King of France] begins to come into good business, and to be mentioned in the city, as a
very

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Nairne’s
papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
p. 36.

Nairne’s
Papers,
D.N. vol. iv.
4to. No. 24.

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very honest man, and a fair dealer. The giving up his interest in Mr. Barty's house [Dunkirk] to accommodate his friends Mr. Ezekiel White and partner [the high-church party] has given him great reputation, and will to establish his trade here, that our old correspondents [the Dutch and the rest of the allies], will either be obliged to come into it, or we shall leave them to themselves, if not worse. I must not forget to acquaint you how great satisfaction Mr. Kreeley's [King of England] management, of late, has given here: friends and foes all speak of it, tho' to different purposes; the event, however, is infinitely to his service. Thomas Harrison [lord Somers] and Mr. Noy [lord Rivers] are both dangerously ill, and their recovery much doubted; but though these gentlemen were considerable in their way, yet I shall be much less concerned for what becomes of them, than I am for the death of honest Mr. Nicho's wife [captain David Floyd]: her distemper was the jaundice, to which she had been subject several years; but it increasing of late upon her, she went down to the Bath, where she died the second of this month, O. S. and was buried there the 4th. I tell you these circumstances for the sake of their young relation with you, who it is fit should be acquainted with it; but the manner of doing it I leave to your prudence and good nature. Certain it is, she was a most excellent woman; and applied herself to every relation, and in every circumstance of life, with a cheerfulness and conduct which I know not where to equal amongst all my acquaintance. You will please to give my hearty service to the young gentleman, and tell him the rest of his friends are well, though in great grief, as is very just. I am, Sir, to you and the whole family, a most sincere and humble servant,

S. JOHNSON."

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. ix.
4to. p. 37.

Nairne to Abram.—July 17th.—“I told him Philip's sudden thought was not practicable, unless advised by Row, and invited by Christopher [princess Anne]; without which the King of France would oppose the King's going.”

Rogers

Rogers to Mr. Watson, i. e. Plunket to Middleton.

The original decyphered by Sir William Ellis, and quoted on the back as usual.

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Nairne's Papers, D. N.

vol. iv. 4to.

No. 23.

Negotiations and intrigues in Holland.

Utrecht, July 21st, 1712.

" I Wrote you three letters by Desborde's address; and having had no answer, I am afraid they did not come to hand. I send this by the way of Rotterdam, to let you know that young Ciprian is still at the Hague, and don't come near me, but gives out he is come on purpose to speak to me. I did let him know the ill consequence of his staying at the Hague, and of his idle talk at this time. Pray send to him to go back from whence he came, and by no means let him go for England; you cannot imagine what prejudice it may be to Mr. Jenkins' [the King's] affairs: he is not in the least fit for business, and especially of moment; he is known to be such in London. Henceforward you will see the effect of our labour these two years past; and it will be found in a little time, that we laid a good foundation to bring home Mr. Jenkins [the King]. If you would but recover the papers I sent, you could easily guess how matters may go in time. Mr. Jacob's [King of France's] friends promised to let me know, in a little time, whether they fell into their friends hands in that country. It appears, by their discourse, they did fall into their hands. The Whigs in England lose ground every day; and to regain it, they openly give out, they will make such another attempt as the Tories did in 88. Their friends in this country will give them all the assistance they can; the rather, because they seem well assured the fleet and the army are not well-affected to the Queen and present ministry; and consequently will side with that of Marlborough and the Whigs on this occasion. This is what hinders the Dutch and the allies from coming into the peace.

The Tories laugh at what they can do or say, and say they do not value the Dutch nor the rest of the confederates. How these great feuds and animosities will end, time will shew. Mr. Jenkins' [the King's] friends are for having him declare himself of your stamp, that they may have a handle to declare for him, and exclude his competitor or rival. I send two letters to my lady Litcot by Mr. Jacobs' friends [King of France's]

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France's ministers]; they will have them in a post or two, with an account at large of the state of the affairs. I shall still continue to serve Mr. Jenkins [the King] to my power. I am, &c."

Nairne's
papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
P. 37.

Letters from the Earl of Middleton and Mr. Nairne to Abram, Berry, Scot, and Mrs. Watson.

The Pretender's removal.—Measures for his restoration.—He saw lord Bolingbroke at the opera.—He was pressed to change his religion.

Nairne to Abram.—July 24th.—“I told him that there was no news yet of our going to the country; and that I wished Charles [princess Anne] would be so good-natured as not to oblige us to remove until he sent for Jeny [the King] to his own house, where he might be useful to him.”

Lord Middleton's letter sent to Mrs. Watson, 28th July, to be given to the Doctor.

“I Was in hopes that the interest you had with Tom's lawyers [princess Anne's ministry] might have given you an opportunity of advancing the match proposed, for the only person who can dispose of the party. Mrs. Overbury, [Duke of Ormond] by name, is utterly unknown to us; nor had we ever any correspondence with her; and as to her inclinations, that is what we desire to know. The world, judging by interest, think she ought to be favourable, and rather marry her niece, where she may procure great advantages to herself, than to a malicious, covetous fellow, who will make her account for the last farthing that she has received during her guardianship; and this was the drift of the former scribble, to which I shall add nothing.”

It is evident the court of St. Germain's were of opinion, that Marlborough, if he had continued in power, would at length serve them. Middleton, having furnished his correspondent in this letter with reasons for convincing the ministry of the dangers of delay, concludes with these words: “The greatest should take example by Cræsus [Marlborough], to make good use of their time: the star of the most fortunate is not fixed; and just now the cracked bully of the age has been severely bang'd for his presumption.”

Nairne

Nairne to Abram.—July 28th.—“To send him my lord’s letter of this date to Mrs. Watfon: that Paterfon was unjust to think that Jeny [the King], or any about her, had not the discretion to keep their own secret; and that he might assure him, nothing of what Morley had writ here from Paterfon could ever come out; but if people would have groundless fears and jealousies, there was no help for it: that Jonathan [the King] was not yet gone to the waters; that he was very well, and had no need of them; and that he had rather doctor Honyton [Harley] would invite him to come and drink good claret with him at Christopher’s, &c.”

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Nairne to Abram.—July 31st.—He mentioned, in this letter, the different remittances he had made to him, from December 1709, to the amount of 3000 livres. It appears the court of St. Germain was always six months in arrears. Seventy livres per month were paid to a major Home, who is never mentioned in these letters, but when a bill is sent to him inclosed to Abram.

“I answered his, viz. Abram’s, of the 8th, to Bayard [Sir William Ellis]; told him the King was still here, and still in the dark.”

Nairne to Berry.—July 31st.—“To tell him, that the King and Queen were well; that the King’s journey was still equally uncertain, as to time and place; but we expected Ab. G. [Abbé Gaultier’s] coming would decide all.”

Nairne’s Pa-
pers, vol. ix.
4to. p. 38.

The Earl of Middleton to Berry.—August 4th.—“I imparted to Mr. Goodall [the King] what you writ to me, the 8th of July, of the disposition the court of Chancery seems to be in, to reverse the decree in favour of Mr. Harper [Hannover], and to leave the equity of the redemption of the estate in question in Mr. Aylmer’s [probably Queen Anne] disposal and nomination; and that Hampton will (as your informer thinks) be easily inclined to give his consent to such a decree, but probably with a limitation excluding all the family of the Cottons [Roman Catholics].

Mr. Goodall [the King] thanks you for the notice you give him of this matter, and bids me tell you, that it will still be a great step gained, to have Harper’s [Hannover’s] decree reversed, and the nomination left in Aylmer: for though Pleffington [the King] will never comply with the limitation above mentioned, yet when a rich and numerous family are

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turned out of doors, and the house left empty, it will be much easier to get possession of it.

I think it is demonstrable, that neither Edward [England] nor Aylmer [Queen Anne] have any interest to oppose old Cotton [a Roman Catholic], of which you shall hear by the next. In the mean time, Mr. Goodall [the King] desires you would let him know your informer's name, which shall be concealed with possible secrecy; because it is the character and credit of the person that gives credit and weight to what he says."

Nairne to Berry.—August 7th.—"I told the King did not approve of Sackville's proposal to Churchill; that he had had no commission from him upon that head; and that he would not accept of such a small sum from a debtor that owed him so much. Told him it was neither the King's interest nor inclination ever to see the Dean's face, though he was related to him; that Young [princess Anne] and Baker [Harley] might expect all their hearts could desire from Manly [the King]; and that his relation to Dean or Cotton could not hinder him from making England happy."

Nairne to Abram.—August 7th.—"I owned the receipt of his to Bayard [Sir William Ellis] of the 15th, and answered most of it, about Philip's proposal, confirmed by Dr. Hicks, Sackville, and Prior."

Nairne's
papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
p. 39.

Nairne to Abram.—August 18th.—"To answer his of the 22d July, and tell him the King's departure from St. Germain's."

Nairne to Abram.—August 25th.—"What he said upon the model I had sent him of the Manly gally was very obliging, and kindly taken by Goodall: that the King was to go to Rheims in Champagne, till he had security for going further with safety: that a separate peace with France was to be wished: that the truce was proclaimed in Paris yesterday."

Nairne to Abram.—August 28th.—"I told him the King was as civil to Gendron* as he could, and I asked him if he had any credit with Honnyton [Harley]. I told him the King had seen Mr. St. John at the opera."

Ibid. p. 40.

Nairne to Berry.—September 1st.—"Wisely [the Queen] was here to-day, and dined with Kenedy [the King], who is in better health and heartier than ever I saw him at Stanley's. Whether Mr. Singleton [Sheridan] has settled any thing with Kemp, as to Goodall's estate or

* Probably Prior.

Quintin's quit-rents [the Queen's dowry] is as yet unknown to us."

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"Amongst other news from France, we are told that lord Bolingbroke happened to be at the opera, with the Chevalier de St. George, where they could not but see one another; so I should be glad to know what my lord says of that knight, and whether he likes him, for they tell me he is a tall proper well shaped young gentleman, that he has an air of greatness mixed with mildness and good nature, and that his countenance is not spoiled with the small-pox; but, on the contrary, that he looks now more manly than he did, and is really healthier than he was before; and they say he goes to Chalons."

Nairne to Berry.—Chalons, October 21st.—"Plessington [the King], Wisely [the Queen], and Crofton [Middleton], are truly concerned for your condition (Berry had been sick); I hope next letters will bring us better news of your health. The Manly galley was never so tight nor in so good repair as at present; so I think Edwards [England] and his partners can never venture their stock upon a safer bottom in all respects; and the sooner they set her to sea immediately after the peace, the better. I pray God Aylmer [princess Anne] and Baker do not lose their market, by delaying too long, and giving time to Hunter [Hannover] and Wandy [the Whigs] to prevent them."

October.
Nairne's Pa-
pers, vol. ix.
4to. p. 44.

Nairne to Abram.—November 4th.—"I told him the King had actually been pressed lately by some indiscreet zealous friends to part Roper [Roman Catholic Religion]; and that he, Abram, did very kindly and prudently to prevent those indiscretions as much as he could. That the King would make Cowley [protestants] as happy and safe, without quitting Roper [R. C. religion], as by quitting him, and this should be sufficient to satisfy all reasonable persons. I told him, Mr. Innes had sent him 500 livres extraordinary, which the King had granted him; and that, when the Queen's jointure came to be paid, his allowance would be paid him on the place, which would save him the exchange."

November.
Ibid. p. 45.

Nairne to Berry.—November 14th.—"That I had particular orders to congratulate his recovery, in Plessington's [the King] and Crofton's [Middleton's] names. That his letter to Davenant was sent by Plessington to Wisely [the Queen]. That the hopes he had of bettering the quit-rents in time were comfortable. That Honyton's [Harley's] inten-

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tions continued still dark and equivocal; but that we hoped Price's [the parliament's] behaviour would let us know more of Honyton's mind."

Nairne to Scot.—December 10th.—“ I told him, my lord would be very glad to see Audley [Auchterhouse], if he came as a factor from the merchants upon some good account; but that the King left always to the traders the choice of their own factor. As to advice or directions, the King could give none to his friends in Scotland, at present; being advised, by his best friends, to do nothing at present for fear of spoiling any good intentions some persons may have for him. That all depended on Harley, who being a dark man, nobody knew well what to reckon upon, and how to act; therefore, in the uncertainty, nothing seemed more prudent, than to wait to see how things would turn. In the mean time, if his friends in Scotland had any advice or information to send him, he expected it of their friendship, and left to their prudence to do what they thought might be most for his service.”

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
P. 47.

Nairne to Scot.—December 14th.—“ To desire him to consult whether my lord Clermont's (he was the earl of Middleton's son) estate would be in danger, in case he came after the peace to join the King, and to send his and the best lawyers' opinion, which way the estate might be best secured.”

Nairne to Berry.—December 23d.—“ I told him, that if Young and Honyton [Harley] made no step, during this parliament, towards Plesington's [the King's] settlement, it would look very suspicious, that their intentions are not good.”

Original.
D. N. vol. iv.
4to. No 32.

Mr. Matthews to Mr. Watson, i. e. Buckingham to Middleton.

Dear Sir,

December 23d, 1712.

“ AN accident hath some time confined me at home; but, I thank God, I am now well. I could not write sooner, having always carried my letters to the post myself. There is little news here: all friends [princess Anne] are well; and, as far as I can judge, my cousin's [the King's] law-suit is likely to go for him; but lawyers are extremely tedious. Pray send me a large cypher, part words, part figures, and then I shall sometimes be more plain. Adieu. Love me as I do you.

I wish you could get me a copy of a treaty made in 1677 or 78, between England and Holland, by the then duke of Ormond and the prince of Orange. I believe a friend of yours or Mat. [L. Midd] hath it."

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Nairne to Berry.—December 3, 1712.—"I am sorry Edward's [England's] chief trustees who do not pass for persons very fond of Rofs [religion] upon other occasions, should be so very nice upon his account with so honest and so fair a dealer as Pleffington [the King], who will give them all the strongest assurances their hearts can desire, that his inseparable partner Cotton [Catholic] shall never molest their friend Rofs [religion]; but, on the contrary, that he will be a truer friend to all Edward's [England] family, but most especially to Cary [church of England] than ever Harper [Hannover] can be. It is natural enough for Cary [church of England], to wish Pleffington [the King] would marry in his family; but it can never be thought reasonable or friendly to press him to that marriage. For any thing of that nature, that is either done or may seem to be done by force or interest, can never have that good effect that is proposed of mutual union and confidence; and, therefore, I can hardly believe that any that wish Pleffington truly well, will ever press him either upon marriage, or upon parting with his friend Cotton [Catholic R.], who is so harmless a creature that he has neither power nor intention to disturb in the least any of Cary's family [church of England]; for, if Pleffington should comply with any such proposal at this juncture of time, it would only serve to lessen his credit, even with those that require it of him; for, if they will not trust his word now, when they see nothing but firmness, integrity, honour, and sincerity in him, they'll certainly have much less reason to trust him, when they see him turn away so slightly, a poor friend that he has been bred up with, for they'll either think he is very weak or very insincere, and in either of these cases, they'll have reason not only to distrust him, more than they do now, but even to despise him. But I hope Young [princess Anne], and Baker [Harley], and Price [the parliament] (if they have any good intentions towards their relation) will find a way to make both themselves and him happy, without being uneasy to him upon this nice point."

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix.
4to. p. 47.

H A N.

HANNOVER PAPERS.

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THE embassy of the earl of Rivers made little impression on the court of Hannover. The Elector sent back a written answer by him, and authorized his own minister, the baron de Bothmar, who had come over with the duke of Marlborough, on the 18th of November 1711, to deliver a long memorial to the ministry. It was published in the Daily Courant of the 5th of December, and gave great satisfaction to the Whigs, but very great offence to the Tories; and the ministry charged Bothmar with espousing a party, and intermeddling very unseasonably in the affairs of Britain. Dr. Swift throws some light on this subject, in his History of the four last years of Queen Anne.

“It was the misfortune of his Electoral Highness,” says their confident and advocate, “to be very ill served, by Monf. Bothmar, his envoy here; who assisted at all the factious meetings of the discontented party, and deceived his master, by a false representation of the kingdom, drawn from the opinion of those, to whom he confined his conversation. There was likewise at the Elector’s court a little Frenchman, without merit or consequence, called Robithan; who, by the assistance and encouragement of the last ministry, had insinuated himself into some degree of that prince’s favour, which he used in giving his master the worst impressions he was able of those whom the Queen employed in her service, insinuating that the present ministers were not in the interest of his Highness’s family; that their views were towards the Pretender; that they were making an insecure and dishonourable peace; that the weight of the nation was against them; and that it was impossible for them to preserve, much longer, their credit or power.”

It

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It is certain, the Elector, who had hitherto affected to be a friend to both sides, or, at least, to be attached to neither of the parties which divided the nation, discovered different sentiments this year, and might be considered as at the head of one of them. The ministry sent over in the beginning of the year Mr. Thomas Harley, a cousin of the earl of Oxford, accompanied by Mr. St. John, brother to the secretary, in order to remove whatever prejudices might have been infused into his Highness against their proceedings, and to persuade him to come into their measures. Mr. Harley staid long in Holland, and did not arrive in Hannover until the 12th of July.

The Queen, in her speech to both houses on the 6th of June, expressed herself in this manner: "The assuring the protestant succession, as by law established, in the house of Hannover, to these kingdoms, being what I have nearest at heart, particular care is taken, not only to have that acknowledged, in the strongest terms; but to have an additional security, by the removal of that person out of the dominions of France, who has pretended to disturb this settlement."

But neither Mr. Thomas Harley's declarations and remonstrances to the Elector, nor the Queen's assurances to her parliament, nor the professions of attachment contained in the prime minister's letters, could reconcile his Highness to the measures which were pursued in Britain; or persuade him, that the ministry were well affected to the succession in his family. He was particularly alarmed, by a resolution of the commons against the Barrier treaty; whereby they declare, that, under pretext of securing the protestant succession to the crown, and a barrier to the States, many articles had been inserted, in the treaty, destructive to the commerce of Great Britain, and dishonourable to her Majesty. When Mr. Hampden moved, that an address should be presented to the Queen, that she would be pleased to give particular instructions to her plenipotentiaries, that, in the conclusion of the treaty of peace, the several powers, in alliance with her Majesty, might be guarantees to the protestant succession to the crown of these realms, as settled by act of parliament, in the illustrious house of Hannover, the house rejected his motion; and resolved, that they had such an entire confidence in the repeated declarations her Majesty had been pleased to make, of her concern for assuring to these kingdoms the protestant succession, as by law established, that they could

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never doubt her taking the proper measures for the security thereof. This resolution of the commons increased the Elector's suspicions of the ministry.

The baron de Bothmar had returned to be the Elector's envoy in Holland, and his plenipotentiary at the treaty now negotiating at Utrecht. The baron de Grote was sent in November to be his envoy extraordinary in Great Britain. Bothmar, Grote, and Bernsdorff, president of the council, and Monsieur de Robethon, secretary for the embassies, being privy counsellors to the Elector, give one another, in their letters, the title of Excellency.

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Strafford.

The Earl of Strafford to the Princess Sophia.

He blames Bothmar.—Complains that he joined the Whigs, who were never friends to monarchy, and could not be attached to her family.

MADAM,

Hague, January 2d, 1712.

“ I Have, from post to post, put off writing to your Royal Highness; still hoping for something agreeable to fill my letter, and make it worth your reading. At last, I imagined the opening of the parliament would have furnished me with something I might have enlarged upon; but the violence of their proceedings, on one side and t’other, makes a man, as your Royal Highness knows me to be, not partial of either party, not well know what to write, especially since they write me from London, that Monf. Bothmar has now declared himself of the Whig-party; so that my finding fault on that side, would be opposing the sentiments of your court; and when one has not the liberty to find fault on both sides, when they give occasion, one can’t, with half the pleasure, turn one’s pen, when it is confined only against one side. One is not at liberty, they tell me now, to remember the villany of a party, who cut off your royal ancestor’s head *; nor to remember, amongst others, their actions, that, when they were in power, they acted contrary to your illustrious house; and when the heads of them were pressed, by well-wishers to it, to settle some distinguishing allowance on your next successor, they rejected it, with an insolence unbecoming them; nor when it was thought

* His lordship, though a master of diction, was but an ordinary genealogist. Charles I. was Sophia’s uncle and not her ancestor.

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by an act, they should have made provision for their speedy coming after the demise of the Queen, they found out, on the contrary, an expedient to lay the foundation of a republic, by investing, by act of parliament, the sovereign power in certain places of which they were themselves masters, and by their behaviour thought to have kept for life; all this instead of making it high-treason for any one to do any act of sovereignty between the demise of the Queen and the coming over of the successor, as was proposed by some of the Tory-party, who, to my knowledge, and as I'm an honest man and a Christian, designed to have voted an allowance fit for the present maintainance of a successor, and told me when I was in England, they were sure of the Queen's consent. I believe I mentioned this before to you; but matters are since changed. I cannot tell what to say. Is it permitted me, Madam, to remind your Royal Highness of the discourse I have formerly had the honour to have with you on this subject, when you used to blame extremely the conduct of poor Mons. Shuts, for declaring so violently of one party? Did your Royal Highness not use to tell me, that a prince should strive to be a prince of his people, and not by espousing a faction give distaste to two thirds of his subjects; especially a successor, who is called in to the succession, by both parties, whose succession both parties were to maintain, and whose succession always meets with the greatest opposition from those who have now the folly to range themselves on t'other side? You were pleased, Madam, sometimes, to tell me, that you saw the nation established in the protestant succession for the good of itself and posterity, and not out of affection to your persons, who the greatest part of the nation knew not; that you were sure that very reason alone would support your succession, and to meddle in intrigues and parties could only create personal and party distaste, and make opposition to your succession, which else could never happen, as long as the reason and motive, which induced the nation to settle the succession on your family, subsisted. But I hope these idle stories, the public hear of Bothmar's siding with the faction, are false like many others; for I know impartiality temper is the character of the Elector; and I must do Mons. Bothmar that justice, that here I found him extremely impartial and temperate. I knew upon the first bringing over the general points, he objected the words The Protestant, had been better than The Present Establishment. I told him, that certainly

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the last expression was the same as the first; for the present establishment of the succession was that in the Elector's family. I told him, I believed they didn't just hold to the old beaten words, being they would have these preliminaries appear entirely general, in every point, that none could take it amiss, and that it might not appear as restrained as the former were; and, therefore, they avoided the same words. That, if he had nothing else to assure him of the sincerity of the intentions of the ministry in favour of the protestant succession, though all their lives and actions have shewn, that is their first principle, yet they would not have chosen the bishop and me, being they knew both our principles, and that we had both the honour to be perfectly known to your court, especially myself. Bothmar seemed satisfied with the discourse and assurances he had from me, whilst I had the honour of seeing him alone; though, after the duke of Marlborough came hither, he was so often taken up in his Grace's company, I had not the same opportunity of conversing with him, which I was sorry for, being Mons. Bothmar is one I had always a perfect esteem for; and should have been glad of his assistance to have advanced in my negotiations the interest of your most illustrious family."

Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Strafford.

The Princess Sophia's answer to the Earl of Strafford.

She justifies Bothmar.—The duke of Marlborough's contemptuous manner of speaking of the Queen.

Translation.

My Lord,

Hannover, January 8th, 1712.

"I Have no reason to complain of your silence, since you have been pleased to make amends, by the long obliging letter, which I have so much pleasure in reading; although I was very much surprised, that you say to me, that they have written to you from London, that Mr. Bothmar has declared for the Whigs. But, as you say, towards the end of your letter, that the rumour may be false, I shall have no difficulty to convince you, that it is; and you will see, by the memorial, which he has given on the part of the Elector, that neither Whigs nor Tories are mentioned in that affair. But as the Queen did the honour to my son, the Elector, to demand, by my lord Rivers, his opinion of the preliminaries of peace, he thought it was his duty to give it, which he would not have done, if her Majesty had not commanded him; and it was nei-
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ther by his order nor by the order of Bothmar, that the memorial has been printed. But it's said, her Majesty has not been dissatisfied with it. You say, likewise, that you are of no party; yet if that party, who beheaded the King, my uncle, subsisted still, as you say they do, there could be now nothing laid to their charge. I imagined, however, that that party was long since extinct; yet we have clearly seen, in these latter times, that the parliament have done what they pleased, in disposing of the crown.

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The favourable sentiments, which you say they entertained towards me, have had no effect; therefore, I am obliged to them only for their good intention; and as I know none of them but you, I also believe, that it is to you alone I owe thanks. The good-natured lord Rivers told me, he clearly perceived I was of the duke of Marlborough's party. I answered, that, if the Queen had made an ape her general, and that he had gained so many battles and towns, I would be equally for him: and I see that you have forgot how little I was obliged to his wife; and as for himself, he never spoke to me of any thing which had any concern with the advantages of this house. His expression, in speaking of the Queen, was always, that she was a very good sort of a woman*. He repeated this frequently, and it appeared to us too low a commendation for so great a princess. But I have not the talent of reasoning so well, by letter, as you have. I can only assure you, that I have always the same sentiments, which you knew me to have had; and that I shall always be, my Lord, &c."

The Earl of Strafford to the Princess Sophia.

The subject of his letter January 2d. continued.

MADAM,

Utrecht, the 12th of January, 1712.

"I Can't say any one of your Royal Highness's letters are more agreeable or better writt than another. But they are every one so very agreeable, that always the last I think the finest and most agreeable. I have now, Madam, before me that your Royal Highness honoured me with of the 8th instant, which is mixed with so much goodness, and yet giving me some agreeable rubbs, that I ought to fill this letter rather

Original,
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Strafford.

* These were also his expressions to the court of St. Germans. Stuart Papers, Nov. 1711.

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with excuses for my former, than to presume again to justify any thing in it; but as contradiction is the life of conversation, as I have often heard the late Queen of Prussia, your daughter, say, so I hope your Royal Highness will not take it ill, if in answer to what you are pleased to write, I justify a little my former arguments, and say, that I believe it is not to be doubted, but the sons and grandsons of those live, who were of the party who did that barbarous murder on the King your Royal uncle, and all those are ranged in the party of the present Whigs; and certainly the same discourse is now held, and has been since time held among them, as was in those former unhappy times; therefore, one has reason to apprehend from the same race, and same principles, the same facts; and I believe no true Whig will, in his conscience, where he is put to it, and has any conscience, say that he loves monarchy better than democracy. Now the danger those princes run, that make use of a party, whose principle and conscience is against them, is obvious to all the world: and I yet, I say again, naturally I am of neither party, but was for moderation, till I saw it so abused, that it only put the government in danger; then, out of love to my country, and not till then, I put myself and interest entirely into the other party; not that I am personally angry with any one man of the party, but really the business of party is so confounded, that even a native of our country can hardly distinguish them; and how much less could Mr. Bothmar, who has not been, in all his lifetime, in England not above five or six months at most, and therefore very, very unfit to meddle in such nice matters, especially he not speaking the language; and not only to draw himself into a matter he could not understand, but also the Elector his master, whose apparent interest it was not to have meddled to have set any one of either party against him. I may almost venter to say in confidence to your R. H. who has always shown a particular indulgence for me, that I knew from whence the spring of that memorial came, and the violence of those people, I fear, will do great prejudice at your court; and pray believe me, Madam, the Queen and all her present ministers are entirely well disposed for the succession of the crown in your family, and nothing can turn that disposition; no, not even the unkind way of remonstrating and blaming their intentions and proceedings in print, by way of memorial: and pardon me, Madam, if I say, that, if the Queen had made an
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overture of her intentions, and asked the Elector's sentiments, by lord Rivers; was it not by that lord, and in the same secret manner, the Elector ought to have sent the Queen his answer, and have told her his sentiments? Was my lord Rivers, whose estate and quality is so great in England, not fit to be trusted with them? And is that a way to answer the Queen's confidence in the Elector; to give so general an answer to lord Rivers, and to print so particular a one at such a conjuncture?"

1712.
February.

Extracts from the Electress's answer to the Earl of Strafford.

Translation.

My Lord,

Hannover, February 12th, 1712.

"I Am very well pleased to see, that my letters give you pleasure, and that you have observed in them the favourable sentiments which I entertain of you; and that you have not forgot that the Queen of Prussia found, that contradiction supported conversation. But I will not contradict you any longer about the whigs; for you know them better than I do, and the intrigues of England better than the baron de Bothmar, who has not been sent there to reform them. But the Elector only gave him in charge to testify his respect to the Queen, and to address himself to those of council, to whom he gave the memorial, and who may have printed it; for it was not printed by order of the Elector, nor of baron de Bothmar. I suppose your multiplicity of business has prevented you from reading it; or, that they have, perhaps, falsified it. For this reason, I send it to you, that you may see it corresponds, word for word, with the answer which the Elector gave to my lord Rivers; and when that Lord was asked, in order to have his opinion, if he would not choose to read it, he answered, that that was not necessary, and put it up in his little coffer.—He (the Elector) is very grateful, that the Queen has been pleased to make the succession the first article of the peace, after the acknowledgment of her Majesty. I imagine, these will be the articles the most easily granted, by France; having formerly acknowledged King William and the Pretender, at the same time. I wish the point of leaving Spain and the Indies to the Emperor, was as easy; and that you may obtain, as you do not doubt, a good peace, which is so much wished for."

Robethon's
draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Strafford.

Extracts

1712.
February.
Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Strafford.

Extracts of a letter from the Earl of Strafford to the Princess Sophia.

He will take care of her interest in the treaty of peace.—The Tories are her sincere friends.—The Whigs used the Queen very ill.

Original.

MADAM,

Utrecht, February 18th, 1712.

—“ I Have this comfort, that, in spite of all insinuations to the contrary, I have begun, by making the French, at the very first conference, declare themselves ready to acknowledge your succession to the crown of England, and that they will send the Pretender to travel where we please. This we did artificially enough, at the first conference, in spite of all the intrigues were used to hinder us from speaking till the French had been obliged to give their specifick explications; and this we did, without that any Whig can pretend the least merit in it; though I believe, they who always strive to attribute all to themselves, will strive to attribute what has been done at home to their industry. However it is, at least, they must own it was not opposed by the Tories.——I am glad, in one part of my arguments, your Royal Highness seemed to acquiesce, that you never loved or liked the dutchess of Marlborough's character; and that you thought the duke's way of speaking of the Queen was in too slighting a manner. If your Royal Highness had known and seen as much as the Queen has done, you would think much worse of both; really, Madam, a prince is happier that rules the hearts of all his people, than he who is set up by one, and sets himself at the head but of one party. In a limited monarchy, he reigns but over half his people. The temper and constitution of England is mightily mistaken by some people; this the Queen saw, that by reigning by one party, was but being a slave to the heads of that party; and, therefore, when she first made her change, it was positively resolved not to stick to parties, but to those who served her best. However, the other party's opposition and violence may have made her change her mind for the mere necessity at this conjuncture: if your Royal Highness was but to hear half the stories I heard, when I was last in Britain, you would wonder how the Queen's patience could bear so long what she has borne; such usage no mistress of a family would have borne from their menial servants. But I hope there is an end of it, and that she will spend the rest of her days happily,

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as she really deserves to do for her many good qualities. We are now all hard at work, and we shall put that article of your Royal Highness's succession, and obliging France to promise, that they shall not, neither directly nor indirectly, assist the Pretender; that I hope you will have reason to be satisfied with us. I wish I knew any thing you desired more, in these negociations; since really, besides the honour, nothing could be more agreeable to me, than to receive your commands and execute them."

1712.
February.

Extracts of the Princess Sophia's Answer to the preceding Letter.

Translation.

Hannover, Feb. 25, 1712.

"YOU do me justice, when you take in good part, what I said joking about things which are past."———"But it appears that, what I wrote to you, has happened, and that the French made no difficulty of acknowledging the just title of the Queen and the protestant succession. The King of France told me himself, the day that his Majesty swore to the peace, upon the gospel, that that clause had been always a part of it, and would continue, as long as it was for the advantage of his dominions: however, I am very much obliged to you for the compliment, and for the obliging offer which you are pleased to make of employing your good offices, if I had any thing to desire in this respect; but I imagine I ought to depend upon the good pleasure of the Queen, and of the English, for what they think proper to do for my family; and not upon the favours of France, which naturally will be always contrary to it."———"With regard to the dutchess of Marlborough's improper behaviour towards the Queen, I have known it and have been thoroughly convinced of it long ago."

Robethon's
draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Strafford.

The Princess Sophia to Queen Anne.

Translation.

Hannover
Papers.

MADAM,

Herenhausen, Feb. 29, 1712.

"I Received, with a respectful gratitude, the honour which your Majesty was pleased to confer upon me, by the gracious letter which your Majesty condescended to give in charge to Mr. Harley. You could not give so agreeable a commission to any who had more merit, and was better qualified to obey your orders: he has gained the esteem of
all

1712.
May.

all those who have seen him, and I shall have still greater reason to be better satisfied with him, if he acquaints your Majesty, as he promises, how entirely I am devoted to your interests, and how much I wish to be honoured with your commands, in order to shew, by my obedience, to what degree I am, &c."

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Strafford.

Extracts of a Letter from the Earl of Strafford to the Princess Sophia.

He gives her an account of the proceedings in Parliament, and of the disposition of the nation for a peace.

MADAM,

London, May 26, 1712.

"IT is now some time since I designed myself the honour of writing to your Royal Highness; but at Utrecht I delayed it, from time to time, hoping to have had something worth sending you, and that, at last, the French would have explained themselves; but as they kepted us in expectations, and put us off from week to week; I likewise differed my writing, and was, at last, sent for suddenly over hither, where, though I have been eight days, I have been in such a hurry, that I have hardly had time to seek or pick up any thing worth writing; however, the honour your Royal Highness is pleased to allow me, is too precious for me to neglect, even though I have little more than the repetition of the zeal and true attachment I have for your Royal Highness and your interest. I found the ministry very busy about a bill of Resumptions, which they had a great mind should pass the house of lords, and was very nigh it, as no doubt your Royal Highness has heard, being the last and conclusive votes, were equal; I was out of the house, wanting the formality of being introduced as Earl, which I was to-day, after the Queen was gone from the house, where she has been to pass a money-bill; so that I was neither obliged to vote against the court and ministry, nor against my late Master's grants, nor against a good one he has given me. I thought it a very difficult point, and am glad it is ended as it is. The whole town was in expectations the Queen would have said something to-day about the peace; but not doing it, the commons were very angry, and some warm speeches were made, which shewed the great uneasiness there is in that house, to have a peace; so much that some expressed themselves, that if the Queen met with any difficulty from her Allies, if she would lay it before the parliament, they would ease her; but they were

were told by a minister of state, they must be easy, at least, till Wednesday se'night, and by that time, the Queen would lay something before them, which was hoped would be to their satisfaction. This uneasiness shows that any peace almost would be agreeable to the nation, and yet I am persuaded we shall have a good one, and such a one that was not expected, and must be relished by every one who really wishes well to Europe; *for since it is thought so dangerous to leave Philip on the throne of Spain, there may be means found to remove him.*"

The Earl of Strafford to the Princess Sophia.

Congratulates her upon the Queen's Speech, and the address of the two houses.

MADAM,

London, June 7, 1712.

"I Waited for this great decision, before I would venter to do myself the honour of writing to your Royal Highness, from hence, and now the sudden depart of the currier only allows me time, in all humility, to wish your Royal Highness joy of the proves, both the Queen, the house of lords, and house of commons, have given you, Madam, and the whole world, of the sincere intentions they have to support the succession of you and your descendants to the crown of these kingdoms; and allow me, Madam, with your usual goodness, to assure you, it is not a weak envious faction can support your interest, if the voice of the nation is not for you; and though I am sure you never believed me otherwise, than sincerely and faithfully in your interest, yet I have heard, that the malice of those who had espoused, very much *mal-à-propos*, another party, had strove even to misrepresent my sincere attachment to the interest of your Royal Highness and your illustrious house; but believe me, Madam, that the ministry as well as myself are entirely in your interest, and those that advise opposing them, are certainly in the wrong, as your Highness will see by the Queen's speech and this address of the house of lords, which was carried by 81 against 36; so you see, that without the new lords, by what majority this was carried, and how much the lords have lost of the Whig faction, since the beginning of the sessions; if I am not a true and faithful servant to your Royal Highness, no man in England is; for I protest, I am with the utmost duty and most profound respect, &c."

1712.

May.

June.
Original.
Hannover
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1712.
July.
Original.
draught.
Hannover
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Strafford.

The Princess Sophia's Answer to the Earl of Strafford.

Translation.

Herrenhausen, July 1, 1712.

“ I Find it difficult to express to you, to my own satisfaction, with what gratitude I have just now received the new marks you give me of your friendship, by concerning yourself so much in the honour which the Queen has been pleased to confer on my family, by inserting its succession to the crown of Great Britain, in the treaty of peace. As this family is already entirely devoted to her Majesty, I can only add my wishes, that her laudable design of concluding a good peace, may be accomplished with advantage to her crown and to her allies; as her Majesty herself seems to wish. You wrote to me, however, in your letter of the 26th of May, in these terms; “for since it’s thought so dangerous to have Philip on the throne of Spain, there may be means found to remove him.” But it seems they have not been found. I don’t know who could be so malicious as to design to set us at variance, by persuading you, that I had received wrong reports of you; for I have no secret correspondence with either Whigs or Tories, and you would be in the wrong to believe that any party could give me bad impressions of you, since I passionately wish to find opportunities of testifying to you how much I am, &c.

August.
Original.
Ibid. vol.
marked
Strafford.

Extracts of a Letter from the Earl of Strafford to the Princess Sophia.

He was unjustly suspected of corresponding with the Pretender.—He blames Botbmar.—Justifies the Tories.

MADAM,

Utrecht, August 27, 1712.

“ I N spite of all the pains taken to blacken the Queen’s administration under the present ministry, and to render us all Jacobites, it would be endless to tell your Royal Highness of the intrigues to that end; but they will all turn to the shame of the contrivers, as will that lately detected on one Azzurini, an Italian, who finding his encouragement so great, had even forged a letter from the Pretender to me, though I never saw the man in my life time, and am sure, never gave the least reason to the Pretender to imagine I was in his interest. You know, Madam, and the world knows, I am truly and heartily for the protestant succession in your illustrious house, and shall ever be so, though I should be assured never to have the honour to be employed under you, should I out live the Queen, which I really hope I shall not; for besides the personal

sonal esteem and veneration I have for your Royal Highness, the interest and good of my country will make me ever oppose a Romish King, bred up with Popish and arbitrary principles; for I love liberty so much, that even the employment I have here, is such a confinement to me, that I am uneasy till it is ended. Your Royal Highness knows I always told you I was tied by obligation to neither party, but if to either, it was to that called the Tory, since I found sounder principles and honest men, by much, in that, than in the other party. And since I was last in England and employed in this negociation, I am extremely confirmed in my opinion; and so would your Royal Highness, did you but know the falseness and villany of the faction, as well as I do; but a little time, I am sure, will make it plain to you; in the meantime, I am glad this story of Azzurini will be laid clearly before your Royal Highness, and all the encouragements that fellow has had to go on to accuse the most faithful of the Queen's ministers, and your Royal Highness's humble servant. I can hardly believe Monsieur Bothmar could have given so much into that fellow's stories, as to have sent his papers to the Elector, and to have given him money, and promise of being gentleman of the chamber to the Elector. Indeed it were to be wished Monsieur Bothmar had had a better knowledge of the character of the English, before he had been sent thither, for I doubt he has mistaken them extremely, and has drawn others into his errors. I can't help telling your Royal Highness a story I was told, by one that pretends to have been present. When Monsieur Bothmar and count Passiony [Passionei], the Pope's minister, was together at count Sinzendorff's*, Monsieur Bothmar rallying count Passiony [Passionei] upon his commendations of the English learning and libraries, told him; "stay a little, and you may go over, to do the affairs of your master." Count Passiony [Passionei] answered him, "that he had no occasion, since one had been lately there, who had done the affair of his master much better than he could ever hope to do."

The Earl of Oxford to the Princess Sophia.

Without a date; but written when Mr. Thomas Harley went the second time to Hannover.

MADAM,

"YOUR Royal Highness's goodness to Mr. Harley has encouraged her Majesty to employ him again to your Royal Highness, with

* He means count Zintzendorff.]

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her

1712.
August.

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Strafford.

1712.
August.

her Majesty's utmost assurances of her resolution to support your succession; and to do every thing which may quiet the minds of those who are in earnest for it.

Your Royal Highness's great sagacity will easily distinguish those, who clamour because they have not all the power they desire, and that, in a country torn by faction, which has been twenty years in gathering strength, misrepresentations are unavoidable; but it is with pleasure I can assure you, that the generality of the nation center in your succession; and as your serene family are to reign over the whole nation, so you are too wise to be attached to a party.

The Queen's interest in the hearts of her people, has made her repeated declarations, in favor of your illustrious house, make great impressions on the people's minds; and I take leave to assure your Royal Highness, from many years experience and observation, that I am certain that this is a steady and fixed resolution in the Queen, to secure and confirm your succession; and as I have never varied in my zeal for it, so I shall make it my study to watch every occasion to promote the interest of your Royal Highness, and particularly, to cultivate that friendship with the Queen which is so necessary for this good end, which I know her Majesty sincerely desires; and I doubt not, but your serene family will think it to be for your interest, the world should publickly know there is this good harmony. This will be a very effectual way to make the accession to the throne easy and the possession of it safe: my utmost wishes are to be serviceable to so good an end, and to convince your Royal Highness of the great veneration with which I am,

MADAM,

Your Royal Highnesses

Most devoted, most humble, and most obedient servant,

OXFORD and MORTIMER.

The Earl of Oxford to the Princess Sophia.

September.
Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Strafford.

London, Sept. 6, 1712.

"IT is, with the profoundest respect, that I do myself the honor to present your Royal Highness with my most humble duty, and to give you those assurances, by letter, which my kinsman, Mr. Harley, has done, on my part, by word of mouth.

Give me leave also, in the most humble manner, to return your Highness my thanks for the favour you have been pleased to shew Mr. Harley. Your goodness has obliged a whole family, and in a most particular manner, myself, who am, with the utmost duty and zeal for your person and most serene family, &c."

1712.
September.

The Elector of Hannover to Queen Anne.

Translation.

MADAM,

Herrenhausen, Sept. 27, 1712.

"MR. Harley gave me the letters of the 8th of January and 11th of June, with which your Majesty was pleased to honour me. I received, with the greatest gratitude, this fresh mark of your kindness. It is impossible to be more sensible than I am, of the care which your Majesty continues to take of the interest of my family. After the efforts which Great Britain has made during this war, there is no doubt, but the allies will be pleased to see her reap proportionable advantages; but at the same time, they have reason to flatter themselves, that they shall feel the good effects of the obliging assurances, which your Majesty has been pleased to give of procuring them a just and reasonable satisfaction.

I am acquainted with Mr. Harley's merit; though the confidence which your Majesty places in him, would alone have been a sufficient inducement to me to esteem him in a distinguished manner. I doubt not, but he will make a faithful report to your Majesty of my gratitude for your kindness, and of the inviolable respect, with which I am, &c."

The Princess Caroline to Queen Anne.

Translation.

MADAM,

Hanse, Sept. 29, 1712.

"I Received, with a most profound respect, the letter with which your Majesty was pleased to honour me by Mr. Harley. It is impossible to be more grateful than I am, Madam, for all the favours which your Majesty hath been pleased to shew me, and I humbly beseech you to continue them to me, as to one who is fully sensible of their value, and who is, with a most perfect submission, &c."

Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Strafford.

The

1712.
November.

The Princess Sophia to Queen Anne.

Translation.

MADAM,

Nov. 12, 1712.

“AFTER the favour which your Majesty has been pleased to confer upon me, by honouring me with such essential proofs of your good will by Mr. Harley, I imagined it was my duty to testify to you, by the baron de Grote, that I am truly grateful and respectfully devoted to you, and to whatever may contribute to your glory and your interest: I hope, Madam, your Majesty will be pleased to hear him favourably, especially when he assures you of my respects, and how much I wish to be honoured with your commands, in order to show, by my obedience, that I am, &c.”

Robethon's
draught.
Hannover
Papers,

The Elector of Hannover to Queen Anne.

Translation.

MADAM,

Gohrde, Nov. 13, 1712.

“I Would imagine I made an unsuitable return to the continuance of the kindness with which your Majesty honours me, and to the obliging assurances of it I have lately received by Mr. Harley, if I delayed to testify to your Majesty how sensible I am of this, by sending to your court a minister, in whom I place confidence. I have chosen for this purpose the baron de Grote, who will have the honour of delivering this letter to your Majesty. I beseech you to give a favourable attention to whatever he shall have to represent to you, and to be persuaded that the sole view of sending him, is to convince your Majesty that I shall never neglect any opportunity of giving you proofs of my gratitude for your kindness, and of the inviolable respect with which I am, &c.”

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Bothmar. 10.
No. 1.

Robethon to Baron de Grote.

Additions to, and explanations of, the Instructions he received before he set out for England.—He is to ask a pension for the Electress.—He is not to give money to poor Lords, as Bothmar gave them reason to expect.

Translation.

SIR,

Gohre, Nov. 26, 1712.

“I Arrived from Garlow, with Mr. de Bernstorff, but an hour before the departure of the post, so that I must answer, in great hurry, the letter with which your Excellency honoured me. It were to be wished you had made these difficulties while you were here.

I never

1711.
November.

I never told you that I would insert the names of the regents in the blanks left in the copy of the instrument; there is not even room for them. I gave you the names of those who were formerly, and who are now intended to be regents (to which have been added since, lord Lexington, lord Polwarth, and lord Annandale). There are several remarks on the last, and a cypher concerning the Queen's health.—Your Excellency must avoid to discover to any one that these names are known to you.

I come now to your remarks.

1. While lord Bolingbroke is secretary of state, to whom shall your Excellency address yourself? and how can you avoid to pay some attentions to him?

There will be no occasion for this, if he is deprived of that post.

2. The officers which the Electress is to have in England, are but very few in number. She herself insists to offer the nomination of them to Harley.

I added that to your instructions, contrary to my own opinion. But you are to understand it so, only in case your Excellency sees no prospect of succeeding in the affair without that offer; for if you can obtain the pension simply, without any limitations or conditions, it will be certainly so much the better, and the Electress will be the more obliged to you.

3. The Elector would very much disgust those who want now, by way of precaution against a case which is scarcely possible, to put him to the trouble of naming regents by separate instruments.

The act of parliament gives that power only to the nearest heir; therefore, the Elector has it not, and the validity of his nomination at this time might be disputed. It is to be hoped that the Queen and the Electress will not die in the same week.

4. As their Electoral Highnesses always assured the Queen and her ministers that none of the family would go to England without her Majesty's consent; that will be still the case, if a pension is granted to the Electress, and being under that new obligation to the Queen, they will be the more disposed thereby, to do nothing but in concert with her. Besides, the more the succession is firmly established, the less will the
presence

1712.
November.

presence of the successor be necessary. Add to this the past conduct of their Electoral Highnesses; for each party, in their turn, incited them to apply for an invitation to go to England, and they always rejected all these intrigues, being determined to do nothing in that respect, unless the Queen entreated them to it.

5. It is not probable that the English ministry will stipulate, on paying our arrears, that the troops will not return again to the Low Countries. If they shall think of any thing so foolish, your Excellency will be so good as to write about it to our master, and to wait for his orders.

6. Monsieur de Bothmar having given some poor lords reason to expect small pensions, our master would never hear of it; therefore, your Excellency is in the right not to give a present of a crown without orders; you may demand them when the opportunity offers. If the house will enable you to make donations when you judge proper, or obtain the permission of his Electoral Highness, let them do so. For my share, I am a mere cypher when it is necessary to ask a penny; and I cannot at all meddle in the affair. I am, &c."

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Strafford.

Extracts of a letter from the Earl of Strafford to the Princess Sophia.

MADAM,

Hague, Dec. 11, 1712.

"NOT being able to write your Royal Highness any thing certain from England, I thought it better to differ the honour I now do myself till my return hither, that I may be able to give your Royal Highness some account of the true state of my negociation.—I hope, in time, others will be like them [the Dutch], convinced of their errors, and see the Queen's ministers have nothing less in their thoughts than the interest of the Pretender. I am glad the Elector has sent Mr. Grot to England, who may make up what the other had spoiled, since your Royal Highness and your illustrious family has more friends in England than some mischievous people would have you believe; for I am really of opinion that there is not one of a thousand in the whole island that is a Jacobite, the protestant succession is truly the intention and desire of the people, even those who have not had the honour of knowing so perfectly your Royal Highness, and the sincere affection you really have for the English. I hope the nation will do nothing to demerit it; at least I will

1712.
December.

Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Bothmar 10.
No. 2.

Translation.

The remaining part of this letter concerns the affairs of Germany.

1712.
December.
Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Bothmar 10.
No. 3.

The same to the same.

Lord Strafford's letter to the Electress concerning Bothmar.—The guarantee in the Barrier Treaty.

Translation.

Extracts.

Hannover, December 20th, 1712.

——“ I AM much obliged to your Excellency, for your letter of the 17th. When Mr. Whitworth passed through this place a fortnight ago, he said that the Peregrine yacht had orders to wait for him; so that you will have a travelling companion in him. It would be disagreeable to miss the wind, when it is favourable.

I intreat Monsieur de Bothmar to communicate to you the translation of the letter written by lord Strafford to the Electress. He hopes, he says, your Excellency will make up in England what your predecessors had spoiled. To encourage you then, he ought not, at least, to have turned his back to you. You will see there a great many who behave in that genteel manner.

The new method which these gentlemen take to guarantee our succession in the new Barrier Treaty they offer, is infinitely captious. I don't know if his Electoral Highness will take notice of it so far, as to send orders to your Excellency, and to Monsieur de Bothmar on the subject. It is principally necessary to see first, what the States General will resolve; and, if they will submit to the terms which their good friend, lord Strafford, takes so much merit to himself for having procured to them. If they do, and the same torrent carries the Emperor along, and gives us a bad general peace, your Excellency will easily judge it will be impossible for us, in that case, to speak entirely in the same tone in England, in which we would speak if the war was continued.

Extracts

Extracts from the Electress's answer to the Earl of Strafford.

Translation.

Hannover, December 24th, 1712.

“ I Have not only received the news of your safe arrival in Holland, with a great deal of pleasure, but I was also very well pleased, that the Queen conferred upon you a singular mark of her esteem, by giving you the order of the garter; for I interest myself very particularly in whatever gives you satisfaction.”——“ There are unlucky stars, and they have proved so to the Baron de Bothmar, according to what you say. I don't know, however, that they have been able to prove any thing against his conduct. It is to be hoped, that the Baron de Grote will be more lucky, though he cannot have better intentions than the other.”——“ But how is it possible to please every one, in a country where men kill one another in diversion, and where every individual follows his own opinion? Those who went from this place, never had any other orders but to address themselves to the Queen and to her council, as they might have told you. The nation gives, at least, room for reflections, on account of the different books and pamphlets which are published every day. They diverted me, while I was confined to my room by a Saint Anthony's fire, which I had in my head. To comfort me, they said it was a disorder of young people, but I do not find that I am become younger by it. I am, &c.

1712.
December.
Copy.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Strafford.

STUART PAPERS.

1713.

1713.

THOUGH the attachment of the earl of Oxford to the protestant succession had embarrassed the intrigues of the Jacobites, throughout the year 1712, the most fatal stroke to their cause was the death of the duke of Hamilton. That nobleman was killed unfairly in a duel, in Hyde-park, on the 15th of November, while he was upon the point of setting out for France, in the character of ambassador-extraordinary. The secret object of his embassy, the Jacobites affirmed, was to obtain the Irish regiments in the French service, to be conveyed with the Pretender, in a clandestine manner, to Scotland. The Queen herself, eager for the eventual succession of her brother, is said to have approved of this scheme. Her object was to enter into a treaty with the Pretender upon his arrival; by which she was to permit him to remain, during her own life in Scotland, under the character of presumptive heir of the crown. His friends in parliament were so numerous, that she formed no doubt of being able to repeal the act of settlement. These measures were prevented by the duke's death. But the Jacobites continued their intrigues, in Great Britain, with unabating diligence, and entertained great hopes of success. The nation owed the disappointment of their schemes to the timidity of their leaders, and the enthusiasm of the Pretender himself, in adhering to the Romish faith, contrary to the advice of all his friends. The following papers throw a new and very important light on the history of the present year. The secret intrigues of both parties are distinctly marked and accurately related; and a chain of facts is continued, in a manner that gives them authenticity.

A letter

A letter from Mr. Rogers [Plunket].

It is his own original letter; and was probably addressed to Sir William Ellis, as the Key is in his hand.

News from England, and measures taken for the Pretender's service.

"MRS. White tells me, you would have your letters addressed to Mr. Hackett. I can't give you a satisfactory account of matters till I have a key. I can tell you now that the Wudly [Whigs] design to ply the Carres [church of England] very warmly soon; there is, to my knowledge, such another bomb as Mr. Williams [prince Eugene] was, flung in among them, which will make more for Mr. Jenkins [the King] still. Mr. Harris [Harley] will be hard put to: the better for you.

Mr. Jenkins [the King], when he returns, will have a competent allowance given him; a part, to gratify his friends and servants: things will do well in the end. I laid things before Mr. Harris [Harley] and Tom [lord Mulgrave] that may turn to Mr. Jenkins' [the King's] account. I shall send you a detail of the matter by Mrs. White in a few days; because I know it will please you. I am much yours,

J. R. [PLUNKET.]

Extract of a letter from Abbé Innes to the Earl of Middleton.

Middleton had followed his master, when he was obliged to retire from St. Germain. — The Tories propose to the Pretender to change his religion.

Original.
Ibid. No. 49.

January 2d, 1713.

— "YOUR lordship will have seen Abram's last of the 9th, I think it is, with a very bold title-page and conclusion of a pamphlet, which the Queen sent last night to the King. I send here the Review and Flying Post, which came in the same letter. I hope to be at Paris, Wednesday, and shall observe the Queen's and your lordship's directions, in dealing with Mr. Stoner and Mr. Philips. By what Sir William told me at parting, I find he had already engaged Mr. Philips to correspond with him; so shall come too late as to that. At the same time, I pressed Sir William to know what he meant by the encouragement, he had before told both the Queen and me, their college had to be so uneasy to the King about religion. He said their encouragement proceeded from their reflecting that King Charles had been Catholic long before

1713.
January.

before the restoration; yet that he temporised and never declared himself Catholic, till upon his death-bed; and that this encouraged them to hope, that the King, seeing the impossibility of his being restored without temporising, in the same manner, might be persuaded to it. I let him see the case was no way the same; for whatever inclinations King Charles might have had to the Catholic Religion, he never was received into the church, till his last illness; whereas the King has been educated from his infancy in the Catholic Religion, and has all his life made open profession of it. He could not but own the difference of the case; but seemed not to believe that King Charles had not been received Catholic before his restoration, though certainly he was not. However, he repeated again, that the King should be no more teased upon that subject.

My lord Newcastle happening to tell me, that he was acquainted with my lord Argyle, who is now at Paris, and that he would go to see him, I thought myself authorised, by your lordship's letter, to desire him make your compliments, and return your thanks to that lord, for his civilities shewn to my lord Clermont and his brother; and the same compliment shall be made by my lord Maxwell, who is still at Paris; for, as your lordship says, the more ways it comes to him the better."

The following letter was probably written by either Charles or Henry Straton, to the earl of Middleton or Sir William Ellis. The key is in Mr. Nairne's hand; and it appears, from the foreign postage paid for it, that it was sent from Edinburgh.

Original.
Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 28.

Extract of a letter from "James Forbes to Jacques Clerice, at Mr. Hacket's, merchant, Rotterdam."

Anecdotes concerning the earl of Oxford and lord Bolingbroke.

Evans, January 3d, 1713.

"YOUR friend Mr. Cary [Lockhart] writes to me from Porter's [London] quarters, that he is in friendship with Mr. Bruce z f p p v o z i n q y [Bolingbroke], and has lately had much freedom of conversation with him, by which he thinks Bruce [Bolingbroke] an honest man, and much in your uncle Frank's [the King's] interest; but, at the same time, he thinks Bruce [Bolingbroke] is not altogether well with
Mr.

Mr. Gould's successor [Harley], and seems confident that the latter is not pleased with the other's conduct in Fox's [France] family; and by what Cary [Mr. Lockhart] draws from Bruce [Bolingbroke], he judges Bruce doubts of Gould's good intentions. Whatever may be in this matter, it is fit Mr. Manning [earl Middleton] should know it; and though it may be hard to penetrate into this dark man's designs, it seems almost impossible he can long conceal them; and it is thought his first; or at furthest second meeting with Porter [the parliament] will discover much, which I heartily pray may be as you and I wish.

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I am told from very good hands, that Mr. Harry h vi Gsn fmo a niy [Thomas Hanmer] is a man of great parts, and has a mighty interest with, and influence on, both Mr. Porter [the parliament] and Mr. Gould [Harley]; so that if there could be ways and means found to engage him to your cousin Knowld's [the King's] interest, it is thought he is capable to do very important services. I cannot, to this minute, think on poor unfortunate Ashby [duke of Hamilton] but with grief, especially when I reflect what a loss his death is to your uncle [the King], which is hard to be repaired in Stuart's [Scotland] family; for in it I do not know the head that can every way fill Ashby's [duke Hamilton's] bonnet: but we must submit to Providence, and I hope God will raise up other instruments, both capable and willing to give due assistance and support to your uncle [the King] in his most just cause. So, wishing you and all your friends a happy new year, I bid you adieu, and am faithfully theirs and your most obedient

JA. FORBES.

Extracts of a letter from Lord Newcastle to the Earl of Middleton.

The Duke of Argyle's reception in France.

St. Germain, January 4th, 1713.

" I Was, yesterday, at Versailles, where I saw the lord Argyle. He came there the night before, and saluted the King yesterday at his levee. Some time after, he was sent for into the closette, where he stayed about half an hour. It is not to be imagined what a puer all the court kept about him; as they do about the least fellow that comes out of England, providing he be a Protestant or a parliament-man. Lord Argyle had

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
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No. 49.

1713.
January.

had two mareschals of France and a captain of the guards attending him wherever he went, which were the mareschal de Villeroy, Tallard, and the duke de Noailles; a crowd of other courtiers following him, as if they would carrye him on their shoulders. He went last night to Paris, and parts, as he says, this day towards England; though he was much invited to make some stay. I was assured yesterday, from a very good hand, who had it from Mr. de Torcy, that the Queen's jointure was absolutely consented to; and that it will not admit of the least difficulty, the moment a peace is concluded."

Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. iv.
4to. No. 27.

Mr. Lilly to Sir William Ellis.

This letter, like the rest of Mr. Lilly, is signed H. S. but it is marked on the back in Sir William's hand, "Mr. Lilly, $\frac{9}{20}$ January, 1713." It was sent, according to Sir William's usual address, to Mr. Edward Jones, at Mr. Hacker's, merchant in Rotterdam. It is in affected bad spelling. Before it, is a memorandum by Mr. Nairne, mentioning that the letters which follow were written from England in 1713, by Lamb, Rogers, Mrs. White, Clinch, Straton, &c.

January 9th.

YORS of the 30th past is with mi, in which a bill of fortin pounds eight shill for yor cusen Hannah [Mr. Lilly], which she has re-ferved, and returns her thanks. Yor lau sute is at a stand til term, which nou ffon cumms on. If you have ani direksons to give in the mene time, they shall bi followed. Pray God send you and us al a happi nieu yere. I hope you have seen Ned, tho' hi has litel to say. Your friend Lowry [Mr. Lilly's son] is nou with mi, and sends you meny and meny services. Prey rememmer mi kindly to Manley [lord Middleton] and Jackson [Mr. Inese]. I rejoize to here of Mrs. Kirkton's [the King's] gud helth. God kontinue and inkrease it, and send us wance mor a happy miting, when there is eney wurth you shal know.

Yors finferli and afektionatly.

H. S.

Extract

Extract of a Letter from Abbé Inese.

Jacobitism of Sir Thomas Hanmer.—Whigish schemes of the Earl of Oxford.

Paris, January 9, 1713.

"LAST night I had a visit from Phil §, who began with many excuses, for his knight's [Sir Thomas Hanmer] having received the letter, as he did; and again repeated, that, as far as he could discover, the knight was an absolute enemy to the Hannover succession, and consequently, that, at bottom, he must be our friend; though he was so reserved, that it was hard to discover his machinations, and when he spoke, thought himself obliged to speak in conformity to the present standing acts of parliament. He told me, at the same time, that the knight was so far disgusted with Honyton's [Oxford's] proceedings, that he was resolved not to return to England, till he saw what turn affairs were like to take; that he had already taken measures for going to the south of France, and from thence into Italy, and waited only the arrival of my lord Shrewsbury, from whom he expects more particular information; and that, if that lord did not satisfy him as to some things, that he would immediately set out for Montpellier. This he told me, as a very great secret, though it cannot be so long now; for my lord Shrewsbury is expected here, this very night. I find they are nettled at Hamden's, a notorious Whig, being taken into favour, and now to be sent to Hannover; and that Honyton [Oxford] has lately put in some of the most violent Whigs to be high sheriffs in some counties, on purpose to influence the next elections, in favour of the Whigs. He has promised to see me again, before my return to St. Germain's, and then I may know if this knight's reputation holds."

Mrs. White to Sir William Ellis.

Not dated, but supposed to have been written about this time, as it was "received January 19, 1713." It is signed H. Kinder; but Sir William Ellis marks on the back, that it was from Mrs. White, and when he received it. The key to it is in his hand.

§ Philips.

VOL. II.

B b b

About

1713.
January.
Original.
Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. Nr.
vol. iv. 4th.
No. 12.

Ibid. No. 35.

1713.
January.

About the Queen's jointure.—The Earl of Oxford's trimming conduct.—He displeases both parties.—He has sent Skrewsbury, and would wish to send Lord Mulgrave [Duke of Buckingham] out of the way.

S I R,

“ I Have received yours of the 25th of November, with great satisfaction, and have answered it before, and writ to you to the same effect of this; but since you direct me to send again, by the old direction, the last not being found good, for fear that may not come to your hands, I get my friend, who incloses this to his correspondent, to take care of it. Mr. Rogers † told me he would write, and desired a new patron §; and that then he would send what would be very acceptable, on all accounts. It is certainly in his power to do it effectually, as you will find. What I earnestly desired in my last, was, that you would use all your interest to fix the remittance of Mrs. Rachel Jones's [[the Queen's] money, which will be returned from hence, by our friend [Mr. Arthur] that incloses this. There is none so proper: his known honour, and integrity, and substance, is so unquestionable, that I think there cannot be the least objection; but, as the thing is considerable, one does not know what interest may be made. I did beg and do again, that you will be pleased to move it heartily. Mrs. Phillips [lady Middleton] can get it determined for him, with a word's speaking; and as I told you before, Mrs. Harris [Harley] did desire it may be so. He spoke to Mr. Rogers's friend to get it done; for he esteems him it is desired for. He sent for him to him, and desired him to remit a considerable sum “for him, that was of the best quality, that has been lastly with you” [Secretary St. John], on Mrs. Dian. Mansfield's [princess Anne's] account; so that I beg you to get an answer from Mrs. Rachel Jones [the Queen], if it be not already done. As I begged before, you may, if you please, send yours to his correspondent, to send the short way, and it will come safe. I cannot change my opinion of him I have named [Mr. Harley]. On Mr. Jenkins' [the King's] account, he would engage all; but keeps the balance in his own power, to give a turn the way he thinks will prove most suitable to continue for his own private interest. He makes himself many enemies, and secures but few friends; for those that are in Mr. Jenkins' [the King's] interest, abo-

† Plunket.

§ Cypher.

inate the trimming way he takes; and he will not be able to go on much longer, without giving some other demonstration than he yet has. Mr. Tom Smith [lord Mulgrave] is sincere, and he will not be led in so dark a path. When Mr. Medlicote [the parliament] comes, there will be another storm raised against him. Would Mr. Sandy [Hannover] come into his measures, he would, we all do believe, join entirely with him; and that is the reason, those that are entirely for Mr. Jenkins [the King] do so rail and hate him. He depends only upon the widow's [princess Anne's] opinion of him, which will fail him, if Mr. Thomas Smith [lord Mulgrave] and his friends can prevail upon her. Mrs. Phillips's nephew [lord Shrewsbury] will not do any thing in favour of Mrs. Rachel Jones's [the King's] relations. He is a very cautious man, and hates his principles, though he may wish otherways well, in some sense. He is sent to be out of Mr. Harris's [Harley's] way. He could wish, without doubt, to get Mr. Tom [lord Mulgrave] away, on any plausible account; but he acts such a game, that cannot hold long, because neither side can depend on him. The next term will show a great deal what we have to trust to. We have very good council, that will do the utmost at that hearing. You shall have a particular account how all passes. Mrs. White would beg, that if it were possible, you would get your friend, Sam Brown [Sir William Ellis], to send her, by some of those that have now a privilege to carry what they please, twenty ells of taffeta, such as they wear for mantuas, in summer, of a bright blue. It will take but little room, and it would oblige a friend of hers, if it could be done. It generally costs a crown or something more an ell. Pardon this trouble, and believe me most sincerely, Sir, your most humble servant."

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Extracts of a Letter from Father Ines to the Earl of Middleton.

Intrigues at St. Germain's.

Paris, January 9, 1713.

"I Never was more surprised, than when the Queen shewed me some letters the King had sent her about Mr. Massey [lord Middleton], and the more I think of it, the more I am convinced, that villany must proceed originally, either from the Irish, to remove one they generally look upon as none of their friends, and to make way for one of their

B b b 2

friends;

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friends; or else, that it is a trick of the Whigs invention, to ruin Jonathan [the King], by insinuating a correspondence with them to give jealousy to the other party; and by that means, to deprive Jonathan of the only person capable of giving him advice. They say Jonathan's friends desire this removal: these good friends have of late found themselves mightily disappointed, in their threatening Jonathan, as they have done, unless he complied, or as they term it, temporized in point of religion. It is very probable, they think Mr. Masséy has contributed to his being fixed in that point, and may, therefore have been glad of any pretext to get him removed."

The chevalier de St. George was, at this time, at Chalons sur Marne, waiting for a safe conduct from the duke of Lorraine, who did not think himself at liberty to give him one, without obtaining a safe conduct for him, at the same time, from the Emperor. There are several letters from Mr. O Rouerke to the earl of Middleton, on this subject.

Mr. O Rouerke to the Earl of Middleton.

Passports for the Pretender's removal to Lorraine.

Nancy, January 17, 1713.

"I Send your lordship inclosed a copy of the passport the duke designs to join with the Emperor's safe conduct, which he received free from any burdensome condition, as your lordship will see by Mr. de Craon's letter to me, which I join here, as giving an exact account of the state of that affair. I do not know, whether the duke intends to charge me, either to send or carry the originals of these instruments, when he has his answer from the French Court; but still I shall wait for his orders in that. I do not question, my lord, but you will like the obliging manner that the duke's passport is worded, and am confident the King will find all the satisfaction he can wish for, in the duke's carriage towards him. I hope a closer neighbourhood will very soon create betwix both, what is not common among sovereigns, which is personal friendship. I hope your lordship will pardon me this reflection, and stand persuaded, that no man is with a truer veneration, &c."

Mr.

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Mr. Craon's Letter to O Rouerke, mentioned in the preceding.

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Translation.

Luneville, January 17th, 1713.

"I Had the honour of writing to you, Sir, some days ago, that his Royal Highness had received from Vienna, a safe conduct for the chevalier de St. George, in the terms he wanted; and as the safe conduct gives him no designation, but what will be comprehended in the passport of his Royal Highness, he sent for Mr. D'Audiffret to inform him of it. He showed him, at the same time, the passport, which he intends to give to the chevalier de St. George, of which Mr. D'Audiffret has taken a copy, to send it to his court, and to know from the King's ministers, if it will suit in the terms proposed. The King's answer will be known, in four or five days. These unavoidable delays, in such a case, have hindered his Royal Highness from acquainting the chevalier de St. George sooner with what he hath done, both at Vienna and in Holland, to satisfy him. He will have the answer of the States-general, before the end of the month, and hopes it will be conformed to that of the Emperor. He orders me to write to you all that has been done in this affair, in order that you may inform my lord Middleton of it, and that his Royal Highness may have the merit of all his diligence with the King. You will find inclosed a copy of the passport, with which his Royal Highness proposes to furnish him and which you will be so good as to convey to my lord Middleton, &c."

Extract of a Letter from Lord Newcastle to the Earl of Middleton.

Paris, Jan. 24th, 1713.

—"AS to my lord Srosbery [Shrewsbury, then ambassador at Paris]

I can give you but very little account of him, for as I find, he is resolved to keep himself out of the way of any of us, and he has as good as declared himself upon that point.—I came hither this night, because Sir Thomas Hanmart [Hanmer] and his company part very soon for Italy; we shall, I believe, meet wance before he goes away, and I will try to get something out of him."

There was a Mr. Henry Straton, who received a small pension from the court of St. Germain, and to whom Nairne wrote several letters, under

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der the name of Scot; and there was a Mr. Charles Straton, who managed lord Clermont's estate, and is frequently mentioned in Nairne's letters, under the name of Mac Farling. The following letter is supposed to have been written to Henry, assuring him, that the Pretender and lord Middleton had no predilection for England in preference to Scotland, and that both of them were averse from the union.

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papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
p. 48.

Nairne to Straton.

January 25, 1713.

"**M**ANING [lord Middleton] being informed, that he is complained of, as being a friend to Uperton [the union], and that he neglects Stirling [Scotland], and minds only Estmore [England]; Straton was desired to undeceive Stirling's relations [the Scots] upon these points, by telling them what he knew himself to be matter of fact. As to Uperton [the union], that Maning [Middleton] had sent him directions to get all friends to oppose him, when his law-suit was depending; that Manning had not changed his opinion since; and that to accuse him of being Uperton's [the union's] friend, was, in a manner, accusing him to be friend to Hally [Hannover], than which nothing could be more ridiculous. And as to his neglecting Stirling [Scotland], whoever thought so were very unjust to him; for, on the contrary, Joseph [the King] and he had a true value for Stirling [the Scots], and more confidence in him than in their richer relations; but that, in this nice conjuncture, they could not trade, neither with Estmore [England] nor Stirling [Scotland], because Joseph [the King] was advised to be quiet, and say nor do nothing, till he could see clearer into the dark doings of the chief director of trade, lest in clashing with him he should ruin himself."

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Extracts of a Letter from Mr. O Rouerke to the Earl of Middleton.

Concerning the Emperor's safe conduct and the Duke of Lorraine's passport.

Lunneville, January 26, 1713.

"**I** Came here and acquitted myself of your lordship's commands near the duke, in returning him the King's thanks for his kind offices. He answered me, that his design to oblige the King, would induce him to do a great deal more, if it lay in his power, and appeared glad that the expression of his Majesty's passport was to his Majesty's liking, as he designed

designed it. As to the Emperor's safe conduct, it is still the same with the copy I had the honour to send your lordship some time ago; but the duke had an explicatory letter, that dispenses him from the hard conditions imposed upon him by the former, though, in effect, it meant nothing, that could lay any essential obligation upon the duke, to be responsible for the King's conduct, &c. it being what they call *Stile de chancellerie*, and intended rather as an admonition, than a binding condition, to which his Royal Highness holds himself liable.—In his second letter from the Emperor, he has what secures and satisfies his nicety upon that point; so that he designs to send to your lordship, the Emperor's and his own passport, as soon as he has his answer from the court of France, which is not yet come. His Royal Highness expects also, by the latter end of this month, an answer from Holland, about the safe conduct of that state, and does not see any difficulty to be made of it."

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January 28, 1713. "This day, his Royal Highness gave me the inclosed copy of the Emperor's last letter, in order to send it to your lordship. The reason why he has not sent it sooner was, that he feared your lordship might, by the tenour of this letter, apprehend still that it implied a kind of injunction to his Royal Highness, to observe the King's demeanour, &c. But, as it is, in effect, but an exhortation from the Emperor, and that the duke is very far from acting any part that might be disobliging to the King, or that did not become his own character; he hopes those words, of course, such as he looks upon them to be in the Emperor's letter, will not startle your C. the main point, I think, is, that his Royal Highness is well enough satisfied, that, by that letter, he lies under no obligation to answer for any of the King's actions.

He has an account from Holland, that his envoy having told the bishop of Bristol the Emperor's safe conduct was come, the latter was curious to know, by what name or qualification the Emperor specified our King; and having read the copy of that instrument, appeared well enough pleased, that he was not at all named in it; but designed by the words *exhibitor presentium*. The prelate told our envoy, that they (meaning the English) were obliged to the duke of Lorraine, for the care he took to facilitate the execution of one of the articles agreed upon betwixt them and France. The same letter gives an account, that the envoy had

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writ to the pensionary, to know who he ought to address himself to, for to solicit the State's safe conduct. The duke believes, that that of the Emperor's will serve for a model and a motive to dispatch theirs. He expects, in a few days, a courier, that may inform him further about it, which I shall wait for.

The duke presumes, that the safe conduct from England has been dispatched a great while ago; his envoy there having writ positively to him, above three months ago, that he had been told so by the minister. Your lordship knows what there is of it, and may perhaps judge it proper to inform me of it; for if it be not granted yet, and that it may require the ceremony of being solicited by his Royal Highness, he is ready to act in that, according to instructions, and to do all things else that may contribute to his Majesty's satisfaction and settlement at Bar."

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Queen Dowager to the Earl of Middleton.

Upon his leaving her son's service.

St. Germain's, January 28, 1713.

"I Have not had the heart, all this while, to write to you, upon the dismal subject of your leaving the King; but I am sure you are just enough to me, to believe, that it has and does give to me a great deal of trouble; and that which I see it gives the King encreases mine. You tell me, in your last letter, upon Mr. Hamilton's coming away, that if your opinion had been followed, you had gone first; but I am sure, if mine were, you should never go first, nor last. But alas! I am grown so insignificant, and so useless to my friends, that all I can do, is to pray for them, and God knows, my poor prayers are worth but little. I own to you, that as weary as I am of the world, I am not yet so dead to it, as not to feel the usage the King and I meet with. His troubles are more sensible to me than my own; and if all fell only upon me, and his affairs went well, and he were easy, I think I could be so too: but we must take what God sends, and as he sends it, and submit entirely to his will, which, I hope, in his mercy, he will give us grace to do; and then, in spite of the world, all will turn to our good.

You told me, in one of your former letters, that you were charmed with the King's being a good son. What do you think then I must be, that am the poor old doating mother of him? I do assure you, his
kindness

kindness to me is all my support under God; and I am confirmed of late more than ever, in my old observation, that the better you are with him, the kinder he is to me. But I am also charmed with him, for being a good master, and a true friend to those that deserve it from him; though I am sorry from my heart, that you have so much cause of late to make the experience of it. M. R.

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I say nothing to you of any business, nor of Mr. Hamilton, for I write all I know to the King, and it is to no purpose to make repetitions. I expect, with some impatience, and a great deal of fear, Humphrey's decision as to Francis."

Extracts of a letter from Lord Newcastle to the Earl of Middleton.

A conversation with Mr. Philips about the Pretender, the Earl of Middleton, Sir Thomas Hanmer, and the Earl of Oxford.

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St. Germain's, Jan. 29, 1713.

"I Told him" (Mr. Philips) "that I would fain know, before he parted, what he thought of my master, and whether he had friends in England that he could depend upon. He answered, as to the first question, that he was charmed with the character he had, and soe were a great many peopel in England, but that they were loth to shew themselves, or venture any thing, whilst he had so ill advisers. I askt who those were; he answered, that he ment a counselle that was there, who made it their bussinesse to give the King ill impressions of the protestants, and to make them odious to him, though they were the peopel from whom he was to expect most service.—As I know my lord Middleton must have beene ment as wan of this counselle, I askt him what was thought of him in England, and that I was sure that no body that knew him, cod looke upon him as a bigot. He answered, that he was in very good esteeme, and thoght very capable of bussinesse, but that since he changed his religion, they had not soe good an opinion of him.—After all this, I told him there cod be nothing more glorious for him, nor soe advantageous, as to be the means and instrument of bringinge the knight, his friend, into the King's interest; and that if he was soe honest a man as he often tould me he was, it ought not to be difficult; to which he answered, that if there was an honest man in England he was wan, which was answer enuffe, as he sayd, to my question; but that he,

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like others, wod be cautious, till they were shure of the peopel about the King; but that for his own particular, he wod dey to serve the King; and he made noe mystery, but that tother was in his interest as much, if twere not for the aforefaid raisons.

I then askt him whether the great man Harle, he believed ever thoght of doing the King any good; he tould me that question was very difficult to be answered; that when wan examined neerly several things that he does, a body might believe he had no good intentions; but that he was so cuning and close a man, that wan shod not despayre of him, thogh he dos things that seeme very oposite to our master's interest; and that his friend, the knight, knew no more of that particular then what he told me.—I tould him that, since their Queene cod not live for ever, that my thoghts Mr. Harle wod doe very prudently to strike up with the King, to have all confirmed upon him, and continued to him by the King, after the death of their Queene. He answered, that if the King were master of his three kingdoms to-morrow, he wod not be able to doe for Mr. de Harlé what the Elector of Hannovre has done alredy."

In the remaining part of the letter, he gives a very improbable account of Harley's receiving money from the Elector, and assures lord Middleton that Sir Thomas Hanmer and Mr. Philips were sincerely in their master's interest.

"My countryman," Mr. Philips, "drinks the King's health upon his knees, and was kneeling before his pitcher in my house.—The knight expects to heere wans more from England before he goes back, for he is still endeavouring to slip into Italie."

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Extract of a letter from Father Inese to the Earl of Middleton.

About the Earl of Middleton, Mr. Philips, Sir Thomas Hanmer, and Oxford.

St. Germain, Feb. 5, 1713.

"MR. Franklin's [the King's] letter to Mrs. Deering [the Queen], set me entirely at my ease as to Mr. Maffy [lord Middleton]; and I now begin to hope that those persons who had any hand in the plot, will, upon second thoughts, be so much ashamed, that they will
8
disown

disown their ever having meant a removal, as the college has disowned their having pressed Mr. Franklin upon the point of religion.

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Yesterday morning I delivered to Mr. Phe [Mr. Philips] Mr. Franklin's picture, which he received with great protestations of respect and gratitude; and said he hoped to shew it where it would do good service. He told me his knight [Sir Thomas Hanmer] and he, were to part for England the 13th, and did not disown but his knight was like to be secretary, and himself to be employed about him. If that should happen, he said, he could not promise to write himself, but assured me, when he met with any thing which was for Mr. Franklin's service, he would communicate it to Lilly or Abram, being particularly acquainted with both; and spoke very kindly, and with great esteem, of the last. Meantime, he said, there was one thing he thought himself obliged to mention, as being of great importance for Mr. Franklin; which was, that he should shew kindness to protestants, and have as many of them about him as his present condition could allow. After that, he fell on Honyton [Harley], and sharply enough blaming his conduct, and insinuating very intelligibly that he was not like to support himself long in the dark trimming methods he took, having few or no true friends at bottom, and disobliging both parties more and more."

Mrs. White to Mr. Watson.

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The beginning of the letter is abridged, in Sir William Ellis's hand, and made intelligible as follows.

"A Copy of the two first pages of Mrs. White's letter of $\frac{26 \text{ Jan.}}{6 \text{ Feb.}}$ 1713, which are written in a cut paper."

Anecdotes of the Earl of Oxford.—He has promised his interest to the Elector of Hannover, who does not trust him.—The King of France, by Oxford's means, must guarantee the succession.

"MR. Harley has assured the D. of Hannover, by all that is sacred, that he intends his faithful service; and showed that what he has done was to stem a tide, and that had he acted otherwise, it would have ruined all; and that, by being in with some Jacobites, he is come to the knowledge of all their designs, and knows their weakness and strength; and by his son-in-law, he is come to a better intelligence with Hanno-

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ver; and that son was, and is, a great favourite at Hannover. But the Whigs so possessed Hannover of the trickish temper of Harley, that yet he does not entirely rely on him; but demands, for a proof of what he protests, that he will give him this proof, that he will get all the sheriffs of each county in, that are Low Church, and a motly ministry, and the King of France to be guarantee for the succession for him, and his son and grand-son to do the same; this, and all other terms which he demanded, Harley has promised to do all in his power to perform. And, on his side, Harley demands that it shall not be insisted on to have lord Wharton, nor any of those that were in the ministry, who are his personal enemies, but such as are for moderate ways. He would prove, that that set were against Hannover, and aimed at doing for themselves; but he is content to have the late chancellor Cowper, and some of that stamp in, and this is to reconcile him to the body of the Whigs, and promises all assurances to him and his. This is now upon the anvil, and you may assure my lord Middleton of it, for I was told it by Mr. Cowper (brother to the late lord chancellor Cowper) as the greatest secret, and I am sure it is most true; his brother told it to him."

The last two pages of this letter are decyphered in the original.

"The person I have named is a very cunning false man, and has several of Mr. Jenkins's [the King's] friends frequently with him, only to draw all he can, to do him the more essential wrong. My council hates him [Harley], and uses to repeat all his unfair practices; yet, at this time, owns that he has so warded against a storm, that few besides himself could have done; and added, that it was the opinion of all of his sort, that if he gave the proofs which he had promised, and orders it so, to have the family of Medlecot [parliament] to be such as they had been some years past, he will be in esteem with those that now hate him. Here is no public news. We that are called Whigs, are in great hopes things will go better; for all that can be done yet, to procure a parliament of Low Church Men, is done: the sheriffs of each county, where there are any of that sort of men pricked, they are chosen, though the counties are as averse as ever, or more; and it is said, there will be admitted into the council several of the same sort. The French ambassador has enraged the people in bringing over so vast a quantity of wine, and suffering his servants to sell it, from his own house, by retail, at six and seven

seven shillings a bottle. I know severals that have bought it so, and drank it in his cellar, and paid down their money there; and they sell silk. The Spittle-field weavers have a design to pull down his house, because they have bought and sold great quantities of silk, they report, to the value of 200,000 £.; this breeds ill blood, and was very impolitically done. Mr. Jacob [King of France], I am told, consents to be surety for Mr. Sandy [Hannover], and his relation [King of Spain] the same. This is owing to Mr. Harris [Harley], and he, with Mr. Jacobs, now that is lately gone to him [lord Shrewsbury]. Your friend Mr. Bartholeme [Mr. Mathews *], is zealous for his chief [the King]: but what can they do? If they consent to contradict Mr. Harris's [Harley's] measures, they will have their congée given them, and turned away, and now there is a way in the family to give their opinion, that the choice before them is writ to make it stand so, though it be quite wrong; that advantage they can have by those that send up to them, it has been the practice these late years in that family; and all that can be done will be practised, notwithstanding the general bent is otherwise. I have tired you, who am, with all esteem, &c."

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Q Rouerke to the Earl of Middleton.

Nancy, Feb. 9, 1713.

HE writes to the earl of Middleton, that the duke of Lorrain had received the answer of the French court, and that that court approved of the terms of the Emperor's safe conduct, and of the duke's passport. That the duke expected soon the safe conduct of the Dutch, and did not think it necessary to have one from the King of Prussia, since he must be understood to be comprehended in the Emperor's, as Elector of Brandenburg, like the other princes of the empire.

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The Queen to the Earl of Middleton.

St. Germain, Feb. 9, 1713.

"I Find by yours of the first, that you look upon Pratler's last letter rather as a certificate, than a security for you; but I flatter myself that it will prove the one as well as the other; for, when things of that kind begin to cool, and that every body sees that the King does not coo towards you, I think there is good reason to hope that they will push

Original:
Ibid.

* D. of Buckingham.

him.

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him no more about it; and I believe it so much, that I have already made my compliments of congratulation to the King upon it, and desired him to make them to you from me, not being able these two posts to write to you, after having writ very long letters to himself. I am sure you cannot doubt of the sincerity of my compliments on this occasion, in which the King and I are, at least, as much concerned as yourself; and I do assure you, that had I thought your going from the King for his service, I would have told you so, and advised him to let you go: but, as I think quite the contrary, I was bound to say it, as I did from the first moment I heard of this strange proposal, and as I shall continue to do, till I see cause to change my mind, which, if ever I do, (though very unlikely) you shall be the first man that shall know it. But as to the troublesome hero of this disagreeable scene, I shall say nothing of him here; having already said all I know or think of him to the King, whom I find is now very sensible how much he was mistaken in his man. For lord Edward, I never heard a word of him, but good, till I saw the King's letter to Mr. Innes. I am very glad the King and you have so good an opinion of him, and I am fully persuaded he deserves it, as I am sure you do all my esteem and friendship, which you shall have as long as I live.

M. R.

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The Earl of Middleton to Abram.

Reasons why the Pretender should not nominate Bishops.—The Jacobites are desired to support the Ministry.

SIR,

February 13.

"I Communicated your letters of the 20th of January to Sir Joseph [the King], in answer to which he has ordered me to tell you, that he is very sensible of Cowly's [church of England] friendship, and truly concerned for the right succession of that worthy family; that the power he sent some years ago, by Mr. Lamb, to constitute new overseers [bishops], where they were thought necessary, subsists still, and impowers Cowly's relations [the High Church party] to act according to the tenor thereof, as occasion offers, without need of renewing the same; but, since they are now desirous of knowing Sir Joseph's opinion, and to receive his further directions, before they proceed to the choice of any new overseer, you are desired, in the first place, to thank them for the regard and deference they have to Sir Joseph in this matter; and in the next place,

place, to let them know that he is of opinion this is no proper time, either for himself or Cowly, to be making any new steps of that nature.

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First, Because he is advised, by his best friends and wisest lawyers, to make as few plain acts belonging to his character as possible, in his present circumstances.

Secondly, Because of the difficulty of secrecy in performing the thing, and the bad consequences the knowledge thereof might produce in this juncture of time.

Thirdly, Because the overseers of Cowley's family, who are now in possession, being by far the greater number, ought not, in prudence, to be provoked at this time.

For these, and other reasons, Sir Joseph thinks it will be much better, both for his own service, and for the good of Cowley's family, to sit quiet at present, and defer till a better opportunity, especially since the thing has been delayed so long already. This you will be pleased to impart to Mr. Hartely and Mr. Lamb, and the other trustees of the family, in answer to the commission they charged you with, and assure them, at the same time, of the continuation of Sir Joseph's friendship and esteem for them.

You are also desired to tell them to recommend to all their friends to associate with Hickman [Harley] and company [the ministry], and go along with them in all their measures, according to the directions given last year to Morley; and particularly to caution his relations in Proby's family [the parliament], to move nothing of lady Jean's concerns in that company, unless it be in conjunction with How [princess Anne] and his factors [her ministry], who will be sure to obstruct any thing of that kind that comes not originally from themselves; and such a disappointment would be irreparable."

MASSEY.

Nairne to Berry.

February 17.

"TO acknowledge his of the 19th January, and tell him the King was to part from Chalons Monday next, 20th instant, for Bar, and

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and that all Peacock's family [the Protestants], left at Stanley's [St. Germain's], was to join him there immediately."

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No. 49.

Extracts of Letters from On. O Rouerke, and Abbé Inese, to the Earl of Middleton.

Mr. O Rouerke to the Earl of Middleton.

About the Pretender's removing to Lorrain.

Original.

Lay, two leagues from Toul, Feb. 17, 1713.
"THE honour of yours met me in this place; and I do admire that your lordship can be a stranger to the change of the King's residence. The French envoy told H. R. H. last Sunday, by order of his master, that the safe conducts being so slow a coming, it was resolved our King should come into Lorrain out of hand; and desired to adjust with the duke the most convenient manner of lodging him at Nancy. H. R. H., surprised a little at this new disposition, offered for that purpose his house at Nancy, as he did already that of Bar, &c."

Ibid.

Abbé Inese to the Earl of Middleton.

A conversation with Mr. Philips, who complained that the Protestants were not encouraged.

Original.

February 18, 1713.
"IF what we are told here be true, this will scarce find your lordship at Chalons. I came to town partly at Philips's desire; but was disappointed. He told me little new. The main complaint was of the King's not having Protestants about him, and shewing kindness; then said, by way of exclamation, how many ways were taken to mortify honest Sir William Ellis, and to keep him from the King. I told him, I could not think Sir William himself would say so. Then he quarrelled Mr. Lesly's not being sent for; that, if he were with the King, it would be of more weight with Protestants in England than four such as Mr. West, who had been long absent, and was little known in England; whereas Lesly was of known reputation, and that either he or Downs ought to be there. I answered nothing as to Downs; but as to Lesly, that his health did not allow

allow him to make such a journey, and that his presence was thought more necessary in England. The protestation shall be made up ready in packets; but I should be glad to have lists of those to whom they must be sent, especially in England, that there be no mistakes. We shall begin with the two Holland gazettes, as soon as we know that the peace is signed."

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The Pretender to Lewis the XIV.

"Copy of the letter which James the Third, King of England, wrote to his most Christian Majesty, before he left France to go to Lorraine."

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Translation.

SIRE, Chalons sur Marne, Feb. 18th, 1713.

"WHAT terms shall I employ to express my gratitude to your Majesty, before I leave the asylum which you have been pleased to grant me, almost ever since I was born, and which you do not permit me to leave, but in order to procure for me another more suitable, in the present state of your affairs and of my own? Words fail me, to express how my heart is penetrated, by the remembrance of your Majesty's beneficence and former kindness towards me. The care you are now pleased to take of me, and of whatever concerns me, crowns the whole, and encourages me, in the sad situation I am in, from the confidence I have, in a generosity that has no example for its continuance, in a wisdom which is accustomed to accomplish the greatest designs, and in a bounty which unweariedly extends itself to me and to my family.

It is with all possible earnestness, that I request your Majesty for the continuance of it, towards me and the Queen my mother; the only person who is left of all those who were most dear to me, and who deserves so much of me, as the best of mothers. Besides, she does not fall short of me, in the sentiments of gratitude to your Majesty, with which she herself inspired me, from my tenderest infancy.

When I have assured your Majesty of my most sincere and fervent wishes for your prosperity and happiness, I have nothing further to say, but to conjure your Majesty to be thoroughly persuaded, that you will always find in me the respect, attachment, and, if I can presume to say, the tenderness of a son, a will always ready, not only to follow, but even to go before your own in all things, during the time of my exile; and

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if I shall ever see myself restored to my dominions, a faithful ally, who will make it his glory and his happiness to concur with the first designs of a King, who does honour to royalty."

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pers, vol.
ix. 4to.
P. 50.

Nairne to Berry.—Bar, February 23d.—“ I told him, that many believed Baker [Harley] to be in Harper's [Hannover's] interest at bottom; that Young [princess Anne] could do the business himself if he were encouraged to undertake it heartily and soon; but delays and dark doings looked suspicious; and that I was sorry to find him of opinion that this session would not meddle with Harper [Hannover]. That the King arrived here the 21st.”

D N. vol. iv.
4to. No. 29.

Mr. Lilly to Mr. Manley, i. e. the Earl of Middleton.

In an affected bad spelling, and signed H. S. as his preceding letters.

About the Queen's health, and her brother's restoration.

“**Y**OUR attorney Quanton [princess Anne] is in a very ill state of health, often fits, and it is thought may go off suddenly in one of them; therefore, take care of what papers you have in his hands, and if Kennedy [King of France] will not undertake our business, have you any more proper than Stanhope [Scotland], who would be hearty for his own sake, to get rid of Mr. Underhill [the Union], whom he hates mortally, and believes he will be his ruin; and if Kirkton [the King] were sent to him before Harrison [Hannover] comes, it would distract Mr. Eden [England] too, and make him jealous even of his brother Edgar [the English], which he is not a little already. It is a race, and who comes first wins. I writ to you, about the beginning of last summer, that Mr. Arnold said it was not the way of merchants to pay bills that were not called for in a twelvemonth; and, therefore, that if you thought fit, you would renew that order to him, lest that might happen for which it was designed; but I have not heard a word from you since, which makes me think, you have some better way, perhaps, now by Freeman [France]. However, pray let me know I am discharged of the matter, that no blame may be on me; for, till you tell me so, I shall not think myself discharged; and, without the renewal of that bit of credit, shall not be enabled to send. I suppose you have heard, that
your

your friend Mr. Knox [the King] is gone to the Levant [Lorrain]; and now it is hoped, that Mr. Chapple of Crawford [church of England] may appear and follow his business; it will be no small advantage to Kirkton [the King].

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Mrs. Lighton [Lesley] has of late been much indisposed, and is now in like condition as about two years ago at Mr. Hedges [Holland]; but if she recovers, I hope it will do her good. She presents her most hearty service to good Mrs. Kirkton [the King], and all friends with you; to honest Burton [Berwick], if there, for whom she has a great value.

Yours sincerely,

H. S."

"*An extract of Mr. Rogers's [Plunket's] letters of the 9th, 14th, 20th, 23d, and 27th of February, 1713.*" D. N. vol. iv. 4to. No. 33.

This extract is in Sir William Ellis's hand, and was probably sent by him to the earl of Middleton. Almost every circumstance is authenticated by the Hannover Papers of the same month.

About the succession to the crown after the death of Queen Anne, and the intrigues for securing it for her brother.

"**T**HAT what he had said, in a former letter, viz. That Mr. Harley and his brethren would call home the King; he had it from, and has since had it confirmed to him by, Mr. Netterville; which is, he says, as much as if he had had it from Mr. Harley's own mouth: and that he has had the same thing confirmed to him, at several times, by Mr. Pen, the Quaker.

That lord Mulgrave, and the rest of his opinion, would be glad to have the King home as soon as possible, if they knew how to do it without running any hazard; and that princess Anne is of the same mind, but timorous. This, he says, comes from lady Fretchwel.

The reasons he gives for not making use of a cypher formerly sent to Mr. Netterville, in order to his corresponding with my lord Middleton, are, that the French ministers had given him a disadvantageous character of my lord Middleton. That his lordship and lord Melfort do not agree, and betray one another. That Mr. Netterville was desired from thence, (that is, from St. Germain, or from Paris) not to correspond with any there, for he would have been betrayed. But that Mr. Netterville tells

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him, that my lord Middleton and Sir William Ellis are honest, moderate, and understand the affairs of England the best of any he knows, consequently the fittest to be entrusted and employed. He gives another reason, for not using the cypher sent to Netterville, viz. Lest Mr. Harley should know he corresponds with any about the King, and gives measures different from Mr. Harley's, and such as may hinder the King from coming to the terms, which he says, perhaps, may be expected from his Majesty; that Mr. Harley would have the King kept in the dark, believe nothing but what comes from him, or think of a restoration but by his means; and that the King must abandon Rome, if he desires to come home. Mr. Netterville asked him, why he did not send some body to the King, to know his mind; he replied, the King of France would know it and would raise disturbances in England, which he (Harley) would prevent all he can; which, Mr. Rogers says, he believes, he will do, as long as princess Anne lives; and advises not to believe the contrary, or rely on a civil war, as Messrs. Harley and Netterville say, they are sure, we are made believe, by Sheridan, Mrs. Fox, Mr. Minnis, Mr. Ferguson, and these, Mr. Rogers says, he calls Propaganda stories. These, he desires, may not be believed, because the writers are strangers to the affairs on the anvil.

He says, he is surprized that Sir William Ellis had not the papers he sent him from Rotterdam; and says, he directed one of them to Sir Richard Cantillon.

That D. Hamilton proposed to obtain of the King of France four or five regiments to have gone with the King to Scotland; and then princess Anne and the parliament would have ventured to treat with his Majesty, which they won't hazard to do otherwise till after the peace, and till they have turned out all the Low Church men; which being done, will send to treat with his Majesty, and with the King of France, who must give as a security for the King's performance.

That Mr. Harley manages the Low Church and Hannover, till he can get the peace settled. Believes him hearty to the King's interest, and has several instances of it, though few of the Jacobites believe him to be so.

The cabinet-council are for the King, for their own interest and fear; but will hazard nothing. That Mr. Harley has so watchful an eye over him

him (Rogers), that he can't go to lord Mulgrave nor B——; but lord Yarmouth goes between them. That Mr. Netterville knows every thing, and Mr. Harley consults him in every thing; and yet he (meaning, as it is supposed, Netterville) would have the King restored at any rate.

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That they (Mr. Rogers and Mr. Netterville) would fain make duke D'Aumont subservient to the King's interest; but Rogers thinks he and those about him, are more capable of spoiling than doing business, for he (duke D'Aumont) thinks he knows more than he does, won't be advised, and pretends to know England, of which he knows nothing at all; but however, thinks he may be made some use of, such as to fetch and carry. He desires this may be read to none, but to the King.

That the cabinet-council intend to purge the army and the guards, and make a thorough regulation in the kingdom. That he (Rogers) will give a full account of all circumstances, when he comes. That he is told, he shall, after a little time, be sent to Bar, to let the King know his true friends in Scotland and England; but whether he is sent or no, he will endeavour to come, because it will be of use to his Majesty's affairs; though he knows Mons. Torcy and Mr. Harley do not desire he should go at present; but he says, he will find a good colour, when there is occasion.

That a great many of the Whigs have subscribed a paper, and sent it to princess Sophia, setting forth their own strength, and advising that young Hannover may be sent to England, whither he may lawfully come (being naturalized a peer). That he (Rogers) could have got said paper secured; but thought it best to let it be sent, in order to let Hannover further expose himself, to no purpose, which will turn to the King's advantage. By way of postscript to this letter, which is of the $\frac{14}{25}$ February, he says, he had just then had a letter from Holland, advising, that lord Churchill and his friends are taking measures to send over young Hannover; as being the only resort he and his party have. But Mr. Rogers thinks, as before, the sooner he attempts it the better. In his letters of the 20 February, he gives an account of the measures lord Churchill and the 3 March, Dutch are taking, and particulars of the paper which the Whigs subscribed and sent to the princess Sophia; viz.

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That princess Anne could not live longer than March.

That she (princess Sophia) should order matters so, as to be ready to come at twenty-four hours warning.

That they will get the heads of the clergy to give princess Anne a memorial; setting forth, that the King is coming to England, and bringing with him the Roman Catholic religion. This they believe will make the country declare for the succession of Hannover, and give a handle to the parliament to send for princess Sophia and her grandson, as the only pledges she (princess Anne) and the kingdom can have, at present, for the security of the protestant religion, in and out of England, for the future.

That they will urge, in their said memorial to have the Whigs share equally with the Tories in the government.

That they will get the D. of Hannover's minister in England to second this memorial, which Mr. Rogers says, he hopes he (Hannover's minister) will do; but believes the cabinet-council will prevent the giving of any such memorial. That Mr. Harley laughed at it, but looks on it to be well concerted.

That Somers, Halifax, and C——r, are pressing Netterville daily, to use his interest with Mr. Harley, to bring them and their friends into business; that the person who manages this affair with Netterville is his (Mr. Rogers's) acquaintance; and tells him also, that Cowper, the late chancellor, if he could get off handsomely from the Whigs, would join with princess Anne in all her measures.

That he (Rogers) knows, Mr. Harley is for dividing the employments betwixt the High and Low Church, and for having the choosing of them himself; hoping, by that means, to be master, whoever gets the crown. But that the October-club will never suffer this, and Mr. Harley stands in awe of that club, which is jealous of him already; and if he should share the places, as aforesaid, he would soon be discarded.

That Mr. Harley has spies among the Whigs, that discover all their designs; and he lets them play with their plot, till he sees his time to break it, and then they begin another. This, Mr. Rogers says, he knows to be true, as having been employed in these matters from the beginning.

That,

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That, if the papers he (Rogers) has given to the cabinet-council were published, he doubts not, they would reconcile all the kingdom to the King's interest; but that Mr. Harley, believing this would lessen his credit with the King, and give his Majesty occasion to think, what service he (Harley) might do was more out of necessity than duty and affection, has opposed and prevailed with princess Anne to oppose the publishing of said papers, which lord Mulgrave and his Majesty's true friends were for having done. That there are two parliament-men who would fain have him (Rogers) give them some of those papers: that they would improve them to advantage. But he says, he thinks it too nice a thing to venture upon, without advice: so desires Sir William Ellis's opinion, by the next ordinary, and believes the October-club would make a good business of it.

That there is an old acquaintance of his (Rogers) there (at London), who sends intelligence to princess Sophia of what the Whigs are doing. That the said person shows him (Rogers) all she sends. That she is a great confident of princess Sophia's; and, by this means, he (Rogers) shall have a further occasion, he says, of serving the King.

That we, he says (meaning, as seems, himself and the King's friends there) must strain a point to get the King soon restored; for lord Mulgrave is old, and lord Shrewsbury is right, but timorous. These two, he supposes, govern the cabinet-council, and keep Mr. Harley in awe; and that, if Mulgrave dies, Mr. Harley will send lord Shrewsbury to Ireland, and then govern the cabinet-council to give the crown to whom he pleases, and that this makes him (Harley) delay, and go so slow in reforming the government.

That, to prevent Mr. Harley's management as aforesaid, he (Rogers) had thought fit to acquaint lord Mulgrave with some late advices he had had from Holland, viz. That Heinsius is of opinion, Holland can't be safe whilst the government of England is in the hands of the Tories; and that it should be the business of the Dutch and Whigs, whether there be war or peace, to blow up the Tories, or at least make them uneasy. That, since this advice has been communicated as aforesaid, he (Rogers) finds Mr. Harley is uneasy and is afraid that the cabinet-council will join with the Whigs, this session of parliament, to send him to the Tower; and to obviate it, he is for making five or six peers more, and

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to publish the peace, at least with France and Spain, which he thinks will so far please the two houses, in regard of the advantages England has by it, that they will be soon reconciled to him.

That, on ^{21 Feb.}_{3 March}, a man of note had advice from Ireland, that the Whigs there are ready to declare for Hannover, and that the West of Scotland will join with them. That Netterville acquainted Mr. Harley with this, and advised him to proceed forthwith to a thorough reformation, in the three kingdoms; that, otherwise, princess Anne could not be safe. That Mr. Harley answered, No danger. That the parliament will be so well pleased with his conduct and management, that the Whigs and their adherents will be soon laid on their backs. That all the country gentlemen are for princess Anne and her ministers, and will not be for Hannover. That the Whigs may make a noise this session, and invite Hannover to come to nose princess Anne; yet all will not do, and they will get no point by it; for the parliament will declare neither way. Their business will be to secure the protestant religion, and order matters so now, that it will not be in the King's power ever to hurt it. Mr. Rogers adds, that, by this means, he (Harley) will weather the point. And that you, he says, "may depend upon it, if there is truth in man, and I, he says, understand any thing, the way is a paving for the King; but as they are resolved to run no risque for a restoration, they'll take their own time, and the safest way to do it; and the King of France is in the secret;" and you will find all this to be true in the end.

I, he says, don't think the King safe at Barleduc, and that the allies will stand at nothing to ruin him.

That he (Rogers) had, since his last, which was of the ^{23 February,}_{6 March}, introduced Netterville to D. D'Aumont, who discoursed with them two hours and a half. That they showed him how easy it would be, for his master and him, to procure the King's restoration, if they would follow the measures that should be given them. That the said duke answered, "their desire should be strictly complied with;" and that the King or none of his house should know any thing, till the business is done. He (the duke) told them, he would rely on what intelligence they will give him, and will give what money is necessary for carrying on his master's business, which they had showed him was to restore the King; with regard

gard to his own safety and welfare, of which he seemed to be sensible, desired their friendship and assistance, and said they should find their account in it.

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'Tis believed lord Nottingham will, at the meeting of the parliament, insist on Hannover's being sent for.

That there is come for England one Widam of Camb. as he pretends himself, from the King of France. That he told Mr. Netterville, that the King is not much concerned for the crown; is nothing at all addicted to the Roman Catholic religion; is in the hands of lord Middleton and Sir William Ellis, both deists, and believes they'll make him one, and are not at all liked or looked on in the court of France; and that lord Melfort is the man he (Mr. Netterville) should correspond withal. This, and much more such fulsome stuff, it is said Widam told Netterville, in order to his acquainting Mr. Harley with it; but Mr. Netterville would not, knowing it would do the King harm; and, if said man stays long, he will do hurt. What is or has been doing for the King's interest hitherto may be spoiled, by such foolish management. The man means well; but Mr. Netterville is not pleased with his actings, nor any that hears him.

Mr. Netterville proposed lately to Mr. Harley, to have a bill brought in to break the triennial act, and to have the army put into trusty hands. Mr. Harley answered, the breaking the triennial act would seem too violent, and there's reason to hope the next parliament will be as good as this. The kingdom will be so well pleased with the peace, that the present ministers will be better settled than hitherto, and the late ministers more blasted this session than they were the last. That the country gentlemen will never be reconciled to the Whigs.

Mr. Rogers says, that most of the country gentlemen are for having the King; but will hazard nothing.

That he finds, after a little while, the duke of Berwick may have a passport to come for England; that he and lord Middleton and Sir William Ellis are not hated, but lord Melfort is. Mr. Netterville tells Mr. Harley they are men of moderation, which is well looked on among them in England.

That it's desired, the King of France, or any of his, may not know, that Mr. Rogers writes to Sir William Ellis, and what he writes, he de-

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fires the King only may know it; and that Mr. Netterville tells him, they must serve the King unknown to the King of France and those about him; and that the King of France must make use of no other measures, but what they in England give him."

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The Earl of Middleton to Berry.

March 9th.

"YOUR friend Mr. Plessington [the King] read your letter to me of the 20th ult. with a great deal of satisfaction, finding you persist still in your former opinion, that it is Baker's [Harley's] real interest, and consequently his inclination, to have Harper's [Hannover's] decree reversed. It's certain, that if Aylmer [the princess Anne] should break [die] before the cause be reheard, that Baker [Harley] is in as much danger of suffering in proportion as Manly [the King]; and, therefore, it is reasonable to hope he should use all his endeavours to bring this matter to a speedy issue, as soon as possible he can, since delays are equally dangerous for both.

I wish the late alarm he has had of Aylmer [the princess Anne] breaking may quicken him a little for what was like to happen, when even Berry himself, in some of his last letters, had no apprehension of Aylmer's [the princess Anne's] affairs being in any real danger, may happen hereafter in effect, when least feared or expected; and, in such a case, no wise merchant, who has his all at stake, ought to lose a moment, to ensure his effects and make himself and his partners easy.

I reckon Baker [Harley] is sure of Philips [the peace] by this time; and Young [princess Anne] and he may reckon upon Kemp's [King's] friendship. Wanly [the Whigs] is low, at present, and they have it in their power to make him [them] yet lower. Wheatly [the English] has but one objection against Manly [the King], which Arnot and all Cary's true relations [the church of England] know to be unreasonable, since all the reasonable security Cary himself can desire to remove all fears of danger from Cotton's partnership [the Roman Catholic religion], Manly [the King] is willing to grant.

This old dying man Price [the parliament] is tractable. Baker [Harley] has an ascendant over him, and he cannot be sure of having the same credit with his successor, nor that Young [princess Anne] himself will

will be then in being, and in a condition to support him. Edward's [England's] best relations speak well of Manly [the King], at present; and the generality of Wheatly's family [the English] are dissatisfied with Harper's [Hannover's] late behaviour; but these gentlemen being changeable, their hearts may cool. All this considered, I confess, I cannot see any prudent reason for Baker's [Harley's] dilatory proceedings: but he being the chiefest lawyer, and his own interest so much concerned, Manly [the King] must be governed by him, and comply with what he cannot help; and, in the mean time, have patience and hope the best."

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There follows here a paragraph, in which names occur for which there is no key, in the whole correspondence.

"Plessington [the King] is, God be thanked, in very good health, and receives all the friendship and kindness from the Gentleman [duke of Lorraine], in whose house he lodges at present; but he hopes Aitkins will invite him to a better house before it be long."

The Earl of Middleton to Mr. Lamb.

March 21st.

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vol. ix. 4to.
p. 51.

"MY Welsh uncle, Josias Jenkins [the King], has always looked upon his nurse Hannah [Mr. Lilly†] as the most necessary to him, in his house keeping, and indeed in all his other concerns; so he took time to consider where and in what station she might be most useful, and now his inclination has determined him to have her with him, and ordered me to tell her so, that she might take her measures for that purpose; and to set out with all convenient speed the shortest way.

Pray speak to your friend, Mr. Lilly, to indorse the bills in his custody and lodge them with a trusty person for the use they were destined. In the mean time, there is nothing to be said of our present affairs, for all directions must be suspended, till we have Hannah's informations."

Nairne wrote to Abram of this date, "To cover the above letter, and to answer his of the 24th February about Abbé Polignac's being made a cardinal, at the King's nomination. The letter was read and approved by the King." He wrote another to him on the 26th of March, "To cover my lord's letter to Lamb [Lesley], which gave him advice, that

Ibid. p. 52.

† Lesley.

E e e 2

the

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the old credit was ordered to be renewed, in case of Charles's breaking [princess Anne's death]; and that 800 livres would be ordered to be paid to himself for his journey."

There is some room to conclude, from these two letters, that Lamb, *i. e.* Mr. Lesley, is the person sometimes meant by Hannah or Lilly.

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Papers, D. N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 36.

Sir William Ellis to Mr. Ken.

Dear Sir,

April 2d, 1713.

"YOU will have heard, before now, that your old and dear friend Wat [Mr. Lilly †] is called away from you, and from his delightful bower. I am persuaded the parting will be mixed with grief and joy; but that the latter will be in a much greater proportion, and prevail, for reasons which your good sense will supply you with; and, therefore, I need mention none. What I hope and wish is, that he may bring with him such proof of the unity, affection, firmness, and zeal of James and partners [church of England], and particularly of those of your house, for the common interest of the manufactory, as may be satisfactory to the principal friend Mr. Kreely [the King], the chief undertaker, and who, as such, cannot but suffer chiefly, as his interest is much the most considerable, by the contrary; and, therefore, whatever misunderstandings there may have been, and on what grounds soever, it is certainly best for all to forget and forgive, and to go conjointly to pursue the main point; for truth and justice will have the better on't at last, which is the great comfort and support of all that mean well and uprightly, as I am fully persuaded, and know assuredly all of you do, and consequently will not only act conformably in your several capacities, but also will give such frequent accounts of your so doing, from time to time, as may let Mr. Kreely [the King] see your cheerful and hearty concurrence with all his measures and inclinations, which, if I am capable of judging right, only and solely aim at the common good, joint interest, and welfare of all concerned. This, I believe, is enough to say to you and those that are with you.

* Ned's original letters are signed Ralph Wingate.
Ibid. No. 30, 31, and 43.

I have not heard one word from Mr. Nye [Ned*] since he returned to your parts, which I much wonder at, and can't tell what to think on't.

† Lesley.

Pray,

Pray, if you know what is become of him, and what the reason of his not writing as usually, be so kind as to let him know it.

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Your old friend Mr. Kees [the King] is, God be praised, in perfect good health, vigorous and chearful, and extreamly kind to all our family [Protestants]. I am, &c."

Nairne to Berry.

The subject of his former letters continued.

Nairne's Papers, vol. ix.
4to. p. 52.

SIR,

April 6th.

"I Received, last post, the favour of two of yours together, of the 3d and 10th March, which I had the honour to read, both to Mr. Kennedy [the King] and Mr. Crofton [lord Middleton]. The first is very sensible of your care of his and of Wisely's [the Queen's] concerns; and the latter gives you his kind service, and is very glad you received his letter. I am glad to find you still so hearty in the hopes you have of the recovery of the mortgage; but I find you have no hopes that old Price [the parliament] will move any thing in the matter, so we must trust to his next heir. I pray God he may prove as honest a man as you expect he will; and that no breaking† happens between this and the hearing of the decree.

There is no doubt that common interest is the best security between merchants, and therefore your argument is good; but interest, as well as inclinations, change with time and other accidents. Besides that, many of the wisest men mistake their true interest every day; but, however, we must be contented, in these uncertain times, with what certainty we can have; and so Young [princess Anne] keep up his credit, I hope as you do, that, soon or late, all will go well.

But I am sorry you find Cary [church of England] so animated against poor Cotton [Roman Catholic religion], who desires only to live in peace and quiet at home, and to give security that he never will meddle with or disturb Cary in the least. I hope, when Cary, who is a reasonable, just man, is truly convinced that this is both Manly's [the King's] and Cotton's [Catholics'] character, and their sincere intention, he will not be so

† Queen's death.

irrecon-

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irreconcilable as he appears to be now that they are at a distance. As for Waters, I do not wonder at his ill-nature; for he is naturally hot-headed, and very much piqued at this time: but I hope counsellor Baker [Harley], with the help of Mr. Philips [the peace], will bring him to temper. I do assure you, Mr. Peacock's relations [the Protestants] receive all marks of friendship and esteem from Plessington [the King], that he can shew them, in the limited state he is in, and will continue to do so, not only because it is his inclination, as well as his interest, but because he is naturally just and impartial to all his deserving friends, without distinction of families.

In short, he loves old Edwards [England] so well, that he'll do any thing to please him, that an honest man can do; and I am glad to find Arnot gives it as the general opinion, both of friends and enemies, upon Change, that his parting with his old friends, and especially at this time, would lessen his character, and lose his reputation and credit with all sides. He is certainly too honest a man to dissemble or deceive any body, and too wise, on the other hand, not to comply with any thing that is innocent in itself, in order to please and oblige his old uncle Edwards."

Rogers or Plunket, under the signature of J. Tomson, to Sir William Ellis.

It is addressed to Mr. Robert Jones. The key is in Sir William Ellis's hand, and he marked on the back, "Mr. Rogers; not dated, but should be of the 7th April, 1713." He makes the same observation at the end of the letter.

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The Tories carry every thing in parliament.—Their opinion of the French King's sincerity.—They desire the Chevalier to perform his quarantine patiently, and to declare himself a Protestant.

S I R,

April 7th, 1713.

"I Told you in my last the tanners [Tories] would carry their point in every thing, and so put the gold [government] in the three keepers [kingdoms] on such a basis, that it shall be in their power to give the copyhold [the crown] to whom they please, and on what terms they please; for they find out more and more the blind side of Knox [King of France] and his mates [ministers]; and that he is afraid to meddle or make with

Mr.

Mr. Ken's [the King's] affairs, or put himself to any manner of stress to do him service.

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I spoke to some honest men among the partners [parliament], this day, and find by them they have but a mean opinion of Knox's [King of France's] integrity and ability. Nothing will make him espouse Mr. Ken's [the King's] cause, but his own safety for the future, and that of his grandchildren, which cannot be, if Hall [Hannover] comes hither. They told, that it would be of vast service to Mr. Ken [the King] if he did but declare himself a Polet [Protestant]; the sooner the better, especially if he does it spontaneously, and perform his quarantine; and, in the mean time, his friends will be disposing things to receive him; for, at present, the temper of the men-worthy [the mob] is not for him, and it will be work of time to bring them to it; for they have been served with venom this long time, and must have time to vomit it by degrees.

King Noble [Netterville] says, if he were the patron [Pope], he would oblige Mr. Ken [the King] to declare himself a Polet [Protestant], being the safest way to secure the copy-hold [crown] and establish the physician-resolution [Roman Catholic religion] in Evelin's house [England]; and, when he compleats the work, appear with safety in his true shape, and not be beholding to any body. As for those that Knox [the King of France] has here, he looks on them to be worthless fellows. They converse with none but sycophants and men that can give them no true idea of the affairs here, and therefore will have nothing more to do with them; for they are in the way of ruin, and will do nothing that is for their own good or others; so that we must stand on our own bottom, and do as if there were no such man as Knox [King of France] in the world.

His agent [ambassador] said to me, the other day, his master would not interfere with Mr. Ken's [the King's] business, before he knows what number is for him in Chomily [the country], and their places of abode; and he is assured of Churchill [the court] and the rest of the tanners [Tories] promise from their own mouths, or under their hands. Noble [Netterville] says he ne'er will have that they'll be his friends, but won't trust him nor his master; so that we shall be quit of him, and have little or nothing to say to him. I dare say he'll do little good here, nor carry any right notions with him from hence.

I shall

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I shall continue to send some things to amuse you in your country retirement at least once a week, and know the different sentiments of the several partners [parliament-men]. 'Tis not only my notion, but it is the notion of the sensiblest part of mankind here, the present mates [ministers] or Gold [government] cannot be safe if Hall [Hannover] comes here, and of course must have Mr. Ken [the King], but on their own terms. 'Tis, therefore, thought they'll be the harder on him, that he may declare himself; and I believe they may, obliquely at least, order him to go from where he is, further off, if he don't do in convenient time. The longer he delays it the worse, says Noble [Netterville]. This is the sentiment of Overton [Harley] and the rest of his brethren.

Pray inclose to me, from time to time, to the effect I told you in my last. 'Twill be of use to Mr. Ken [the King]. It shall be improved to advantage; so adieu.

J. TOMSON."

Sir William Ellis to Plunket or Rogers.

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He thanks Plunket and Netterville for their attachment to his master, who is sensible of it, but disclaims all connexions with Abbé Butler, and recommends to his friends to support the ministry.

April 9th, 1713.

"I Find you and Mr. Noble [Netterville] are very industrious and diligent, and omit nothing you judge may any way promote and advance the interest of your old friend Mr. Kennedy [the King]; who, I assure you, is very sensible of it, and takes it very kindly; but, as for A. B. [Abbé Butler], who pretends to know much of his mind, he totally disowns him and what he gives out, and assures me he neither has, nor ever had, any dealing with him, directly or indirectly; and was so far from giving him any commissions and instructions, that neither he nor his partner Quarington so much as spoke to him, or saw him, when he parted; and that what he, the said A. B. [Abbé Butler], gives out to be Mr. Kennedy's [the King's] intentions, is the farthest from his thoughts of any thing in the world, and which would be the last thing in the world he would do. The judgment you say Mr. Netterville made of it, viz. that it would do hurt, if not true, was very just, and certainly it would

do so; and, therefore, since it is not true, nor ever likely to be so, it will be best not to press it, or mention it any more. But as to all other matters which might tend to the ease, happiness, and conveniency of his friend Mr. Keepers [the kingdoms], he would most readily concur in all that could be proposed. This I know to be his mind. And as for the good-will and friendship the tanners [Tories] testify towards him, he is much pleased with it, and wishes they may act in concert with Mr. Churchill [the court] and mates [ministry], whom he would be very tender of disobliging on any account; but, on the contrary, would be glad if, by any means, he could gain their esteem and good-will.

Mr. Jenkins [the King] is in perfect good health, and much your friend; and I am, with much esteem, Sir,

Your affectionate and most obedient humble servant,

ROBERT JONES.

J. Tomson, i. e. Rogers or Plunket, to Sir William Ellis.

An account of the debates about the Queen's speech to both houses.

April 10th, 1713.

"Yesterday, dear Sir, the Queen made a speech to both houses. The house of commons unanimously, except my lord William Pawlet, voted an address of thanks. The house of lords carried it by 78 against 43. The duke of Beaufort was the first that moved to thank her Majesty: he was seconded by the duke of Kent. My lord Halifax stood up and said, it was fit to know for what; for they ought to have had the peace laid affore them first, and how the succession is secured by the peace; for the Pretender is but a day's journey further off; is still within call: that the Queen, when she was last in the house, said, she would make peace sword in hand. Upon which there was six millions given; and, soon after, the sword was taken out of a successful general's hand, and a peace made when they might conquer France. He was seconded by my lords Townsend, Cowper, Sunderland, Montague, who all spoke with a deal of warmth and peevishness; which is flying in the face of the Queen and ministry, and questioning her sincerity, and not believing what she said.

My lord Peterborough stood up and answered, seconded by my lord [treasurer, probably,] and a great many more of the tory lords, that it

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was time the sword was taken out of the general's hands, or else he would have been general for life, and continued the war, and the nation been obliged to give many millions: that Hannover had three acts of parliament for him and the guarantee abroad, and more laws might be made to secure it more, if they think fit; and if they be not satisfied with the management of the ministry, they might appoint a committee to examine matters, and due satisfaction should be given them. This my lord treasurer said.

The Whigs say, the speech is artfully drawn, and made popular, for some sinister ends; notwithstanding, they will be as troublesome as they can, and say they will make my lord treasurer uneasy; but he laughs at them, and values not what they can do. The next parliament will be as good, if not better, than this. The Queen relies entirely on the loyalty of her subjects; which is as much as to say, that Hannover must do the same, if he comes here, and be and lead by the ministry and parliament.

Both are wording the addresses. There will be warm debates about the wording of them. There will be new changes every day. My lord Chomley gave up his staff as comptroller of the household, yesterday, and several others are put out.

The same to the same.

A conversation between Netterville and Harley, about the Queen's speech, on the 9th instant, with other anecdotes.

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S I R, London, April 13th, 1713.
“I Suppose you have seen e'er now what Quaint [princess Anne] said to the partners [parliament], and affords you, as will others, matter of speculation; 'tis Overton [Harley] all over, to think, by showing so much love and friendship to Hall [Hannover], that the wagg [Whigs] will abandon him and renounce his interest, and consequently espouse Mr. Ken's [the King's]. Mr. Noble [Netterville] told him, yesterday, that the speech was too condescending, and so much in favour of Hall [Hannover], that it will be work of time to make the menworthy [mob] to forget him. Overton [Harley] answered, that he must fight the wagg [Whigs] with their own weapons, and silence them all at once, and make the jewellers [Jacobites] more modest, Hall [Hannover] and
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Ken [the King] more pliable; and let them say and do what they will against Ken [the King], if the menworthy [mob] and the tanners [Tories] be for him, he will have the copy-hold [the crown], and 'tis prudence to run with the tide, *i. e.* with the inclination of Mr. Keepers [the kingdom]. Noble told him, 'tis a mistaken policy to condescend too much to Hall [Hannover] or the wagg [Whigs], who won't think the better of him for't. I know he hopes, by this means, to make Hall [Hannover] abandon the wagg [Whigs], and believes now he will. If he does, the wagg [Whigs] will renounce and declare against him. Time will shew. Ab. B. [Abbé Butler] was with Noble [Netterville], and tells him Mr. Kemp [the King] is a Quietest, and tells every body of it, and what he does is by orders. Noble [Netterville] wishes it may be believed; for any thing will go down better than a Phis [Roman Catholic].

I had yours of the 9th instant yesterday; am well pleased to know Mr. Ken's [the King's] mind. We will take measures accordingly. There's some things fit to be imparted to Overton [Harley]. If you think well on't, it shall. Jasper [lord Ilay] and Arbuthnot [lord Argyle] did not speak in favour of Quaint [princess Anne] in Holton's house [house of lords] t'other day; for which they must be remembered in due time. I am yours,

J. TOMSON."

Sir William Ellis to Plunket.

April 20th, 1713.

"SINCE my last, I had the great favour and satisfaction of yours of the 13th and 24th March, and refer to my last, which was of the 9th instant, for answer of great part of said letters, and particularly for what relates to the point of resolution [religion].

As to what you mention of encouraging Simon [duke of Savoy] to send his son to you, or to cause any motion to be made by the tanners [Tories] for Hall's [Hannover's] coming over, I can't, by any means, advise the promoting either of these two particulars. Those would be dangerous expedients, especially the former, which would be taken to be a giving up of Mr. Kennedy's [the King's] right.

Mr. Rogers will be most welcome; we not doubting but he will bring with him what will make him so to us all, and particularly to his relation Mr. Kemp [the King]. I am, with great esteem, dear Sir, &c.

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J. Tomson, i. e. Rogers to Sir William Ellis, under the feigned name of Robert Jones.

*The secret designs and intrigues of the Ministry.—Harley's conduct to Argy'e.
—Intrigues about the succession to the crown.—The tragedy of Cato.*

SIR,

April 20, 1713.

“**A**PLETON [lord Athol] has got the staton middle [the privy seal], and is gone to Intler's house [Scotland] to regulate the affairs of that house. Overbury [duke of Ormond] goes to Johnson's house [Ireland] to put the gold [government] of that house into honest hands. The Allen [army] there is to be reduced from 12 to 8, that of Evelly [England] will be reduced to 10 m. The Waggs [Whigs] will be blasted, and then discarded. Their management will be censured in Hangel's house [house of commons] to-morrow, and then exposed to the world. They will fall unpitied. Did the menworthy [mob] but know the roguery of the late mates [ministry], they would tear them to pieces. Overton [Harley] will endeavour to keep them in the dark, as much as he can, and as long as he can; the reason you shall know by word of mouth.

Arbuthnot [Argyle] begins to be obstreperous. Overton [Harley] thought to make him his smuggler [spy] on the Waggs [Whigs], and bully them on occasion; but he will do nothing for him, till he gets Hawley's [duke Hamilton's] place. Overton [Harley] won't trust him with it. Arbuthnot [Argyle] is resolved to hector him into it. Overton [Harley] makes satires on him, in order to expose him, and thinks to silence him; time will shew how they will end. The Waggs [Whigs] will spirit him to be uneasy to Overton [Harley] and Quaint [princess Anne]. They say, they will move to have Mrs. Strange [princess Sophia] here; but I am told, by some sensible men among the partners [parliament] they will get no point by it; for they had enow of strangers. They talk kindly of Mr. Jenkins [the King], at least to me, and begin to hate Hall [Hannover] more and more, because the Waggs [Whigs] stand up for him. He has his seven bras candlesticks in Hungal's house [house of commons] which opens lightly in his favour. One of them said, the other day, that it was fitting Quaint [princess Anne] should have no map [money] before the portion [peace] was laid before them; if the stature large [great seal] be put to it, she should not be ashamed of letting them
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see it; but got no point by the brazen impudence. The next thing they will do, is to object against every point of the portion [peace] to make the mates [ministers] odious; and Egleton's [the Emperor's] standing out, as he does, will give them a further handle to cavil. I must tell you, by the by, if Egleton [the Emperor] would but close with Knox [King of France] the Duncans [Dutch] will be forced to vomit up what they are to get by this pardon [general peace], and of course, will be glad to give a helping hand to Mr. Kennedy [the King]. He would do well to make a proposal of this kind to him, by his nephew there. I knew full well, the Waggs [Whigs] make him and Hall [Hannover] believe Quaint [princess Anne] won't live long, and of course, he must come here, and then renew the weatherhot [war] again.

I have given convincing arguments to Egleton's mates [Emperor's ministers] that he must not believe the Waggs [Whigs] any more. I foretold him every thing that happened him hitherto. He now finds it to be true, to his cost. I know Overton [Harley] and his brethren would be glad on't; for it would give them a good handle to call Mr. Kennedy [the King] home, and run no risque or hazard of life or fortune. It is true, the mates [ministers] have enough under their thumb, to justify their conduct in this point; but they are coverts [cowards]; so you see we must drive that nail as far as it goes. You may depend on't they will keep the same conduct with Mr. Kennedy [the King] as they did in making the portion [peace], and carry things on with the same caution, which you'll say, will be tedious; but they think it more sure. Overton [Harley] is a goe cart, that must be pricked as he goes along.

It is therefore, Rogers put a precept [paper] into his hand, the other day, that Moulsworth [lord Churchill] caresses Hall [Hannover] mightily, and is putting him on coming to Evelin's house [England] with a good allen [army]. This and several other precepts [papers] he has given him, with which he seemed well pleased, and no doubt will have good effect, which is all that offers, at present, from, dear Sir, &c.

J. TOMSON.

I desired to put all the papers I have into S. Sheridan's hands, and digest them into an order, and bring it with me to you; for it will be of use to Mr. Jenkins [the King].

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There is a tragedy called Cato, made by the Whigs. It was acted several times. It makes impression on the people. The Whigs say, it will have as good an effect on the people, as Shacheverel's sermons and trial. They continue to bombard the Queen and ministry, every day; but will get nothing by it. They have no interest in or out of parliament. This is the news of the town and the lie of the day. You know I am no news monger."

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The same to the same.

Plunket proposes, to avoid suspicion, to go to France, with a lady, recommended by the Princess Sophia.—Harley's conduct about the succession.

Dear Sir,

April 24, 1713.

"I Had the honour of yours of the 20th instant, and can tell you, Rogers designs to wait on you, as soon as practicable, which will hardly be before the 1st of June, or Midsummer. There is a lady from Hannover, that has some pretensions in the French court, where she will be recommended from hence, and from princess Sophia. He will put himself into her retinue, and may be useful to her in France. Princess Sophia will take it kindly of any body, that will do this lady any service. Rogers conceives he may be, by her means, being under so great a princess's protection, more useful to Mr. Evans [Sir William Ellis] and his master [the King], because he can appear barefacedly. He must, therefore, wait her time.

I must, dear Sir, be under your direction, whether I should see Peyton [Polignac] or Tradenham [Monsieur de Torcy] before I see you. I conceive I must stay some time at Putney [Paris] before I go to your parts; and, if I should see any body else, before I see Tradenham [Monsieur de Torcy] or Peyton [Polignac] it won't be taken well. If it could be ordered so, that I could see Mr. Bensongs [duke of Berwick] as I arrive at Putney [Paris], it would be of use; he is, I know, a favourite at Knox house [King of France]. I am resolved to talk to none but him and Mrs. Quarnington [the Queen]. I expect, by your next, to know your mind and will, as to this point.

I was last night, with the gentleman [Mr. Sheridan, I suppose]. He has the writings I spoke to you of before. He tells me they are ready for the press. They will see whether Egleton [the Emperor] comes to,
by

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by the time prefixed; if he does, what relates to him, will be struck out; for they don't think fit to expose him. About the close of the summer [session] they will publish them, in order to sower the Chammisemen [country gentlemen] against the Waggs [Whigs], and to keep up their spirits, till the new partners [parliament] are chosen. I find he gutted the precepts [papers]; for, should they print them, *in hæc verba*, the men worthy [mob] would tear the Waggs [Whigs] in pieces. Overton [Harley] says, there is a medium between Scylla and Carybdis, and will keep it as much as he can. The partners [parliament] will carry on their business smoothly and roundly, with little or no noise, but with caution, and manage that of the saps [succession] as they did the portion [peace], and take their own time to do it, and it will be left entirely to them. This I know to be Overton's [Harley's] mind, and his scheme, which will be put in execution, when things are ripe for it, which cannot be before the next new partners [parliament] meets. This you will find to be true, I find Mr. Yates [lord Yarmouth] will be provided for, and a great many of Mr. Kennedy's [the King's] friends advanced, after a little time, which is a good sign.

As for news, we have little or none. The parliament took off two shillings in the pound, which will make itself a high church parliament. The Whigs are mad at this, and will be more, especially if the parliament gives the broken officers their whole subsistence, because it will screen the ministry and them, and what they can do. To-day or to-morrow it will be known what will be done in it; so that the Whigs will have nothing left to scare the vulgar with but Popery and the Pretender, especially if they can't get Hannover sent for.

They got the higher house of convocation not to join the lower, in an address of thanks to her Majesty, for the peace. There are ten bishops against the address, and six pro; so that it is believed, the body of the clergy must address alone; they got the bank and the E. I. C. in their hands, which make them more insolent.

It is believed my lord Peterborough will be made duke of Monmouth, or at least, marquis.

Just now the house voted half-pay to the land and sea officers. The Whigs opposed the latter. This will make the ministry more popular.

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lar. Notwithstanding the usage Eggleton [the Emperor] met with here, yet he will trust and cringe to Quaint [princess Anne] and mates [ministry] sooner than to Knox [King of France], for he sent one to her; pray she may moderate matters between them. He does it because the Waggs [Whigs] desire him, and make him believe Quaint [princess Anne] cannot live long, and Hall [Hannover] will come here, and things will go to his mind in a year or two. This I know to be true. I am, dear Sir, yours, or not,

J. TOMSON."

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Letters from Nairne to Scot and Berry.

The Pretender is attached to the Scots, and has great expectations from them.

Nairne to Scot. Mr. Scot is Henry Straton.

April 27, 1713.

"I Told him, that the King was well, and going to Luneville to make a visit; that I hoped he would do the King the justice to let his friends, in Scotland, know the esteem, friendship, and confidence, he had in them."

"*Postscript added, by order, to my letter to Scot, of the 27th of April.*"

"Left my letter of the 25th of January, and another I writ to you of the 10th of December, should not have come to your hands, I shall only repeat here the substance of these two letters. You was and are still desired, to assure Mr. Knowles's [the King's] relations, that he is very sensible of Stuart's [Scotland's] kindness, and of the particular marks he hath given him thereof, all along. That he could send no directions to him, of late, about his affairs, because he is in the dark himself, and has been advised by his best friends to lie quiet, and not to say or do any thing, till he sees clearer, what Dunbar [princess Anne] and Gooldings successor, [Harley] intended to do; so he hopes Stuart will not attribute all this necessary prudence of Knowles [the King], to any neglect, or want of friendship and confidence in him; for I am authorized to assure you, that he has a true and just value for Stuart [Scotland] and all his honest relations; and I hope, in time, he will be able to give them solid proofs of it, and that he is incapable of ever having any unjust partiality for Estmore [England], in prejudice of Stuart.

I told you also, that his friend Manning [lord Middleton] has the same sentiments, and is as hearty a well-wisher of Mr. Stirling [Scotland], as

himself could wish; and I begged you to do him justice on that head, and to assure all your acquaintances in that family, that they themselves cannot be more heartily against Uperton [the union], than he is and always was, which Scot himself can witness; since he had directions from him from the beginning, to desire all his friends to oppose him with their utmost might, when his law-suit was depending; and indeed, to think otherwise of Manning, would be as unjust and ridiculous, as to think him a friend of Hally [Hannover]."

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Nairne wrote long letters to Berry and to Abram, of this date, in the same strain with this letter to Scot and his last letter to Berry of the 6th.

Nairne to Scot.

April 30, 1713.

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"YOUR uncle Francis [the King] having always had an entire confidence in Mr. Stuart [Scotland], and knowing him to be an honest dealer, and that his most substantial relations are his true friends; he desires you to take the prudentest methods you can to let them know, that, in case Mr. Dunbar breaks [princess Anne dies], and that nothing be done by him to secure Knowls's [the King's debt], he is resolved to have immediate recourse to Mr. Stuart [Scotland], and trust his law suit entirely into his hands; but that he can bring no effects with him of any kind, I mean neither wine nor brandy, for he deals no more in these commodities, nor can his factors, Aiselby and Masterfon [probably Sir William Ellis and lord Middleton] come with him, for they are both sick: so he will only bring a few servants with him. He would be glad therefore, to know whether he can be welcome, in that condition, to Stuart's [Scotland's] relations, since his present circumstances will not allow him to make a better figure.

Your uncle desires you also, to advise with the wisest and most substantial persons of the family, who, among themselves, are the fittest to be the chief advocate and council in that law suit, that he may comply with their unanimous advice, in that essential point: and lastly, he desires you, to inform him of the condition of Adamson's affairs, in your parts, what quantity of effects he has, where and in whose hands they are, and whether any of his goods might be reckoned upon and disposed

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of to Knowle's account, in order to pursue the recovery of his debt, in case he be obliged to go to law for it."

Sir William Ellis to the Earl of Middleton.

He sends copies of some of Plunket's letters to Middleton, who was with his master, at this time, at Lunneville.

My Lord,

Barr, May 13, 1713.

"I Herewith send your lordship three letters of Mr. Rogers's, which I received last night, alltogether: the first of them was not dated; but it is evident it ought to have been of $\frac{7}{18}$ April, in regard that it refers to the last before, which was of the $\frac{3}{14}$, and the second letter now sent is of the $\frac{10}{21}$ *.

Mr. Rogers mentioning in his letter of $\frac{13}{24}$ his receipt of mine of the 9th of April; I thought it proper to send your lordship a copy of it §, that you may see to what it is he refers, when he says he was well pleased to know the King's mind, and that they would take measures accordingly, and that there were some things fit to be imparted to Mr. Harley, and shall be, if I think well on't. These particulars are at the end of the said letter of $\frac{13}{24}$; but whether I am to say any thing to him, in relation thereunto, depends on the orders I shall receive from your lordship. I am with all possible duty, respect, and observance, &c."

Ibid.

The same to the same.

He sends him copies of some of Plunket's letters.

My Lord,

Bar, May 16, 1713.

"I Herewith send your Lordship two letters I had from Mr. Rogers, by yesterday's ordinary. I likewise send a copy of mine to him; the receipt of which he acknowledges in his of $\frac{24}{5}$ April.
5 May.

As to the instructions he expects, how to behave at his coming to Paris; or if there is any thing else I am to say to him, on occasion of these,

* Sir William marked this particular on the back of the original letter.

§ The extracts of Rogers's letters of the 9th, 14th, 20th, 23d, and 27th of February, are in Sir William's hand, and were probably sent by him to lord Middleton along with this letter.

or his other letters lately sent; I shall wait your lordship's orders, without which I shall not presume to give him any measures whatever. I am &c."

1713.
May.

Nairne to Sir William Ellis.

An Answer to the preceding Letters.

Nairne's
Papers, vol.
ix. 4to. p. 54.

"Copy of the Letter I writ to Sir William Ellis, by order, concerning Rogers."

SIR,

Lunneville, May 18, 1713.

"I Am ordered, by my lord, to tell you, that the King will be very glad to see Mr. Rogers, when he comes to France; but as to the persons he proposes to see and communicate with, at the court of France, or at St. Germain, and the time or manner of seeing him or them, he leaves that entirely to his own discretion, having too good an opinion of his prudence and conduct, to think it necessary to prescribe any rules to him, in that matter. I am, &c."

The Earl of Middleton to Abram.

May 20, 1713.

Ibid. 56.

"YOUR old friend Israel Charters [the King] desires you would consult the college of physicians, and press Mr. Cowley to use their utmost endeavour, both with Edgebury [England] and Marke [Scotland] to bring Mr. Trever [the Tories] into Proby's family [the parliament] next term, and that they would be ruled by the lawyers [the ministry] in every thing."

Nairne to Abram.

May 20, 1713.

"I Told him how kindly the King was received at Lunneville, and how he was esteemed and beloved here, even by the Germans, who could not see him and know him without wishing well to him. I told him, by lawyers, was meant Heckman [Harley] and his associates, employed by Charles Brown [princess Anne]."

Nairne to Berry.

May 20, 1713.

"I Told him something of the duke of Lorrain's kind reception to the King, assured him Manly [the King] would always continue his kindness to Peacock's family [Protestants]; and that I hoped Wheatly,

G g 2

with

1713.
May.

with time, would be convinced, that old Cotton [Rom. Cath. religion] ambitioned nothing, but to pass his old age in peace and quiet, at home, and never to have the least dispute with his brother Cary [church of England]. That, since silence was acceptable and approved of, it would be continued."

Nairne's
Papers,
D.N. vol. iv.
4to. No. 41.

J. Tomson to Sir William Ellis.

J. Tomson, i. e. Rogers or Plunket. His intrigues, about the succession, continued.

Dear Sir,

May 22d, 1713.

"I Told you, in my last, the Waggs [Whigs] were for going to Hall [Hannover], to beard Quaint [princess Anne]. They give it out publickly, that five or six of the late mates [ministry] will go soon to him. I hope they'll continue in this resolution.

I read a letter of Mrs. Strange's [P. Sophia], wherein she wishes and hopes, the next partn [parliament] may consist more of the Waggs [Whigs] than Tanners [Tories]; she finds they are more her friends. This was sent to a bitter enemy of Overton's [Harley]: 'tis therefore I thought fit to let him know the contents of it, and do find he was well pleased with it. I did let him also know, how Hall [Hannover] pushes on Egleton [the Emperor] to carry on the weather [war] hot; the Waggs [Whigs] making him believe Quaint [Q. Anne] can't live long, and Knox [King of France], being taken up and kept in play with Egleton [the Emperor], he won't have an opportunity to send Mr. Ken [the King] here with an Allen [army] as he may in time of portion [peace].

We are paying and discarding the Allen [army] every day. 'Tis observable, those that were of Oliver's [prince of Orange's] making are laid aside.

Overton [Harley] is advised to give the stature middle [privy seal] to Mr. Daniel [lord Nottingham], and bring him into Quaint's [princess Anne's] measures; 'twill be of service to Mr. Jenkins [the King]. Time will shew what will be done, in the matter.

There's no news, only the Scots are provoked, because there is 6 d. *per* bushel laid upon malt in Scotland. They say, they can't bear it; and come up here at vast expences to see their country ruined. They speak freely and warmly in the house; but we don't value what they say or can do. For the kirk broke up and refused to address the Queen on the

the peace, so did our bishops. Hall [Hannover] falls into the measures, Mr. Ken [the King] and his friends here would have him. Knox [King of France] is much reflected upon, for abandoning Mr. Jenkins [the King]. 'Tis mean in him to own the saps [succession] of Hall [Hannover] in so ample a manner: this is the language of people, since the pardon [peace] has been made public.

1713.
May.

One of Hungat's house [house of commons] asked me, yesterday, if I could give him a true account how Mr. Ken [the King] does; so the Waggs [Whigs] banter the Tanners [Tories] telling them, that he can't live long, he is consumptive, dispirited, melancholy, and very infirm, so that they must not rely on his coming home. This is the language of the Waggs [Whigs] now daily in the house; and that one came from Billingsford [Barleduc] who saw him, and gives this out a purpose. I told the man, it was a waggish [whiggish] story, and not to be credited. He told me, he was glad to hear it; and that Mr. Ken [the King] will have a struggle for him, and is more and more in their eyes.

Pray let me know, if mine comes regularly to your hands; the post comes regularly in, and I don't receive yours; your last was dated the 4th instant. I am, dear Sir, yours whilst

J. TOMSON.

I didn't think fit to entertain you long with the Sutler's [Scotch] affairs, because I know Mr. Mettiven [Monny] will give you a better account than I."

Extracts of a letter from Mr. Clinch, with an account of occurrences, in England, at the proclaiming the peace.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 40.

May 24th, 1713.

—"I Scarce know what to make of Mr. Harley. I don't think that he means to serve you, out of point of conscience or love, but only as he knows that he hath no other way of serving himself.—Our addresses all make mention of the succession, in the house of Hannover, except one or two Scotch ones; but this, I look upon to be no more than matter of form, mixed with a little politics.—The King's pictures I brought over, I have given away; and I wish I had brought over more, since I found them so very acceptable here, and so little trouble in getting them over. I gave one to the earl of Winchelsea, who

1713.
May.

who took it very kindly, and said, which I am sure he wishes very heartily, he hoped to see the original here."

Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. iv.
4to. No. 41.

J. Tomson to Robert Jones; that is, Plunket or Rogers to Sir William Ellis.

It is marked on the back, in Sir William Ellis's hand, "Mr. Rogers, 29 May 1713." The key is in the same hand.

The Scots, the Whigs, and the Jacobites, unite against Oxford.—He is in danger of being sent to the Tower, by Plunket's intrigues.

Dear Sir,

May 29th, 1713.

"**T**HE Sutlers [Scots] begin to be troublesome. They seem resolved to break off with us, unless they are put on a better footing. They all join with the Waggs [Whigs] to make Overton [Harley] so uneasy, that he will be glad to resign in time. Some of Mr. Ken's [the King's] friends help them behind the curtain, to pin him to the wall; for they find 'tis the best way to make him do honest and fair things.

I have no news worth your notice, only the Scots make a noise. Their representatives in both houses met in a tavern, where they were not long, when the D. of Argyle and my lord Mar went from the lords, Lockhart and Coulcain from the commons, to wait on the Queen, to tell her, they could not see their country ruined; and asked her leave to bring in a bill to dissolve the Union. She desired them to consider of it first; upon which, they returned and met several times since. My lord Seafield moved, yesterday, in the house of lords, to go upon the state of both nations. The motion was adjourned till Monday. The Whigs are indefatigably busy to open, as they say, the eyes of the people, and give out they'll let the world know, that day, how the nation has been imposed upon and grieved; and give out, they'll send my lord treasurer to the Tower. But you'll find all these heats will end in fumes and vapours; though the Scots say, they'll lay a foundation for a gangernie.

Arbuthnot [lord Argyle] is night and day with the Waggs [Whigs], who will ply Overton [Harley] very warmly. The mates [ministers] will connive so far with them, as to send him to Tracy [the Tower]. They won't see him ruined. He laughs at all this. For he has Snap [money] and Quaint's [Queen Anne's] favour to bring him off. I can

assure

assure you, Rogers laid a foundation for this matter, which you shall know in due time; 'twill make you laugh.

1713.
May.

I am told, by a good hand, Arbuth. [lord Argyle] will be turned out of his all. Newam, alias Dan, will have the stature-middle [privy seal], and the gold [government] put into the hands of Charles [the High church] and his [its] friends.

The friends of Hall [Hannover] are upish, and think the day will be their own. They wrote to him lately, that the mates [ministers] and Quaint [princess Anne] are on a tottering foundation, and will break Overton's [Harley's] neck; of which I gave him an account, two days ago, and that Strange [P. Sophia] will never side with the Tanners [Tories], nor abandon the Waggs [Whigs]; this I hinted as well to Beaumont [lord Mulgrave], who seemed well pleased with it. This animates him much, and his brethren, against Overton [Harley] and the Waggs [Whigs]: so that, on the whole, things seem to have a good effect.

Knox's agent [King of France's ambassador] wonders I don't see him, and oblige him and his master, as I promised when he came here. I sent him word by his sarper [secretary], I was afraid he would be scandalized to see me, that's a known jeweller [Jacobite], at his apartment, being his master disowns Mr. Jenkins [the King] so solemnly; and that I believed he didn't want any aid or assistance in any thing, since he has come into all Quaint's [Q. Anne's] measures, and that their interests are the same. He sent me word, by a party of my name, I shouldn't mistake him, and that I and my master should find him and Knox [King of France] honest in the end, and he would give his two fingers to serve him; and, therefore, desired my friendship, and that I should bring Mr. Noble [Netterville] to him again.—I am to see him to-morrow. I shall let you know, in my next, what he says. Till then, I am yours, or not,

J. TOMSON.

I had yours of the 20th instant, by the last ordinary. I am glad you had my letters. I shall continue to send you some diverting fables till I see you, which can't be before July."

Tom-

1713.
May.
Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 41, 42.

Tomson [Plunket], in his letter to Robert Jones [Sir William Ellis] on the 1st of June, and Dr. Clinch, in his letter to him on the 3d, give him an account of the debates in the house of lords, upon the motion, made by the Scotch peers, to dissolve the Union. Clinch adds, "It's said the D. of Marlborough is sent for home by the request of the King of France; but that, it may be, is only a pretence for recalling him. It's possible, by the time this comes to your hands, this may be no news to you."

Ibid. No. 43.

There is a very particular account of the same debates in a letter from Ralph Wingate to Sir William Ellis, dated 5th June.

Nairne's Pa-
pers, vol. ix.
4to. p. 56.

Letters from Nairne to Scot and Abram.

Nairne to Scot, i. e. Henry Straton.

Commercy, June 8th.

"I told him, the King was pleased to give him a present of 300 livres, and to advance him 300 more, being six months of his pension, for the first six months of 1713; and I bid him draw for the said 600 livres, and for the 300 due for the last six months of 1712.

"I am ordered to tell you, that Francis [the King] thinks it may be for his service, that all Stirling's relations [the Scots], who have any interest in Mr. Porter [the parliament], should join in every thing with Mr. Cant. You are desired, therefore, to recommend this particularly to Cary [Lockhart], King, and others of your acquaintances that deal with Porter.

"All Stirling's relations, that are Knowles' [the King's] friends, are desired also, to concur and comply with Cant, in choosing successors to Mr. Porter's present employment."

Nairne wrote a long letter to Abram, the 22d of this month; but he used cant names, which occur in no other part of the correspondence, and the letter is unintelligible, except in the following passages:

He blames the coalition of some "with such a knave as Williamson [the Whigs]," referring very probably to the opposition of the Scots, at this time, to ministry, with a view of dissolving the Union; and advises them "to take care, in this critical juncture, not to countenance or fo-

ment any rash undertaking, which may exasperate to no purpose Charles [princess Anne], Hickman [Harley], Cowley and partners [the High church probably], with whom measures ought to be kept; it being, as you know, widow Jean's [the King's] positive directions reiterated to Juxon, to join his interest with Hickman's company * upon all occasions, in opposition to Williamson †."

1713.
May.

"Jeremy [the King] is still very kindly entertained, by his landlord [the D. of Lorrain]. He is very well, and goes home to his ordinary residence in eight days."

The Chevalier orders his friends, in England, to concur with the ministry in making a peace with France.—The French acknowledge they were thereby saved from ruin.

Vol. xi. 4to.
or Memorandum-book of
Mr. Carte's,
p. 100.

"MARCH 3d, 1724, Mr. Symmer told me, at Paris, that the King was prevailed with to send positive orders to his friends in England to be for the peace, without whose concurrence the ministry durst not have made it. That his friend, duke Hamilton, remonstrated to the King against it, as the most destructive thing in nature to his interest, which would certainly be most promoted by the war, which involved the nation in greater difficulties, and kept up a friend ‡ in readiness to assist him in case of the Queen's demise; and that the duke was very pressing with the King not to interpose, but to leave his friends to manage the party for him; and expressed himself with great vehemence and discontent, when the King repeated and insisted on his orders, which brought the duke and the rest of the Jacobites into the peace, which saved France from ruin, as the French themselves have often acknowledged to Mr. Symmer, when he had urged it to them, and represented their ingratitude to the King and his friends."

J. Tomson [Plunket] to Sir William Ellis.

Lord Treasurer's danger from all parties.—The conduct of the French ambassador.—Treasurer must be spurred on.

Nairne's Papers, D. N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 41.

Dear Sir,

June 22d, 1713.

"I Didn't write to you the last post, because of my sore eyes; but I told Mrs. Finton [Fox] what to write; to whom I refer you for all particulars. I suppose you know Mr. Overton [Harley] is in convulsion fits, since the bargain [Bill] was rejected; and if he don't compromise

* Ministry.

† Whigs.

‡ Marlborough.

VOL. II.

H h h

the

1713.
June.

the matter with Harrison [Sir Thomas Hanmer] and the rest of the orphans [October-club], he is a lost man; but I believe he will run no more hazards. For, within these few days, he begins to reform, and if he does not continue to join heart in hand with the mates [ministry] and tanners [Tories], Harrison [Sir Thomas Hanmer] and the orphans [October-club], with the rest of the Tanners [Tories] will join with the Waggs [Whigs] again to ruin him. This is the third shock he stood, and made no amendments. The partners of Holton and Hungal [houses of lords and commons] are in a ferment, especially the Tanners [Tories] of them, since they are made sensible, how Hall [Hannover] did of late fly in the face of Quaint [princess Anne] and the mates [ministers], telling her, she knows no new obligation or friendship he owes her or the present gold [government], and that he will stand by the Waggs [Whigs].

Several of Hung [commons] and Holt [house of lords] tell me those of South-house [of the French] have nothing in them that's brave or wise, neither do they take them to be cordially in Mr. Ken's [the King's] interest. I answered, they needn't suspect Knox's [King of France's] integrity to him; and that they should exert themselves the more they suspect him. They replied, his agent [ambassador] here should give them some marks of his sincerity, which he has not done as yet. Eating and drinking is not enough here; he ought to court the partners [house of commons] especially. I rejoined, he is only come to make a parade; but the next that comes will do his duty. This I did, to keep them in heart, and up to Mr. Ken's [the King's] interest. I know the agent [ambassador] acts by direction, and is afraid to be seen to countenance any thing that seems to tend to Mr. Ken's [the King's] interest, at present; for he thinks there is no truth in an Evelin'sman [Englishman], which shows the weakness of his master and his mate [minister].

Rogers, however, continues still to blow the coals, and as he laid the foundation of this late storm, he may lay one for another, that may prove to Mr. Ken's [the King's] advantage, in the end; for Overton [Harley] must be spurred on, or else he'll ruin all by his delays and false measures, on mistaken policy. His heart is divided betwixt Hall [Hannover] and Quaint [princess Anne] and consequently of an unsteady principle, which gives room to most men to say, he is an ambidexter. The truth on't is, he thinks if the gold [government] is lodged in the hands of the Tan-
ners

ners [Tories] only, he is not long lived in it, and, therefore, he aimed at a mixture; but now finds, to his cost, 'twon't do.

1713.
June.

No news here, but the bill relating to the 8th and 9th articles was thrown out of the house of commons. The Whigs and Tories joined, in the matter. 'Tis but what I told you, some time ago. The Whigs needn't brag, for they'll get no ground by it. They made bonfires in the city, but got no mob by it. They give out the lord T——r [Harley] will not stand his ground long; but they'll find themselves mistaken, I hope. They say, they'll move for the house of lords to address the Queen, to lay before the house, Who advised her to make this treaty of commerce, so prejudicial to the nation; or, at least, they'll censure it. But they ha'n't strength enough to carry their point, unless the Tories join with them. In 18 or 20 days, we shall be able to make a true judgment of things; at present, none can be made of any thing. I am, dear Sir, with due respect, yours to command,

J. TOMSON.

Five or six of Tanner parties [the Tories] declare against the treasurer, and tell him, he must be no longer on the reserve, but must be a plain dealer; they are much in Mr. Ken's [the King's] interest."

Ralph Wingate to Mr. Thomas Austin.

D. N. vol. iv.
4to. No. 43.

Mr. Thomas Austin is probably Sir William Ellis. This letter is indorsed by him, "Ned, $\frac{23 \text{ June}}{4 \text{ July}}$, 1713."

His correspondent writes to him about the treaty of Commerce, and the complaints of the Tories against Harley.

SIR,

London, June 23d, 1713.

"THE bill of Commerce, relating to the 8th and 9th articles of our late treaty, was thrown out, as I told you in my last, by a majority of 9. This was not done by any interest of the Whigs. But, though it is of a very great loss to trade in general, it's of consequence to the throwing a great affront upon the crown, and upon the treasurer in particular; to that degree, that all of them, who voted so, who are lovers of the church and crown, do own it was to make the treasurer shake at root. The truth is, he acts as if he was absolute, and as if he thought that every body ought to be content and highly pleased, with all his actings.

H h h 2

The

1713.

The loyal party have complained, many times, of his not altering the greatest part of the Whig lieutenancy, and almost all the justices of the peace in the kingdom, and all the employments, officers, and collectors, of the customs, excise, &c. These, he has promised 20 times to remove; but never has done any thing in it. So now, they say, in general they will force him to act like an honest man, though there is not a word to be trusted to what he ever said; so that if there is not a clean house of all the Whigs, before next parliament, it will go hard with him. I am, &c.

Mr. Lilly don't set out till the 2d of July."

Carte's Memorandum-book, marked vol. ix. 4to p. 42.

Anecdotes, concerning the Treaty of Commerce with France.—Debates thereon, in the House of Commons, when rejected, in compliment to Sir Thomas Hanmer, by the Earl of Oxford.

"SIR Thomas Hanmer was sent over, in 1712, to the D. of Ormond (whose relation and friend he was) in Flanders, and after that came to Paris, where he was received, by the King of France's order, like a prince. Never had a private man such honours paid him.

There, he put the last hand to the Treaty of Commerce; which very treaty, he afterwards, when speaker, used his interest to throw out.

When that treaty was to come before the house, and several debates had been held on it, just as the last debate for the final determination of the affair came on, the earl of Oxford wrote a letter, as L. L. told me April 23d 1724, to Mr. Bromley, telling him, that he would, by no means, be an occasion of a breach among friends: that he would willingly let all the blame lie upon himself, and the treaty be given up, rather than make a division. Nor would there have been a division in the house that day, had not Sir Richard Vyvian got up and said, that he had studied the point of commerce: that he found the treaty admirably calculated for the advantage of England, and he had grounded his notion on the best informations; and that he could not bear to see a matter given up, out of a compliment to any body's notions, when his country was to receive a prejudice by it; and he laid the foundation of a debate, which lasted till 2 in the morning, being carried on purely on a country-foot, and the treaty rejected, by only about 8 votes. Lord L. dined that day with lord Oxford, who was surprised to hear, that the house was sitting at

at nine o'clock, and could not imagine how it happened, nor did then take a step to carry the point; whereas, as lord L. told me, had he but sent a note to his brother Ned, or cousin Tom Harley, the court interest, which was neuter, would have fallen in with the country, and the treaty would have certainly been ratified: so that this point was left, to the infinite prejudice of England, only out of a compliment of the earl of Oxford to Sir Thomas Hanmer.

A. O. told me, Sir T. Hanmer and the B. of R. were the two persons that sent Sir C. P. to the D. of Ormond, pressing him to be gone for France."

J. Tomson [Plunket] to Sir William Ellis.

He designs to set out for Paris.—Is angry with the Earl of Oxford.

Dear Sir,

July 24th, 1713.

" I Had the great honour of yours of the 20th instant, two days ago.

I am glad you are all in good health. I design to post hence in five or six days. I believe this is the last you shall have from me this side the water.

Overton [Harley] is ill of his eyes; and the eyes of his understanding are worse. He is resolved not to be wise to himself or just to his friends, or concur with Churchill [the court] to modelize thoroughly the gold [government] before the next partners [parliament]; so that things are at a stand, and the mates [ministers] divided among themselves. But I believe will agree, at last, to ruin Overton [Harley], if he is obstinate. 'Tis become a common saying now, great will be his fall.

Mr. Yates [lord Yarmouth] would fain be treasurer to Mrs. Quarington [the Queen] when her jointure is settled. He tells Mr. Overton [Harley] approves of him; if this does, as he has been hitherto subservient to her interest, he hopes she will enable him to be more so for the time to come. Others, I believe, will apply themselves to her for the same end; but I believe the best way is to be neuter in the matter, at least till I have the honour to wait upon her, and let her know how things stand, and the inconveniencies and conveniencies of naming a physician [Roman Catholic] or policion [Protestant], at present. Overton [Harley] says he will leave it to her.

1713.

July.
Nairne's
papers, D. N.
vol. iv. 4to:
No. 41.

1713.
July.

I find there's little or no regard for Mrs. Strange [princess Sophia], for the lady G. spoke to you of [lady Anne Bellamont] desired to be recommended to South-house [France]. Overton [Harley] and his friends received her but coldly, and recommended her but slightly; so that she and the Waggs [Whigs] took great umbrage at it; for they say Mrs. Strange [princess Sophia] loses ground here every day.

I have no public news to send you. 'Tis not as yet known when the parliament will be dissolved. My lord treasurer has got a defluxion in his eyes. The Queen is well, God be praised!

I believe you have, and will for the future, a great many visitors; for Mr. Ken's [the King's] friends, I find, increase. Mr. Noble [Netterville] gives his service to you, and please to accept of the same from, &c.

The same to the same.

Nairne's
papers, D. N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 41.

He is still in London.—The other ministers are dissatisfied with the Lord Treasurer.—The parliament will be dissolved.

Dear Sir,

August 7th, 1713.

“YOU will be surprised to hear I am here as yet. Knox's Agent [King of France's ambassador] made me a compliment to go gratis in his ship, that was to go with his goods ten days ago; but does not go these four days. I am now resolved to go in the yaucht that goes to Calais to bring over the duke of Shrewsbury. The agent [ambassador] engages me to go directly to Tredenham [Monsieur de Torcy], as soon I am at Putney [Paris], and open myself freely to him. I promised I would. I was glad of the motion, because I design to improve it to Mr. Kennedy's [the King's] advantage.

I find he [French ambassador] is not well pleased with Overton [Harley], because he defers to make the changes he promised so often. The rest of the mates [ministers] are out of patience with him, especially the sharper [Bolingbroke] secretary of state [I suppose St. John]; but I believe he'll make but very few, till the new change is over; nor, I believe, then, till Eggleton [the Emperor] makes his peace with Knox [King of France]; neither will he think of Mr. Jenkin's [the King's] business, till the blounce is secured abroad, as well as at home. He thinks to have good partners [a parliament] that will dance to his tune.]

The

The news here is, that the parliament will be dissolved in three or four days. The Whigs spare no money to join a good share in the next election. They say, if they get but a faction strong enough to keep out the Pretender, they'll gain the point. They are still insolent, and will continue so.

1713.
August.

Noble [Netterville] gives his service to you, and has a high esteem for you. He hopes to see you. Service to your wife. I believe in ten days I shall be at Putney [Paris]. I am, &c."

Mrs. White to Mr. Watson.

The decyphering is interlined in Sir William Ellis's hand.

Unjust suspicions of the Earl of Middleton's betraying his master.—Reports about him and Lord Melfort, Lord Fingal, Lord Oxford, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Inese, &c.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 46.

SIR,

30 July,
10 August, 1713.

"SINCE I received yours of the 20th July, I have made it my business to find out from what ground that aspersion sprung relating to your friend Mr. Philips [my lord Middleton], and at last have found what I must conjure our friend to be very circumspect in taking notes from whence he has the account: for Mrs. White has engaged her honour in it to him that told it her, that it shall never come to be named. He speaks himself with respect of Mr. Philips [lord Middleton]; but told her of what I shall tell you on the other side of this; and the young gentleman that came with Mr. Jacob's [King of France's] first agent here, has been no friend to Mr. Philips [lord Middleton]; but, on the contrary, has insinuated things to the agent (whose secretary he is) injurious to our friend; altogether, they have spread such a suspicious character, that does, and will be of a very bad consequence to him, whose honour and truth can stand the test of all their suspicions; but it deters and frights the great traders from engaging their stocks. I cannot say it is by the instigation of Mr. Ford [lord Melfort] or his brother; but I find the person that told Mrs. White was intimate with both: for, in discourse, he told her, that Mr. Ford [lord Melfort] had several times wept, in relating the story of the unfortunate letter, that he says was the cause of so much trouble to him, that letter that came here and was sent back to your house

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house and Mr. Jacob's [France]; so that she found, by that, they were intimate. How this person came to speak to Mr. Jacob's [King of France's] chief factor, Mr. Philips [lord Middleton] knows, and what he proposed for Mr. Jenkins' [the King's] advantage. He corresponds with my sister Brown. I wish I could persuade her to take your advice; but I fear she will marry, and so ruin her children."

The two next pages of this letter are explained and abridged in Sir William Ellis's hand.

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No. 46.

"A copy of the 2d and 3d pages of Mrs. White's letter of ^{30 July,}_{10 August,} which are written on a cut paper."

"**H**E corresponds with Mr. Inese, that is, with you, and he is intimate with Mr. Mennis. He has given him fifty pounds on the King's account. It is my lord Fingale that told me, that Monsieur Pontchartrain told him, if my lord Middleton was faithful to the King, he was false to the King of France; and he that is here, I mean D. D'Aumont, is of the same opinion as he says, or words to that effect. But it was not lord Fingale that told me that. The duke of Powis told me, he did not speak or trust himself to my lord Middleton's sons, and repeated only at large, that there were strange reports of my lord Middleton. When Mr. Rogers comes, he will tell you more; but be sure not to take notice you have heard any thing from me.

All will go well for the King, when the parliament meets again. She [princess Anne] has a rupture in her belly, and is dangerously ill, but goes about her chamber.

The proposal of this person to the King, to come incognito, is dangerous and foolish. The parliament will do it, if she lives long enough to let it fit. But the terms will be cruel, and unfit to take; but if once in possession, the power of altering, in time, will of course follow.

The thing [the late addresses] that passed the parliament has no consequence. My lord Fingale spoke to the Lorrain envoy. He said he was sent to princess Anne, not to the parliament; so should take no notice, unless she spoke to him. All the rest of the ministers see it was a trick of the Whigs, to get an advantage in the elections, and the Tories would not have let it pass; but, with a sneer and a laugh, passed it.

Mr.

Mr. Harley is provoked, to the last degree, against Hannover, and, much against his inclination, will be forced to be honest."

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The remaining part of the letter follows, with the key interlined, in Sir William Ellis's hand.

"ASSURE Mr. Philips [lord Middleton] of my zealous service, and let him know I shall manage this affair, so as he shall have full power to justify himself; but I beg, at present, he will take no notice of what I write. Rogers is intrusted, by the person I have named, that told me what Mr. Jacob's [King of France's] first man told him; and, to do that person justice, he said he did believe Mr. Philips [lord Middleton] to be a man of honour. I cannot find yet, if he has told the same to any other person than Mrs. White. Rogers has told her several times, that he feared an ill character of Mr. Philips [lord Middleton], in regard to Mr. Jenkins [the King]. She assured him it was groundless malice. Then he repeated, that he was the cause of Mr. Hamilton's leaving Mr. Jenkins [the King]. So she concluded it was from that, that the malicious report came; but now she finds that it came both ways. Mr. Rogers is an ill figure of a man, and as ill an utterance; but what he has fallen into, by chance, is very extraordinary, and I believe that silly appearance has been of great help to him, in doing what he has done. I believe you will say what he has writ was well done, and like a man of a better appearance. He will be serviceable when at the great town [Paris], and Mr. Harris [Harley] will see what he sends, and supply him in the factory. He is honest. The traffick will require Mr. Philip's [lord Middleton's] and your head to manage. He has promised me to have to do with no other, in this traffick, but your friend [he means my lord Middleton] and you. Mr. Peregrine [Ferguson] would have him to trade with Mr. St. [Stafford], that is, with Mrs. Rachell [the Queen]; and the person I have named would have him trade with Mr. Inese, who he trades with; but he assures me he will attend Mrs. Philips [my lady Middleton], and by her, trade with Mrs. Rachell [the Queen], and then buy and sell by Mr. Philip's [lord Middleton's] and your direction. It is odd that Peregrine [Mr. Ferguson] should have, under Mr. Jenkins's [the King's] hand, to be one of the factors for present chalk [cash], one of his circumstances;

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cumstances; for none here will deal with him in that way, he is so indigent, and other things alledged. I believe very well of him; but many others do not. What I name of the fifty pounds given, must not be named, only to know if that person has ever acknowledged to have received that sum of the man I have named; for he scorns to name it, only to know if it be approved his giving it so; because he pretends to have direction to be one of the factors named to receive an account of trade for Mr. Jenkins [the King]; he would have had as much more since. This person would have refused a thousand pounds himself, or two hundred a-year to the fund, if there had been a compliance from others of the manufactory. What he wants in understanding the trade, he makes up in zeal and bravery of spirit for the good of the company. What I mean, of not knowing he has told any other than Mrs. White is, I cannot prove he has, though I don't doubt but he has, because of the report being spread; though yet I cannot fix it on any particular person, that has been told it by him. You will judge, when you see Mr. Rogers, what is fit to let him know; since those he will deal with here, will acquaint Mr. Harris [Harley] with what he writes; for they are at his devotion to all intents; and he not at all a friend, only will have it in his power at once, if he finds it will be so without him, to seem to have had always the intention, and waited for an opportunity; for that is the true character of Mr. Harris [Harley]. I find that Mr. Innes, I have named, is no friend to Mr. Philips [my lord Middleton], and I am sure those of his character do Mr. Jenkins [the King] great injury, by being with him at this time, and his not being in their hands, as his father was, has done him a great service; so that his being there is not well. I desire Mrs. Philips [my lady Middleton] will receive Rogers well, and not think worse of him for his figure. I wish Mr. Philips [lord Middleton] would write himself a kind letter to Mr. Askine [lord Aylesbury], my friend, that was at Bruffels, who is now at Paris, and ill of an ulcer in his bladder. He has long taken it ill he did not answer his letters, which is the reason he does not write there, though he is still the same. Mr. Ford [my lord Melfort] has been once to see my friend [lord Aylesbury], and he returned it, but no more friendship will ever be betwixt them. I do not know if Mr. Rogers can support himself, or if he expects to have a consideration from those concerned, who are to reap the benefit. I believe Mr. Harris

[Harley] will take care, under-hand : for, by what I have found out, he is at the bottom ; but I am fully persuaded Rogers is truly zealous for the good of the manufactory, and indeed every action has proved it ; and the use that can be made will be of consequence. Adieu.

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I assure you, you are not mistaken in your friend Mr. Bartheleme [Mr. Mathews†]; he is your real, hearty servant, and will be what he was again. He desires me to assure you, he is the same to all intents. I am, &c."

The same to the same.

The same subject continued.

"A copy of the three first pages of Mrs. White's letter of the $\frac{7}{8}$ August, 1713, which are written in a cut paper."

This copy is in Sir William Ellis's hand.

$\frac{7}{8}$ August, 1713.

"I Have spoken to lord Fingale. He has told me three things alledged against my lord Middleton. One, that when F. Plowden was sent on the King's business, another father of theirs was taken in Flanders ; and when they found it was not Plowden, they let him go, and that my lord Middleton was the man that knew of this business. The second thing was, that young Sheridan told my lord, that his father was sent to the Elector of Cologne, who promised to assist the King with money : but when Sheridan came, he shuffed him off, because he found all designs were discovered to those here. The third was, that a letter sent by duke Hamilton, was sent back to the prince of Orange, and that he shewed it him, and, in a pleasant manner, bid him do so no more. My lord asked the duke himself, if this was true ; who answered, it was false, and spoke of my lord Middleton with respect, and not at all so of my lord Melfort. That of Monsieur Pontchartrain I find my lord Fingale spoke of to the Queen : but she told him he [Pontchartrain] was angry with my lord Middleton, and was a passionate man ; but he [lord Fingale] did not speak to her [the Queen] in the very bare terms he [Pontchartrain] spoke them to him [lord Fingale], which were as I writ them in my last. But now this lord is convinced, that all this is occasioned by malice and designs, and desires, that my lord Middleton will be pleased to send him his instructions, what the King would have moved in parliament this next session : for several of the house, that desire to be chosen

† Perhaps the duke of Buckingham.

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again, desire him to know what the King would have them do, and they will do it. Sir John Packington has promised to be the leading man, and the rest promise to second it, and I know several that say they will. Sir William Whitlock says, he will, who is a leading man. If the King approves of it, they will call for the box, where the names of those are, whom princess Sophia sent to be commissioned to have the government in their hands, till she could come after the death of princess Anne. This was sent, when they thought her a dying; and then the parliament, if the box be produced, will declare against the choice, as men that are against the constitution, and will take the occasion to prove, that there are a number of Papists in employments in that state, and that they have built them a church; and then prove all the disrespectful things which that court has done against princess Anne and the present ministry, and, by degrees, fall on the succession; which, if the parliament is as they expect, will be as good as the old."

The same subject is continued in the remaining part of the letter; and the key to it is interlined, in the original, by Sir William Ellis.

Original.
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Papers, D.N.
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"**M**OST tenants are disposed pretty well, if Mr. Harris [Mr. Harley] would once resolve it was to be done; but he will keep in with both. Those five, [Sunderland, Somers, Halifax, Cowper, and Ruffel,] he met, and, as I told you in a former letter, he is in close counsel with, and does many things by their instigation. The book-keeper that was with Mr. Jacob [lord Bolingbroke] he would have out of the office, and give him a place of more profit; but he will not change, because he knows what he means by it; if the laws do go for Mr. Jenkins [the King], and that all the management cannot hinder him, then he [Mr. Harley] will appear as a main witness, else he has taken such measures as will justify him, and will have those five persons to prove how he concerted all those things for the good of Mr. Sandy [Hannover], tho' he did not believe him his friend; and this is what that person who is hourly with him [lord Fingale] says of him. He is so afraid of Mr. Medlecote [the parliament], he dare not do more for Mr. Sandy [Hannover] openly; but he renders all things of no effect, that is offered as to his prejudice, and still gives a politic reason for it, that every one in his club clearly sees what he aims at. That princess Anne's speech, at going away of Mr. Medlecote [the parliament], was so ordered, he could not help

help her saying what she did; because he that it belonged to so to order it, had contrived to have it so, and argued the point to Mrs. Anne Smith [princess Anne]. As she consented, so he could not change it, though he attempted it. I spoke to you before of Mr. Rogers; he is, I do truly believe, an honest man. Mr. Harris [Mr. Harley] does certainly know of his journey, further than the great town [Paris], though it is his confidant that does employ him. Mr. Rogers will clear this point to you. The parson [lord Fingall] I have named to have told me this, in regard of Mr. Philips [lord Middleton], is no man of great parts, but most zealously honest to his friend and relation [the King]; his wife, who is at the great town [Paris], has sent to him to come, and says that Mr. Ford's broker [lord Melfort], that was the first about Mr. St. John's [the duke of Perth], desires him to come to him; he laughs with me at that, and said he thinks it was a great way to go to make him a visit: he said he was intimate with his brother [lord Melfort]; but never was but three times with him [duke of Perth]. He does not say his brother [lord Melfort] did tell him any thing I have writ; it was what I could not in manners ask him. I find Parker was well acquainted with him, who he thinks mad. All I could say I did, to undeceive those that had handed those malicious reports on hearsay, to come to a juster opinion.

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Mr. Laur [Sir Constantine Phips], that was my council, that is not here now, I have heard from lately, by one that came from him; he is sincerely a friend to Mr. Jenkins [the King], and desires he may know he is so. He has gained great reputation where he is.

Pray, with my most faithful service, assure Mr. Philips [lord Middleton] that none on earth more truly honours him; that I beg he will be pleased, by you, to direct you to write such a letter, as I may show the person I have named [lord Fingall]; only thus, in answer to my letter. He gave me leave to desire him to give me such directions as were approved, that he may deliver to those of Mr. Medlecote's family [the parliament], as I have here named; what I have told, in relation to Mr. Philips [lord Middleton] himself, he has not given me leave yet to tell him; but he said, after some time, he would give me leave to acquaint him, for it was unjust that such sort of reports should not be cleared, and that he was for what was just, and then what was most proper to be done to cultivate all the family's interest together; for that was the way

to

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to do something effectually; for this is the time before the next term, for all depends upon it. All has been trifling till now, it is come to the decision of all. If this time be lost, there will be but an ill prospect of recovering the estate. Mr. Rogers is obliged to be where Mrs. Rachel is [at Paris], for some time before he can see Mr. St. Johns [the King]; for there is something to be done there that will regard Mr. Harris [Harley], by whose direction he goes with that lady I formerly named [lady Anne Bellamont]. I believe I have tired you with this long scroll, who am, with all truth and esteem, Sir, your most humble servant,

N. N."

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Letters from Nairne to Abram and Berry, August, 1713.

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From the 22d of June to the 25th of July, Nairne only marked down, in his book of entries, that he received the several letters written by Abram and Berry, and answered them. On the 25th of July, he "mentioned to them, the address about removing the King, and represented to them the barbarity of it, and the weakness of complying with it." He wrote, on the 3d of August, to Abram, "about Lesly and the protestant chapel;" and he inserted, in his book of entries, a long letter he wrote to Abram on the 10th: but there is no key to it in the whole correspondence, and it is unintelligible, except in the following passages.

"Mr. Lorimer [the duke of Lorrain] continues to be very kind to your sister Jenny [the King]. She goes to see him in 10 or 12 days hence, and she'll give him an account herself of the obliging part his factor [resident] has acted upon the occasion of Proby's [parliament's] late clutter; and I do not doubt but he will take notice of it to his factor, and encourage him to continue; and Mrs. Jenny [the King] will get thanks sent to him from hence, in her name, by a good hand."

"Mr. Lamb [Lesly] is not arrived yet, but is upon the road. He will be kindly received, and so will Mr. Kemp, you may depend upon it."

Nairne to Abram.

Dear Sir,

August 16th.

"SINCE my last to you of the 10th, I have had two from you, of the 21st and 24th. In the first, you mention Cornhill, as if he designed to come and see his friends here: if he does, I can assure you, he will

will be very kindly received, for his uncle Meredith's sake, as well as for his own."

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There is no key to these names. The initial letters of the cant names are almost always the same with those of the real.

"Mr. Lamb [Lefly] arrived here, Sunday last, and I hope he will not complain of his reception; for every body here is very kind to him, and he has leave and encouragement to follow his trade; but as the goods he trades in [his religion] are no less forbidden here, in this country, than they are in Falmouth [France], he must trade warily and in private, that people may take as little notice of it as possible. This is prudent and necessary, in a place where we have measures to keep, and where we are not masters; and the more our landlord is kind to us, the less we ought to abuse it.

What you say of Madam Arscot [probably Avignon], in yours of the 24th, is now out of doors. There was some proposal of going to live in that lady's house; but now that is quite laid aside, for many reasons.

We part from hence to-morrow, to go to the waters."

He added in a postscript, that this journey was uncertain.

Nairne to Berry.

S I R,

August 16th.

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Papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
p. 59.

"I Could not part for the waters, without writing to you, though I have little to say, only to acknowledge the favour of your last of the 21st July. The proposal you mention therein, of promoting a good work at Geneva, which might be very acceptable to uncle Edwards [England], would certainly be complied with by Kelly [the King] and Morton [Middleton], as far as would be proper for them, in case they passed that way; but the travelling, which you supposed these two gentlemen might be obliged to, is, I hope, now out of doors. The good man, in whose house they live, is so kind to them, that he seems in no way inclined to part with them, unless it were to travel another way; so, in all likelihood, they will pass the winter where they are, and where I hope uncle Edwards [England] will be pleased to hear, that his nephew Kelly [the King] is very kind to a Caryman [a church of England clergyman], whom he has sent for of purpose to follow his profession with the

Peacock^s

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Peacocks [Protestants] of his family, and who is arrived but some days ago.

This, I hope, will answer, in some measure, the ends of your proposal; and ought to have some good effect with all those who will be contented with reasonable things, which I am sure Kelly [the King] will never refuse to satisfy his uncle, and make the good man easy. On the other hand, it is but fit the nephew should be made easy too. He is a sincere man, and he thinks it is neither consistent with his honour nor his interest, at this time, to be disputing about Mr. Ross [religion]; so the less that gentleman is spoke of the better, and he hopes all those that wish him well will comply with him in that point.

A postscript to tell him, that the journey to Waters was uncertain, because of the rainy weather."

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Original.
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No. 41.

J. Rogers to Sir William Ellis.

Plunket's original Letter.

The Key is in Sir William's hand.

Rogers gives an account of his reception, of the Marquis de Torcy's disposition towards the Pretender, and his sentiments of the English Ministry.

Paris, Sept. 13, 1713.

"AS I arrived here, I found yours. I could not answer it sooner, I was so taken up; and besides, I thought fit to see Tredenham [Monsieur de Torcy] first, who seems somewhat jealous of my coming here, at this time of day; so that he will watch my motions, as narrowly as he can. I had a long discourse with him, and find by him, there is little or no good to be expected from him or his master, at least, till his own affairs are well settled. He desired my correspondence, while I staid on this side of the water; if I did not use the measures I often spoke to you of, it might be of ill consequence to me, which you shall know when I see you there, which will be about the latter end of the month. I had only one letter from Noble [Mr. Netterville] since I came hither. He gives his kind service to you, and desires to let you know he hopes to see you soon in England, to your satisfaction. That he does not doubt, but things will go well, in time. I expect to have orders to go to see you soon. I brought the papers I spoke to you of in my former letters.

Tredenham

Tredenham [Monsieur de Torcy] desires a copy of them. I promised him he should, because he will see how much his master is obliged to Mr. Kennedy [the King] and his friends, for what has been done to this time. Quarington [the Queen] has them now to peruse. Pray let Mr. Kennedy [the King] know it; and if he don't think fit he should have a copy of them, I shall not give it him. Pray let me hear from you, and you will very much oblige, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and servant, to command,

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J. ROGERS.

P. S. I can assure you, Tredenham [Monsieur de Torcy] has no notion at all of our affairs, or of the mates [ministers] in Evelin's house [England]."

*Letters from Nairne to Abram, Berry, and Scot, September 19, 1713.
The Pretender recommends to the Jacobites to bring Tories into Parliament,
and to support the Measures of the Court.*

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
P. 59.

Nairne to Abram.

SIR,

Plombieres, Sept. 19, 1713.

"YOU remember you had directions sent to you, by a letter, in Mr. Maffey's [Middleton and sometimes the King's] own hand, of the 20th of May last, by which Jeremy [the King] desired you and all your friends of the College, to press all their Cowley [High Church] acquaintances to use their utmost endeavours, both with Edgebury [England] and Mark [Scotland], to bring Trevor [Tories] into Proby's family [parliament] next term, and to engage him to be ruled, in every thing, by Charles Brown's lawyers [princess Anne's ministers], Hickman [Harley] and his associates.

You may also remember, that upon occasion of the late hard usage Snell [Scotland] had met with in Proby's family [parliament], in which it was feared he might be drawn in by Williamson [the Whigs], to join him against Charles's said lawyers. I writ to you of the 22d of June, to put you in mind of Jeremy's positive directions, that Juxon should join with Hickman's company, upon all occasions, against Williamson, and to tell you it was expected Will. Morley would bestir himself as he ought, in this matter, and stick to his directions.

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K k k

I am

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I am now ordered to reiterate the same directions to you, particularly in relation to 5xgxz hspai, [elections] I mean Mr. Everard (whom pray mark down, lest you should forget him). His business is now in hand, and presses mightily. You are, therefore, desired to set all your friends, not only those of the college, but all others of Juxon's family, whom you can trust, that Jeremy desires and expects from them, that they will spare no pains, and lose no time, to employ all the influence they can have upon Everard [the Elections], either by themselves, or by relations and acquaintances, to persuade that gentleman to be firm to Cowley, and to unite with Charles's [Queen's] lawyers, and be directed by them, in all that matter now in hand; that Hickman [Harley] may see, that Juxon [Pretender] is his friend, and desires no better than to join stocks with him, and trust his interest in his hands.

This is what John Brown [the King's] best friends advised, as a thing which they hope may turn to his account. Whatever the event be, Jeremy [the King] is resolved to do his part, which is the reason he now so earnestly recommends this affair to you, for the third time, and he expects you will give him account what progress you or your friends have done in it." The rest of the letter is not intelligible.

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Papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
p. 60.

Nairne to Berry.

Sept. 19, 1713.

S I R,
“MY last to you was of the 16th of August. This being now the time that preparations are making to set out young Price [the new parliament], I am ordered by Manly [the King] to desire you to use all your endeavours, and those of your friends, with those who have a hand in making that gentleman's family, that they may choose servants for him, that may be firm to Kinfy † and agreeable to Morgan ‡. This last person being certainly in power to do good offices to your friend Mr. Kelly [the King], if he has any good intentions that way, it is thought fit, that Jeffrys § should render himself as useful and acceptable to him as he can, upon all occasions; but particularly upon this of young Price's forming his family; and therefore, it were not amiss, that some prudent, discreet means were found, without affectation, to let Baker [Harley] and Young [princess Anne] know, by some of those that are in their confidence, that Manly [the King] has given such directions to his friends, which I hope they cannot but take kindly, and be grateful for in due time.

† Tories.

‡ The Queen.

§ Pretender.

I find

I find by your last, which I think is of the 11th of August, that Edwards [England] continues still peevish against poor Cotton, which is no kind return to the sincere friendship of Manly, for all Cary's relations, whose interest and security (as I have often told) he is constantly resolved to support, in every thing, that is consistent with his honour and conscience. I hope Arnot will make it his endeavours, upon all proper occasions, to soften Edwards upon that point, and to convince him how hard it would be upon Manly to require things of him, that are neither necessary for Cary's safety nor his interest; for certainly Manly himself [the Whigs], would not use him worse than that, if he were to join stocks with them, which he hopes Cary will never force him to."

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September.

Nairne to Scot, i. e. Mr. Henry Straton.

SIR,

Sept. 19, 1713.

Nairne's Papers, vol.
ix. 4to.
p. 60.

"I Shall be glad to know, if you received mine of the 27th and 30th of April, 8th, of June, and 15th of August. In that of the 8th of June, I told you, that Francis [the King] has desired Stirling [Scotland] and all his friends to concur and comply with Cant [Church of England], in making up of young Porter's family [the new parliament]. I hope you have, in due time, communicated this to all the proper persons concerned, and engaged them to conform themselves to Francis's desire, in this essential point. It being now the time that this business is in agitation; I am ordered to reiterate the same, directing to you, in which I do not doubt, but you will use all your endeavours with Cary *, King and others of that kidney of your acquaintance, that they may, by themselves, and by all others whom they can any way influence, contribute to satisfy Mr. Cant, that all Joseph's [King's] of Stirling's family [Scotland] are in his interest. It is hoped, that this may turn to both Joseph's and Stirling's account, at least, as far as we can judge, in the darkness we are in; therefore, I hope you will be active in this matter."

* Cary is sometimes the cant name for Mr. Lockhart.

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vol. ix. 4to.
p. 41.

"Draught of an Answer to Mr. Anderson," i. e. Lord Mar, "upon the article of Religion." Sept. 1713.

"Not made use of, the King thought fitter to say nothing at all upon the subject, referring to Ch. Kinard."

S I R,

I Am sorry to find you lay so much stress upon Mr. Smith's [the King's] living [being] or not living [being] in Forbes's [catholic] family, as if the issue of his law suit depended upon it, when Mr. Anderson [E. Mar] himself knows, that it would be against all law to cast him upon that account; since therefore, you have been so plain with me, upon this subject, confiding in your friendship, I will use the same freedom with you, in telling you my thoughts of this matter.

In the first place, if Smith's friends require this condition from him, they do him no favour; for he could compound, at that rate, with his greatest enemies, and with Cramond himself [the Whigs].

In the next place, living or not living with Forbes, must be a voluntary act of one's own free choice, otherwise it cannot answer the ends for which it is required. It would be but cheating and imposing upon one another, which is neither Smith nor Cant's [Church of England's] intention.

If Smith be willing, on one side, as certainly he is, to give Cant's family all the marks of favour and friendship, that can be asked of him, for the benefit of the family, I think it a little hard, on the other side, that Cant [church of England] should not allow him the liberty that all freemen have, to live where he pleases, and to follow his own judgment, in a thing that relates only personally to himself, and can be of no real prejudice to Cant.

If he were to trade with a Cramond [Whiggish] mob, I should not wonder at any hardship of that kind, from such people. But I hope Cant's [church of England's] relations are men of too good principles, to refuse the liberty to Smith himself, which he is willing and ready to secure to all their family, in the strongest and most authentic manner that they themselves can desire.

They own, that the justice of the cause in question, is altogether independant of Mr. Talbot [religion]; therefore, to deal justly and impartially

partially with Smith, they should begin by deciding his law suit; and after he is in peaceable possession of his estate, then he and Cant [church of England] may talk of Talbot's concerns [religion], with more honour and freedom, and less suspicion of being biaſſed by views of interest, than at present.

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I muſt tell you, that I know Smith to be very nice upon that point: for, if it were to receive a crown, he would not do a thing that might reproach either his honour or his ſincerity. He deſires a union of confidence, friendſhip, and intereſt, with Cant [church of England], above all things, becauſe he thinks him an honeſt man, and they may be mutually uſeful to one another. For that reaſon, he ſeeks all occaſions to oblige him, and to make all thoſe of his relations that are with him, eaſy; and it is for their ſatiſfaction, that he has brought a perſon lately into his family who has free liberty to ſerve them, in their own way.

He had reaſon to hope, that Cant would be ſatiſfied with this teſtimony of his good-will towards him; and that in return, he would be as eaſy to him, as he has been to his relations; but, inſtead of that, he has met with more uneaſineſs, upon that ſubject, than he had before; what he meant only for the comfort and ſatiſfaction of his friends having been interpreted beyond what he intended, which has drawn ſeveral unſeaſonable teazings upon him, on one ſide, and occaſioned raſh judgments, on the other. He cannot help people's ſpeaking; but it were to be wiſhed, at leaſt, that his friends had ſpoke of Talbot [religion] and him with more caution and prudence than they have done. For their late reports have done him no good; on the contrary, they have expoſed him to be looked upon, as a wavering, intereſted, and diſſembling ſpirit, which is quite the reverſe of his character.

I muſt deſire you, therefore, as you love Smith's intereſt and reputation, to uſe your endeavours to ſilence their groundleſs reports, wherever you perceive they may do him harm, and to prevail all you can with Cant's [church of England's] chief relations, not to teaze upon Forbes's [catholic] account, in ſo unſeaſonable a conjuncture as this is. Let them aſk for themſelves whatever they pleaſe. He loves them ſo well, that he will reſuſe them nothing that can tend to make them happy and ſecure them in their eſtates. This which he hath ſo often promiſed, and reſolves

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solves still, in due time, to perform, should be sufficient, and to ask more, especially at this time, would neither be friendly nor just.

Thus, Sir, having told you freely my mind, I hope you will make your own prudent use of it, and employ your interest, when occasion offers, with Ord [princess Anne], Jones [Harley], Bambery [St. John], and others of your friends, in case any of them have any good will towards Smith [the King], to persuade them to be contented to trade with him upon the foot here mentioned, which is certainly the surest for both sides ; for whatever he promises they may depend upon, nor will he leave it, even in his own power to deceive them. Whereas, if he should, at this suspicious time, part with his old friend Forbes [Catholic] so easily, or be any ways moved thereto by the motives represented to him, by Mr. Anderson, it would not be prudent in any of his new friends, to trust him half so much, as they may safely do, remaining as he is, especially when he offers to give them all the demonstrations of his friendship, firmness, and sincerity, that conscience and honour will allow him."

Nairne's
Papers,
D.N. vol. iv.
4to. No. 48.

Extracts of a Letter from Doctor Clinch.

His opinion of the sentiments of the Ministry, with regard to the succession.

Sept. 20, 1713.

"AS for your affairs here, I can send you nothing new ; you will see now, in a session or two, whether I shall ever be so happy as to see you here, or not. I have no hopes any further than this, that I persuade myself, that it is the interest of those that are to serve you, to serve you, and that they have no other refuge to fly to. Now if this be as I imagine, yet some think it impracticable, because of the difficulty of settling the estate, whether it shall be parted, or that our friend [the King] should have it, after his relation's death, &c.

I do not concern myself much about these difficulties, because I believe, that if you are to have any good done you, those that design it you will easily find out an expedient to do it by. My opinion is, that the generality, especially those in place here, are wholly guided by interest, and that setting that aside, it is equal to them, whether this or that person is put in the possession of the estate ; and it is for that reason only, that you can expect to have yours restored, that they may enjoy theirs, which otherwise, I think, they cannot do. I have heard, that the worthless lord

Wharton insinuated as much as this, by one of his profane jests, who pointing to the Queen, said, "if in this life only they have hope, they are, of all men, most miserable."

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I should be extremely well pleased to find any motions made in the senate, in your favour. The Whigs, who are ever restless and struggling, to no purpose, you have heard, addressed, to have you removed. This, the Tories, though they could not refuse to join in it, being near the time of electing a new senate, only laughed at them for: for when the addresses were presented to the Queen, that of the upper house was attended only, by five or six Whig lords; that of the lower, by twenty Whig senators. This I write, that you may know how well people seem to be inclined; and that you may make reflections as you think fit."

Plunket to Sir William Ellis.

Plunket's original letter. It is decyphered in Sir William's hand, and endorsed by him, "Mr. Rogers, October 7, 1713."

October.
Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
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No. 48.

Matters will be soon ripe in England.—Quarrel between Bolingbroke and Oxford.—Measures to be taken in the house of commons, &c.

Paris, October 7, 1713.

"I Had four letters from Noble [Mr. Netterville], last night, which imports, that the duke of Shrewsbury goes to Ireland in 14 days, to call a parliament, and put that kingdom into honest hands. He is to come back to England, in four months. The changes go on by degrees to Mr. Kennedy's [the King's] advantage; none but his friends advanced or employed, in order to serve the great project. I am desired to tell you, Mr. Kennedy [the King] and those about him are to obey and observe what instructions are sent him from England, from time to time, and that, in six or eight months, things will be ripe and forward to be imparted to him. I am at liberty to go thither; but must not make any stay, for reasons he don't think fit to be told now.

Bolingbroke and Oxford do not set their horses together, because he is so dilatory and dozes over things, which is the occasion there is so many Whigs chosen this parliament, though there are four Tories to one, they think it little; but I think, if there were more Whigs it were better.

He

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He tells me, the house of commons will let no prime minister govern for the future, but manage the main point, and make the crown dependent on them. They will give money to have a share of it themselves; by this he gives to understand, that if Knox [the King of France] would but send his agent over soon with a good spell, Mr. Kennedy [the King] might soon go home. They are hungry; a pound now will go further than ten another time. I gave de Torcy an account of all this matter; but I believe it will be to little or no purpose; for it is a maxim with him, not to believe Mr. Kennedy [the King's] friends.

I continue to fix Mrs. Strange [princess Sophia] against Overton [Mr. Harley] and he against her. I wrote him, last night, that I saw a letter from her and her son, which says, he is a worthless hollow fellow. She complains the English do not go much near her now, of late.

Noble [Mr. Netterville] tells me, in his letters, the parliament will put in the Queen's power to name her successor; and if she lives a little longer Hannover will never see England. The duke of Berwick will be here the next week. I am to go to De Torcy with him, and tell him what's proper, and tell him what orders I have from England; doubtless, he won't be against my going to see you there. Noble [Netterville] truly tells me, that it is but curiosity of both sides; therefore, is not very fond of my going yet, till he sees how matters go. The parliament will be very active and stirring. The treasurer and ministry look on the German minister, residing in England with such disdain and contempt, and he on them, that they are ready to fly in one another's faces when they meet. The Whigs call themselves the church Tories, to deceive the people; but they get no profit by it. Queen is now very well; but the Whigs say she will die next winter, and gives the Emperor hopes Hannover will come over; for they tell them, the moment the church party goes about to set aside the succession, or declares for the Pretender, the mob will come over to them, as they did to the Tories in Sacheverel's time. This they write abroad daily to their correspondents here and elsewhere, I am, &c."

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
p. 60.

Letters from Nairne to Abram and Berry.

Nairne to Abram.—Oct. 8, 1713.—“desired him to recommend to all the King's friends to join with the court in Proby [Parliament].”

To Berry.—Oct. 8, 1713.—“ About religion.—Reasons not to press the King, at this time.—To desire the King’s friends to join with the court in parliament.”

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Nairne wrote, at full length, the article about religion, in this letter to Berry, as follows.

—“ I Am glad to hear that Kelly [the King’s] friendship for all Peacock’s family [the protestants], and particularly for the Caryman [clergyman] that came lately hither, is so well taken by Edwards [the English]. You may be sure Kelly [the King] will continue his kindness that way, and that he will never refuse to comply with any innocent lawful means, to satisfy Edwards [the English] upon Ross’s account [religion]; but he hopes, from all his true friends and well wishers, that they will use all their endeavours to hinder his being pressed to explain himself personally upon that gentleman’s subject, at this time, because he is convinced that even a compliance of hearing only, at this time, would reflect upon his honour and sincerity; upon which two points, he is nice to the last degree, as all honest men are and ought to be; and indeed Wanly [the Whigs] has sufficiently published beforehand, what construction the world would put upon an explanation made in this juncture of time; so that, (as Arnot says very well) the discreetest and most reasonable thing for Edwards [the English], is to leave that matter to time and providence; for if Wheatly’s [the English] happiness and Cary’s [clergyman’s] security be settled, this is all that Edwards [the English] is properly concerned in, and what he can be infinitely surer of, in dealing with a person, whose veracity is proof of the greatest worldly temptations, than if that person should, by a precipitated unseasonable compliance, give but too just a handle to suspect him of dissimulation.”

Trevers [Tunstal] to the Earl of Middleton.

A letter from Tunstal, giving an account of a conversation with the Duke of Marlborough, has been inserted among the papers of 1711. Marlborough was now at Antwerp.

Original.
Nairne’s
Papers, D. N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 48.

My Lord,

Peck, October 16, 1713.

“ I Left Antwerp the 9th instant, and arrived here the 13th, at night. I delivered the two letters for the Queen and duchess of Berwick. All that I have to add in particular, more than in the last I had the

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honour to fend to your lordship, is, that at my return from Holland the lawyer [Marlborough] made a solemn protestation that he had rather (I think the expression was) have his hands cut off, than that he should do any thing prejudicial to the squire's [the King's] service; and, after much the same talk as in my last, he bad me give assurances, that provided (the proposition was something conditional) he could be made easy as to his own law-suit, he would not stick to use all his interest, both privately and publickly, for the squire's [the King's] service, which he will do heartily; (and the duke of Berwick's commission, is to see how far this will reach). Perhaps some good may come of this; at least, it is and shall be the subject of my prayers and best endeavours. The duke of Berwick, I suppose, will give his sentiments more at large. I shall wait upon her Majesty this evening, and so make all the haste I can back to the lawyer [Marlborough]. I beg the favour of your lordship, to pay my most humble duty to the squire [the King], and believe me, with all due respect, &c."

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
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No. 48.

Extracts of a letter to Mr. Nelson.

This letter is not signed. The writer proposes, that attention should be shown to the Protestants, and the design of favouring popery concealed. The Pretender's friends support the ministry.

October 20th, 1713.

—"YOU may see how far the good effects of your kindness to Peacock's relations [the Protestants] may, in all probability, extend, without going out of the common methods you have taken with your good friend Mr. Dean [the Pope]. Let that gentleman possess, if you please, what he has; but I beg of you to take care that none of your family, that are related to him, be suffered to contradict what we are willing to believe here. I beseech you, let my good friend Mr. Edwards [England] enjoy the mistaken pleasure he seems possess of. It will be of dangerous consequence to undeceive him, and certainly bring that to be prest for, at present, which you seem most to apprehend, and which ought, I think, to be left to time and providence. Remember how industrious Walters [the Whigs] has ever been to lay hold on any pretence to dispute the legality of your demand, and to engage Price [the parliament], if it were possible, to give his evidence against you; though I dare say that gentleman is too honest and just to act contrary

to

to your interest, as I hope in due time you will be convinced whenever the trial comes on. In the mean time, you may be assured Arnett's inclinations dispose him to move as you direct. I wish his power were suitable. What you give in charge relating to those in Price's family [parliament] acting in concert with the chambers [the court], and also the directions given by Kelly [the King] to his friends, to have regard to such as are acceptable to Younger [princess Anne] and Broker [Harley], shall not lose its due weight. I hope the latter is already acquainted therewith; as the former, in due time, shall be."

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J. Tomson to Mr. Massey, i. e. Rogers or Plunket to the Earl of Middleton.

October 24th, 1713.

Original.
Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 47.

"IF I have not, Sir, addressed myself to you afore now, it's because I was in hopes of seeing you afore this. But finding my stay here longer than I at first proposed, and my inclination leading me, to be acquainted with persons of worth and integrity, I presume to make my first approaches by letter, till I have the happiness to wait upon you, which, in some measure, depends upon his Majesty and you, Mr. de Torcy and the D. of Berwick not judging it fit for me as yet to go. The truth is, Sir, neither of them knows, nor perhaps is it convenient they should know, the reasons I have for seeing his Majesty and you; nor do I think it proper to commit any thing to paper afore I see his Majesty and you.

Finding, by daily experience here, that the character I had before of you, answers not only my expectation, but convinces me that you have a right to be in the first rank of persons of true worth, honour and fidelity to his Majesty, I take the liberty to offer you my correspondence, till I have the honour of seeing you, and consult matters more at large; for since I am here, I am not willing to act but in concert with a better judgment than my own.

I doubt not but you have seen several of my letters to Sir William. I don't know whether they gave that satisfaction you desire. It may be, they were not explained, as they ought, or I meant. The circumstance I was then in obliged me to write dark, and not descend to particulars; and the not being personally acquainted with you, was then the reason I did not presume to address myself to you; and though the same reason still

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subsists, yet the encouragement my lady gives me, makes me hope, and believe, I mayn't be altogether disagreeable to you.

If, therefore, I can't hope to see you soon, I will send you some papers of our transactions hitherto, though I confess I should be glad to be the bearer myself, for several reasons. If, therefore, Sir, after the perusal of this, you judge it necessary for me to see you, you will please to take such measures, as I may come with leave from hence; it being convenient to keep fair at this time of day. You will please, Sir, to honour with your answer him, who is with all esteem and respect, &c."

Nairne's
papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
p. 60.

Nairne to Abram.

SIR,

October 24th.

"SINCE my last of the 8th, I have yours of the 18th, 21st, and 25th September. I am glad you have mine of the 19th September, and that you assure us the contents have been and will be punctually observed: it's what your uncle's [the King's] friends hope may be for his service, though what you say of How's [Harley's] unaccountable methods, and of his friends growing daily more diffident of him and angry with him to a great degree; and that Trevor [the Tories], and particularly Snow [Scotland], are mighty disobliged; and Williamfon [the Whigs] still supported, contrary to all the rules of common prudence, supposing his intentions to be such as we wish, and such as one would think it is his real interest they should be; though all this, I say, be very melancholy and disheartening, yet your uncle [the King] continues still resolved to try what time, patience, and all good offices, on his side, will produce; leaving (as you say very well) the event to God Almighty, and to Charles's [princess Anne] and Honiton's [Harley's] consciences. But when Proby [the parliament] comes to town, we shall be better able to judge how matters will go; for it is reasonable to believe, that then or never some people will show themselves.

The medal you mention to have been sent, the 14th of August, never came to hand. John [the King] would have valued it for the lady's sake, who I hope loves him in her heart preferably to Laurence [Hanover]. If it be so, I wish she may show it soon, for time is precious, and delays in that match may be fatal to both.

May not you get Autry [Auchterhouse] to tell Honiton [Harley] plainly what his friends complain and blame him for? We hear Autry
has

has a great intimacy with him, and perhaps he may prevail with him to alter his methods, when he demonstrates how prejudicial they are to his credit, and how fatal they may prove to himself, as well as to those who stick to him.

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Jeremy [the King] is well, and goes in a fortnight to see his kind landlord. Lamb [Lesly] is well, and has all kindness showed him; but I find it much wished he were less influenced by Elliot" [probably Sir William Ellis, who was a protestant].

The Earl of Middleton to Rogers.

An answer to his letter of the 24th.

Nairne's
papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
p. 61.

October 28th.

"AN old lady, Sir, sent me a letter of yours, which gave me great satisfaction, and I accept of your obliging offer of corresponding with you, as a means profitable to the factory. The consul [King] approves of it; and, in order to that I shall send you an account [a cypher], by which we may understand one another, and disappoint interlopers, in some measure: but as you observe very well, it is not certain; therefore, I am to desire you to enquire at the Scotch college, on the Fosse St. Victor, for l'abbé Inese, who is lately come from hence, and speak to him of all our concerns, with the same freedom as if you were here; and he being to return hither in a short time, you may consign to him what paper you judge necessary for the consul's perusal, by whose order I tell you this; who bids me thank you for the good you have done, and doubts not but you'll continue to do so."

Rogers to Mr. Massé, i. e. the Earl of Middleton.

The intrigues and politicks of the times.

Dear Sir,

Paris, October 28th, 1713.

Original.
Nairne's pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 47.

"I Had a letter, last night, from Noble [Netterville]; with the following occurrences: That the Emperor and Dutch scorned and contemned of late the Queen and her ministers. He will give Ostend and all the towns in Flanders to the Dutch, because he thinks he will vex the English. The Whigs are so sowered against the Tories now, that they want but strength to rise up in arms. They gave out lately, through the three kingdoms, the Pretender was turned protestant, to feel the pulse of

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the Tories; but, having gained no point by it, they now say it was a report from Lorrain, and the contrary was wrote from Bar. They brag they have a faction strong enough, if not to bring over Hannover, to keep out the Pretender at least this session; in the mean time, the Queen may die. They'll get the Emperor to hold out another campaign. They contrive to advance him money, as they have done already. They think to put the ministry on some extreme, and on a necessity to call France to their assistance, and consequently bring home the Pretender, hoping thereby to get the people of their side, as the Tories got them by Dr. Sacheverel's trial.

The ministry, now seeing they can't bring the Emperor to a peace, concluded to send Shrewsbury to call a parliament in Ireland, to sit at the same time with that of England; a thing not usual. They are resolved now to go through stich with the changes through the three kingdoms. They must now sink or swim with France. The Whigs know it, and will push them on to it, in order to ruin the Tories; but all to no purpose. They persuade the German ministers at London, the Emperor may have the same terms after the next campaign as now. If he loses ground, the balance is lost; therefore, the ministry must get him the same terms that was offered at Utrecht, or else the people will fly in their faces, and oblige them to renew the war, to secure the balance of power. These arguments, however chimerical in themselves, make an impression on the Germans, and leave a sting in the minds of the people.

Marlborough desires to go and live in England this winter; but the Queen can't as much as hear him named. Some few attempted to keep the princess Sophia's birth day; but they were affronted. There was but one flag hung out of one steeple in all the town: a good sign. The Scots commoners half mild, half stale. The lords right: money will gain them at any time. Argyle will be soon turned out, and his employment given to honest men.

The treasurer is mortified at the Emperor, and the Dutch proceedings. He foresees he can't, as he desired, renew an alliance with them, or bring them into his measures. The factions were never seen so high as now. There will be warm doings in both houses. How the treasurer shall stem the current, you shall know per next, from, &c."

Nairne

Nairne to Abram.—November 2d.—“To endeavour to discover more of that report of spies in Joseph’s family; enquired of general Ross.”

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Nairne’s Pa-
pers, vol. ix.
4to. p. 61.

J. Rogers to Lady Middleton.

It is supposed this letter was addressed to Lady Middleton, who was now with the Queen, at St. Germain.

Original.
Nairne’s pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 47.

MADAM,

November 8th, 1713.

“IT’s with a great deal of satisfaction I hear the Queen is well recovered. I hope she will continue so. Last night, I had a letter from London. I am given to understand, I shall, for the future, have some things worth her Majesty’s notice; and, as I receive it, I shan’t fail to let her know. The news part I shall send to M. de Torcy, under the D. of Berwick’s cover; but her Majesty will peruse them first, if she thinks fit.

Mr. Netterville has been with my lady Westmoreland. He is well pleased, gives his humblest service to my lord and your ladyship. He says he has great esteem for both. He does not doubt but he will see you at home soon, and the King in a flourishing condition; this he bids me tell your ladyship.

Sir Richard Cantillon will take care of my letters. He advises me not to send them by post to St. Germain. He will send them by the messenger that comes from there every second day.

Your ladyship will be pleased to give the inclosed as directed, and to acknowledge the receipt of these letters to, &c.”

Letters from Rogers to Sir William Ellis and the Earl of Middleton.

Ibid.

News from England.

Plunket “to Sir William Ellis with the Chevalier de St. George, at Bar-le-duc in Lorrain.”

Plunket, who was at this time in Paris, signs this letter with the initial letters of his name, and directs it as above.

Dear Sir,

November 13th, 1713.

“I Have nothing worth your notice these two last ordinaries from England; only the new division between Whigs and Tories in the city about the Election. The former cried out, “No papist or popish Pretender;”

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tender;" the latter, "No 41 men, or Calve's-head club; the Pretender is a protestant, God blefs him."

Some of the Tories went over to the Whigs, out of spleen to the treasurer, because he is so dilatory, especially about the changes. It's believed the parliament won't sit to act, till after Christmas. They'll only choose a speaker, and perhaps pass the bill of commerce. The Scotch commons are most of them Whigs; but the lords have the power of that kingdom in their hands. The parliament of Ireland mostly Whigs. Their friends in England will assist to thwart the measures of the court and embarrass matters. They continue to persuade the Emperor to offer his niece to the prince of Piedmont, in hopes to get the D. of Savoy into the alliance again, and make him hold out two campaigns more. By that time, they hope, either the Queen or the King of France may drop off, and they'll get a great point by it. They are alarmed more and more every day to see the Pretender gains ground; therefore, they double their efforts to roar against him in print.

Pray deliver the inclosed, with my service, from, &c.

J. P."

J. Rogers to Mr. Massey; i. e. Plunket to the Earl of Middleton.

November 13th, 1713.

"I Had, Sir, a letter from my correspondent, by the last post, wherein he desires me to let the consul [King] know, that, in a short time, he shall have good news to send him; and, as things ripen, he will let him know what to say and what to do. The sister and the stewards * are well disposed to serve him; now they see the Emperor is resolved to stand it out. They will and must carry things on with a high hand, and make shorter work on't than they at first designed.

I have no news to send you; only I hear from England, the Whigs give out now, the Chevalier de St. George continues a rank papist, to make him odious to the people, and prepare them for some wicked design, they have or are hatching. They say they'll have the prince of Hannover and Marlborough come to England this session. They are now on their last legs, and will run to extremes. But all depends on the parliament of England and Ireland. By May, we shall know how matters will go; hardly before. I have reason to think well of the consul's

* The Queen and her ministers.

business:

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business: you shall know, Sir, my reasons, as soon as I have the key. 1713.
Pray, let it be after the same manner as that of Sir William's; and you November.
will oblige, Sir, yours to command, &c."

J. Rogers to Mr. Massey; i. e. Plunket to the earl of Middleton.

News from England.—The measures taken for securing the succession to the Pretender.—Plunket is desired to negotiate with the ministers of the Roman Catholic princes at Paris.

Original:
Nairne's papers, D. N.
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No. 47.

November 15th, 1713.

"I Had, dear Sir, two letters from home, by last post, wherein I am earnestly desired to get myself introduced to the ministers of Savoy and Bavaria and other Roman Catholic ministers residing here; and if they have any confidence in me, I shall have measures sent me, from time to time, to communicate to them, that may be useful to their masters and subservient to the consul's interest. I know, Sir, the men in power would be glad those of his stamp did contribute to restore him to his consulship, though they dare not appear in the matter bare-facedly, much less trust any of those foreigners in the circumstances they are now in; but, as it is a nice thing, I shall not proceed in it, till I know the consul's sentiments of the matter; besides, none of these foreigners will trust me, unless I be introduced to them by those that has interest with them: but we must not lose much time: for I find, by my accounts from home, the consul's friends begin to be more active, and design to bring things to bear sooner than it was first proposed. I am desired again to tell you, Sir, that all those at the helm are unanimously for the consul, and my friend will answer for it, with his blood. I have no news to send you; but that I saw letters from Hannover, which say, the Elector will not send his son to England till he is invited by the Queen and parliament; nor will he believe what they say to him, unless they do it, or that they mean him well. He falls in with the sentiments of Whigs, and acts by their directions. I gave a hint of this to my correspondent, who will improve it to the consul's advantage. I have given several hints of the kind of late, that did put some people of power on the tantrums, and made them jealous of each other, and will spur them on to serve the consul better than they have done hitherto; to put them out of their road, I shall not pretend to it, for it will be impossible; they have chosen an un-

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common one, and won't be beat out of it, but they may be spurred on in it. You shall have timely notice what to do in it, when matters are ripe. I am desired to tell the consul, that he must not give ear to the many scribblers, that pretend to things they know nothing of, for they do but mislead you and impose on you there. I gave the papers to Mr. Innes, and desired him to give them into the consul's own hands, and, if he desired it, to read them to him; and then that you make your remarks. And I hope the consul won't let them go out of his own hands, or suffer copies to be taken of them, but after he has perused them to lock them up till I see him: for they will be of use to him hereafter; depend on it. I shall send you more in a few days, and let you know the sense of great many of them. If the right use was made of them, the consul might be at home ere now. I wrote, almost every post, to my correspondent there; but don't acknowledge the receipt of them. I would not have him smell a rat, because it might prejudice the consul's interest. I expect the key you promised to send, Sir, to your true friend and humble servant, &c."

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. ix. 4to.
p. 61.

Letters from Mr. Nairne to Abram and Berry.

Mr. Nairne to Abram.

November 25th.

"I Wish Aubery [Auchterhouse] and Mill may do something to spur Christopher [princess Anne] and Honyton [Harley] to come to a conclusion: it is demonstrably their interest, as well as Joseph's [the King's]; and Honyton [Harley] has too good sense not to see the danger he runs, and the ground he loses by tampering and delaying. If Proby [the parliament] be not wrought upon, at this time, and some effectual step made, I think it will be an ill sign. Equivocal appearances may impose for a while; but if no real effects appear in a competent time, Joseph [the King] and Juxon must take their measures another way: but I hope the persons concerned will not put him upon that necessity. It is their mutual interest to agree, and to assist and support one another against their common and declared adversaries, Williamson [the Whigs] and Laurence [Hannover]. I pray God, we may soon see this happy good intelligence between relations and friends."

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“ After this, having left the secretary’s office, in which I had been — years under secretary, during earl Melfort, lord Caryll, and earl Middleton’s ministry, the King was pleased to make me secretary of the closet; in which station I writ only, from time to time, some letters to England, by his Majesty’s immediate orders, of which I kept no copy; only shewed them always to his Majesty before I sent them. But the Roman correspondence being my separate province, I kept entries of all my letters to Rome in a book apart from that time.”

Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. iv.
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M m m 2

friendship

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friendship and intimacy with the said agent, and the men of business among the Waggs [Whigs], whereby he had an opportunity of serving Mr. Jenkins [the King], when Quaint [princess Anne] made the late regulation.

The said Rogers having, by his daily conversation with Quack [Mr. Pen a Quaker], Noble [Netterville], and others, that were very intimate with Overton [Mr. Harley] and the rest of his brethren, found their pulse beat very low, and that they were at a loss to maintain the new regulation; and it was therefore they caressed the agents of Egleton [the Emperor], and Simon's house [Savoy], to bring them into their interest, in order for a pardon general [a general peace] with Knox [the King of France], exclusive of Duncan [the Dutch.]

Rogers, perceiving this would prejudice the interests of Jenkins [the King], found ways and means to frustrate their design, which he brought about in the following manner.

He being very intimate with one of the sharpers of Egleton's agent [secretary of the Emperor's ambassador], who was master of all his sophistry [secrets], got a precept [a paper] which contained in substance, that the Tanners [Tories] caressed the said agent [minister] then more than ever, making him great offers, in case he would join with them as above: but he assured his master Egleton [the Emperor] that such great offers of the Tanners [Tories] were an infallible sign they were not in a condition to stand their ground long, and assuring him the Waggs [Whigs] had laid such a foundation as would turn the stream into its former channel; and that there was no reason to apprehend the Tanners [Tories] would dare to deal separately with Knox [King of France], or run the risque of giving any jealousy to Anabaptists [the allies], or offending the men worthy [the mob].

Rogers, after having got this precept [paper] in his hand, did signify to Noble, Quack, and Overton [Netterville, Quaker Pen, and Mr. Harley] that the Waggs [the Whigs], in conjunction with the Anabaptists [the allies], were resolved to supplant Quaint [princess Anne] and him, and also that it was in his power to let him know all their sophistries [secrets]; telling withal, that his chief aim in this was purely to serve Mr. Jenkins [the King]. Whereupon Harris [Harley] answered, that he

he did not dislike his fidelity to his friends, assuring him that he should find his account in what service he should do for him and Quaint [the Queen].

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Hereupon Rogers gave him the aforesaid precept [paper], and all the precepts [papers] that the agent sent to Egleton [the Emperor] and Duncan [the Dutch], from time to time, to the number of about twenty-four; containing, in substance, the schemes they had laid for continuing the weather hot [war] or cold. In order thereunto, the agent prepared a memorandum to be given in Egleton's [the Emperor's] name, to Quaint [princess Anne]; setting forth, that he could raise treble the alien [army] he had hitherto. *Nota bene*, that the Agent, at the same time, advised his master to make large promises, till he could gain his point in Evelin's house [England]; and afterwards, that ways may be found to evade the performance of them with credit.

Which was to be printed and published, in order to gain the men worthy [mob], and exasperate them against Quaint [the princess], Overton [Harley], and his brethren; and another precept [paper], giving an account that Simon's house [Savoy] would stick no longer to Egleton's [the Emperor's] interest, but would look to himself; and another precept [paper], sent from Rifton [the King of Portugal] to Egleton [the Emperor], importing that he would follow Quaint's [the princess Anne's] steps. Another precept [paper], proposing a method of removing Quaint [princess Anne] out of trust [the throne]; and another precept [paper], containing a method how to prolong the weather hot [war] for two years longer. These, with many other matters, too long to mention here, being given by Rogers to Harris [Harley], made such impression on Quaint [princess Anne], and Overton [Harley], that they immediately resolved upon dealing even separately with Knox [King of France].

Rogers, perceiving the agent to be dejected upon account of his being slighted on this occasion, discoursed with him as usually, and made a bye motion to him to reconcile him to Kennedy's [the King's] interest; but he being so much elated by the repeated assurances of the Waggs [Whigs], refused to favour it. Whereupon Rogers attacked him another way, and told him there was a project set on foot by Lewis [old Danby], Overton [Harley], and the rest of the society, to marry Mr.

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Kemp's [the King's sister] to Knell [the King of Sweden]; and, by that means, to restore him, exclusive of Mrs. Strange [the princess Sophia].

The agent communicated this to his chief confidants among the Waggs [the Whigs], who were so alarmed at it, that they raised all the Devils in Hell to prevent it, and said, that of the two evils, they would rather have Jenkins [the King], though a physician [a Roman Catholic], than that such a project should take, which would knock all their measures down at once, and ruin for ever them and their friends the Anabaptists [the allies].

Whereupon they sent to Hall [Hannover], that he would send his agent immediately to Evelin's house [England], to take care of his interest; who, thereupon, gave in a memorandum, which served Quaint [the princess Anne], Cleveland [cabinet council], and the partners [parliament] to a great degree never to be forgotten. Beaumont [lord Mulgrave], Segrave [lord Shrewsbury], and the rest of the society, except Overton [Harley], were of opinion that the agent should be sent away with Moulins [a messenger], but Overton [Harley] said it was not reasonable, for several reasons: First, because the pardon general [general peace], was not so far advanced as to rely upon Knox [King of France]: secondly, that it would give a great cause of jealousy to the men worthy [the mob], which may draw them away; and thirdly, because it would make the jewellers [Jacobites] insolent, and give Kemp [the King] greater hopes of establishing his interest than otherwise he could expect. Upon these reasons that business dropt.

The Waggs [Whigs] finding that the memorandum had not the effects proposed by it, they sent to Evers [prince Eugene] to come with all speed to Evelin's house [England], in order to lay before Quaint [princess Anne] and partners [parliament] the necessity of continuing the weather hot [war], and how Knox [King of France] bought the pardon general [peace] for maps [money]; to retrieve which, the Waggs [Whigs] were sure to carry the point, by the majority they assured themselves in Holton [house of Lords] and Hungate [house of commons], by sending two or three of Cleveland [cabinet council] to Tracy [the Tower of London.]

Rogers having an indenture [intelligence] of all this from Eggleton's [Emperor's] agent, then living at Hatton's house [the Hague], gave the
said

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faid indenture to Overton [Harley], and the rest of his brethren; upon which, Moulsworth [lord Churchill] was laid aside, which mightily surpris'd Evers [prince Eugene] at his arrival. Upon this, Moulsworth [lord Churchill] told Ivers [prince Eugene], that had he come before the new dozen were made in Holton [house of lords], all would do well, and that now more violent measures must be used rather than fail; which Ivers [prince Eugene] agreed to consult with Jonathan [the junto] and partners. Whereupon he propos'd to gather together a great many of the men worthy [mob] to be led by some of Jonathan [the junto] and partners, (to destroy in the night-time, after a frolicksome manner) Overton [Harley], Hervy [Sir Simon Harcourt], and one or two of his principal companions: but Hall's [Hannover's] agent, did not approve of this method, conceiving it would turn the hearts of the men worthy [mob] against his master, but Jonathan [the junto] and partners being divided in this:

Ivers [prince Eugene] propos'd another way, which was to set fire to several houses in Little Town [London], and especially near South's house [St. James's]; and, by this means, raise all the men worthy [mob]; and the Waggs [Whigs] being sure of the Gapers [Guards], Quaint [princess Anne], together with the Exchange [Exchequer], and Tracy [the Tower], were to be seized, and thereupon immediately new partners [parliament] to be called; but Horn [Halifax], Sands [Somers], and the late Collier [Chancellor], did not approve of this.

All this Rogers communicated to Overton [Harley], thinking Ivers [prince Eugene] would be sent to pain [prison]; but finding that Overton [Harley] shew'd it to Quaint [princess Anne] and not to Cleveland [cabinet council], he, by Yates [lord Yarmouth], sent, under hand, a detail of the whole matter to Beaumont [lord Mulgrave] and the present Collier [lord Keeper], who laid it before Cleveland [cabinet council], at which Overton [Harley] was very much surpris'd, and started; but told Cleveland [the cabinet council], that he had the same account, which he gave to Quaint [princess Anne], and another mate [minister of state], saying that Quaint [princess Anne], finding they were divided among themselves, thought it more prudent to smother it. To which Cleveland [cabinet council] replied, that it concerned them too near not to sift it to the

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the bottom ; therefore, ordered that Rogers should be called immediately before them, to give a full account of the whole matter. Overton [Harley] sent immediately for Rogers, and spoke to him as followeth.

Rogers, you have been betrayed in the sophistry [secret] and precepts [papers] you gave me ; to which Rogers replied, that he gave it by Mr. Noble's [Netterville's] advice to Farrington [Ferguson], to lard a precept [paper] that he had then in hand with the heads of it for Quaint's [princess Anne's] use ; wherewith Overton [Harley] seeming to be satisfied, asked him what course was proper to take in the matter. Rogers, knowing what would be acceptable to him, proposed to go with him before Quaint [princess Anne] or any of the mates [ministers] ; and accordingly he ordered Rogers to go along with him to Quaint [princess Anne]. But Beamont [lord Mulgrave], having a hint of this from Rogers, underhand, ordered him to come before Cleveland [cabinet council], which he accordingly did, and was examined upon all the precepts [papers] which he (from time to time, during the space of two years before), gave Overton [Harley] ; and having also declared the manner of his obtaining them, Cleveland [cabinet council] was so much satisfied therewith, that Rogers was desired to reduce his examination, which lasted two hours and a half, with all the circumstances, into writing, and at parting returned him thanks, with a promise of a settlement during life ; and gave positive orders that he should be forthwith sent to Hassel's house [Holland], to bring back his friend, from whom he had Ivers's precept [prince Eugene's paper], and to discover further the proceedings of Duncan [the Dutch] and the Waggs [Whigs].

It is to be observed, that Beamont [lord Mulgrave] whispered Rogers, that he should be full and particular in his journal, because it would turn to his own and friend's [the King's] advantage. Overton [Harley] gave the following reasons against his going to Hassel's house [Holland]. First, that if it should be found out that a physician [Roman Catholic] should be employed upon such an occasion, at that juncture, it would give the Waggs [Whigs] an occasion to clamour. Secondly, that it would be enough to divide the Anabaptists [allies] ; and that Evelin's house [England] would never be trusted hereafter, if they should expose these sophistries [secrets] before the partners [parliament] : and, thirdly,

thirldly, that it would give Knox [King of France] an opportunity to make what portion [peace] he pleased, when he found the Anabaptists [allies] jealous of each other, and divided among themselves.

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But, notwithstanding all these reasons, Rogers was ordered to go on his journey; who, coming to Rymer's house [Rotterdam], he met his confident, and engaged him to come back to Evelin's house [England], where he should be provided for during his life. He liked the offer, but insisted upon having it under the sharper's [secretary of state's] own hand. This Rogers communicated to Overton [Harley], but had no answer. It is to be observed, that, notwithstanding these matters did properly belong to the sharper's [secretary of state's] province, yet Overton [Harley] took it into his own management, in order to conceal it from Cleveland [privy council], and communicate it only to Quaint [princess Anne], and keep Rogers out of the way as long as he could, to prevent his being tampered with by Cleveland [cabinet council].

Rogers was not long in Hassel's house [Holland], when Ciprian arrived from Putney [Paris] at Hatton's house [the Hague], and gave three memorandums, one to Harpers [pensionary Heinsius], one to Hall's agent [Hannover agent], and a third to Egleton's agent [the Emperor's ambassador], containing in substance all what he and his father transacted in Evelin's house [England]; and that he had contracted in Knox's [King of France's] name with Cleveland [cabinet council], and especially with Overton [Harley], for a great quantity of maps [money], in case he should agree to give a separate portion [peace]; and that Quaint [princess Anne] desired him to tell Mr. Jenkins [the King] that she would send for him as soon as possible.

This was acceptable to the above-mentioned three persons, who said it was the only thing they wanted; and that they had enough to undo Quaint [princess Anne] and destroy Cleveland [the cabinet council], and prevent the pardon general [the general peace]. Rogers, being apprized of all this matter, acquainted Overton [Harley] therewith, as he did likewise Doyle, Peyton, and Mead [marishal D'Uxelles, Abbé Polignac, and Mr. Menager], assuring them, that now they had a good game in hand, which, if rightly managed, would turn to Knox's [the King of France's] advantage, and forward the portion [peace] to their satisfaction. They asked how? Rogers answered, that Ciprian was to be sent

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with good recommendations to Mouldsworth [lord Churchill], and to the chief of the Waggs [Whigs] dignified with titles of honour and good characters from Hall [Hannover] and Eggleton [the Emperor]; and that he the said Rogers would go with him to Evelin's house [England], and introduce him first to Cleveland [cabinet council], to let him see all the precepts [papers] he had along with him, which would be acceptable to Cleveland [cabinet council], who would engage him in Quaint's [princess Anne's] interest, in order to expose the sophistry [secret] of the Waggs [Whigs] and Duncan [Dutch], and lay the same before the partners [parliament], which would infallibly give them a plausible handle to destroy the shape of Hall [succession of Hannover].

Mead [Monsieur Menager] replied, that it was not prudent to hazard the breaking the measures so well concerted, wherein Rogers had a good share; and the said Mead [Monsieur Menager] well understood that Rogers aimed at the immediate restoration of Kennedy [the King] to his trust [throne], and said Knox [the King of France] would take care of that, after finishing the pardon general [the general peace]. Rogers answered, that now was the proper time, and that such a favourable occasion would never offer again; and told them, that he would send Ciprian to Stapleton [lord Strafford], who went the day before to Hassel's house [Holland]; upon this, the three retiring aside, and consulting a while together, they told Rogers, that Tradenham [Monsieur de Torcy] sent for Ciprian, in order to give him new instructions to take care of his affairs in Evelin's house [England]; and, by that means, he might have a better opportunity of serving both Knox [King of France] and Kennedy's [the King's] interests.

They, finding that poor Ciprian did bite at this bait, very wisely sent him away to Putney [Paris], not doubting his sincerity.

But Rogers, having a watchful eye upon him, and discovering his intentions of going directly to the Waggs [Whigs], got him, by a stratagem, to Hassel's house [Holland], and acquainted Stapleton [lord Strafford] with the whole matter; who approved of Rogers' conduct, in sending him to Cleveland [cabinet council]; and offered to send Moulins [a messenger] along with him; but Ciprian shewing Harper [Heinsius] the orders which Doyle [Mareschal D'Uxelles] and his companions gave

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for going first to Tradenham [Monsieur de Torcy] to receive his instructions, he approved of it, and desired him to go with speed; and promising him all the humour [honour] and pinimo [pension] he could desire*. So he accordingly went to Tradenham [Monsieur de Torcy], and how he was received the reader knows.

Upon this, Rogers told Doyles [Mareschal D'Uxelles] and his fellows, that a good scheme was spoiled, if this fellow should be kept in pain [prison]; and that it was sacrificing Kennedy's [the King's] interest to theirs, at present. To which Doyles [Mareschal D'Uxelles] replied, that Quaint [princess Anne] and Knox [King of France] would do his [the King's] business in due time; and said, that, for his part, he would be sure to acquaint Knox [King of France] how active Rogers has been in his and Kemp's [the King's] affairs, both there and in Evelin's house [England]; and that he acted like a man of honour, especially in this particular.

Rogers finding that all the parleys [plots] he proposed, for a present replication [restoration], must be laid aside for a time, he thought of another, which he expected may turn to as good account, which is as follows.

During his abode in Haffel's house [Holland], he luckily met with a relation of his own, who was conversant with the principal men that governed that house [state], and found, by his friend's and his own observation, that Haffel's house [Holland] was governed by Waggs [Whigs] and Tanners [Tories], as well as Evelin's house [England]; and that the Waggs [Whigs] are the persons now in vogue; and that the Tanners [Tories] being in obscurity during this long reckoning [revolution] were meditating a long time to bring about a replication [restoration] there, after the same manner as in Evelin's house [England].

Rogers, being introduced by his friend to the chief of these Tanners [Tories] found, by discoursing with them, that they wanted only a little map [money] to compass their ends; wherein there was no difficulty, as in Evelin's house [England]. He, upon this, proposed to Knox's [King

* N. B. Ciprian having proposed Rogers to vouch the truth of his allegation, Harper [Heinfius] consulted with the agents of Hall and Eggleton about securing Rogers; but he being apprized of it, avoided the snare.

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of France's] agents, among them, to supply them; and having prevailed with them to send to the said persons, who came and made out that they could infallibly do it without noise or stir, by bestowing a small matter on such as should be stubborn; with this the agents [ambassadors] seemed well pleased, and assured them, that Knox [King of France] should be acquainted with their good intention; but Peyton [Abbé Polignac] told Rogers, that he believed Knox [King of France] would hardly hear of this proposal, without first consulting the mates [ministers] of Evelin's house [England]. Rogers replied, that he would send to get Cleveland's [cabinet council] consent, but he was called away before he could have an answer. He acquainted Cleveland [cabinet council] therewith, which was well approved of; but Overton [Harley] said, that the portion [peace] was far advanced, and it would be better to defer it till after the pardon general [general peace], because it would weaken the politician [protestant] interest abroad; saying, that although Duncan [the Dutch] should be humbled, yet Knox [the King of France] should not be exalted.

Rogers, seeing that Knox [the King of France], in conjunction with Overton [Harley], was intent upon securing their own game, did resolve to ply Overton [Harley] warmly, by setting Cleveland [cabinet council] upon his back; which he did, by communicating to Beaumont [lord Mulgrave], by Yates [lord Yarmouth], what he wrote to Overton [Harley], from time to time, during his abode at Haffel's house [Holland], viz.

First, that Moulsworth [lord Churchill] wrote to Harper [Hensius] and Evers [prince Eugene] not to let the foreign allen [army] in Quaint's [princess] Anne's service obey Overbury [duke of Ormond], thinking thereby to prevent Knox [King of France] giving up Dean's house [Dunkirk] to Quaint; and this would give the Waggs [Whigs] a plausible handle to send Overton [Harley] and one or two more to Tracy [the Tower] and consequently would be a good excuse for Knox [King of France] to abandon Quaint.

Secondly, he discovered at Hatton's house [the Hague] the new plan framed by Moulsworth [lord Churchill], Horn [Halifax], and Sands [Somers], for bringing Hall [Hannover] to Evelin's house [England], by publishing a model [a manifesto], containing that Kennedy [the King] was coming from Fitches' house [France] with a physician allen [a Roman

Roman Catholic army], and arrived at Sutler's house [Scotland]; and that Hall [Hannover] was arrived at Evelin's house [England], to secure the copyhold [crown] against Kemp [the King], and that Moulsworth [lord Churchill] was to have a good allen [army] of his own. By this means, they did not doubt but the unthinking menworthy [mob] would join them, and that Quaint [princess Anne], upon this occasion, would doubtless escape, as Mr. Kemp [the late King] did at the late reckoning [Revolution].

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This plausible project was sent to Mrs. Strange [princess Sophia], not doubting of her approbation, and give her consent to young Hall [Hannover] going to Evelin's house [England].

But the more penetrating heads among the Waggs [Whigs] advised her, underhand, to be wary in so important an affair, and avoid all things that would give the Tanners [Tories] a good pretence to alter the shape [succession].

Hall [Hannover] sent his agent to know the strength of the Waggs [Whigs], and in case he found their interest to be as they represented it, he was to be governed by them, and accordingly the agent keeps very close to them, who are fully resolved to pave the way for Hall [Hannover] this summer of partners [session of parliament].

By this they propose to gain two points; first, in case the Tanners [Tories] oppose it, then it's clear they are for Kennedy [the King], which will give umbrage to the menworthy [mob], and draw them away from the Tanners [Tories]. Secondly, They expect to have a majority among the next partners [parliament].

Rogers wrote to Overton [Harley], that the person from whom he had all these sophistries [secrets] should be sent to Evelin's house [England] to prove it *viva voce*; but had no answer while he was at Hassel's house [Holland], which may fall heavy on him hereafter.

H A N-

HANNOVER PAPERS.

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TO throw light on the Hannover papers of the present year, it is necessary to premise a few particulars. The baron de Bernsdorff was president of the Elector's council, and M. de Robethon secretary for embassies *. Baron de Grote was his Electoral Highness's envoy at the court of London in the beginning of the present year. Grote died in the month of April, and was succeeded by M. de Schutz, whose father had been in England some years before in the same character. Kreyenberg was ordinary resident, and Galke secretary to the embassy. It does not appear that Monsieur l'Hermitage acted in any public character from the court of Hannover: he was probably connected with the Dutch embassy; at least, his business obliged him to go sometimes to Holland. The letters from London, said to have been sent by a *secret address*, were usually directed to Mr. Siffen at the Hague.

The baron de Bothmar was the Elector's envoy extraordinary at the Hague, and his minister plenipotentiary at the treaty of Utrecht. Klin-graff was resident, and Schrader secretary to the embassy. The originals of all Bothmar's letters to Robethon are extant, and likewise the originals of most of the letters written to him by Schutz, Kreyenberg, and Galke; but of some of them we have only copies in Robethon's hand, which he decyphered for the use of the Elector and his ministers. They frequently refer him for further particulars to their letters to Bothmar. Bothmar sent him copies of these letters, decyphered in Schrader's hand, and usually marked in his own hand at the top, the date of the letter and the name of the writer. As these copies are extant, we have probably all the letters written by the Hannoverian agents from this country, from

* Secrétaire des ambassades.

the beginning of April this year to the accession of George I. in August, 1714.

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They, indeed, wrote regularly, by every post, to the Elector himself, what they called a narrative *; but in their letters to Bothmar, Bernsdorff, and Robethon, they generally repeat in a summary manner what they wrote at greater length to their master. As either the originals or authentic copies of all their letters are extant, we are probably acquainted with the whole subject of their correspondence, during a period, in which the protestant succession was thought to be in the utmost danger, and designs were actually formed for bringing in the Pretender.

They sent by every post a very particular account of parliamentary proceedings: but it differs in nothing from what is publickly known; and therefore has been entirely omitted. But every thing that they wrote, of the private characters and conduct of the great men, who flourished at this period, has been carefully extracted; and we know, at least, what the Hannoverians thought of them, and in what light they were represented by others.

De Grote was sent to Great Britain to obtain a pension for the princess Sophia, and the arrears claimed by the Elector, as due to his troops which served in Flanders, and to insist upon the Pretender's removal from Lorrain. The court of Hannover, ignorant of that prince's attachment to the principles imbibed in his youth, were alarmed this year with rumours of his conversion; and directions were sent to Grote to propose some measures which they thought necessary to be taken in such an event.

The earl of Oxford made a motion in parliament, in the following year, which, at the time, greatly surprised the nation: but now the true cause of that measure sufficiently appears. The Whigs had invited the Elector of Hannover to invade Great Britain, with an army. They, at the same time, endeavoured to show, that Oxford meant only to amuse the people, by an affected zeal for the protestant succession, to conceal his real designs in favour of the Pretender. The motion bore, that, for the further security of the succession, it should be made high treason to bring foreign troops into the kingdom. A law against bringing troops into

* Une relation.

1713. Great Britain, to support the cause of the Pretender, was unnecessary; since such troops, if foreigners, might be treated as enemies; and as natives, might be punished as rebels. Therefore, the design of the earl of Oxford was to allude, in his motion, to the scheme of the Whigs to bring over the Elector in a hostile manner.

The Queen, in her speech to the parliament, which met on the ninth of April in the present year, expressed great zeal for the succession in the house of Hannover. But the friends of that family considered the speech itself, and the consequent address of the two houses, as an artful design of the minister to deceive the nation. The agents of Hannover, convinced of this circumstance by the Whigs, represented to their court, the necessity of taking some step to bring the sincerity of these professions to such a proof as would convince the world, that neither friendship nor harmony subsisted between the Queen and her ministers and the parliamentary heirs of the crown.

The following letters were written by M. de Robethon, at Hannover, to the Baron de Grote, in London, in January and February. They are in Robethon's hand, in French; but decyphered by an unknown hand.

Robethon to the Baron de Grote.

January.
Hannover
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10. Bothmar,
No. 4.

Measures to be taken, in case the Pretender becomes Protestant.—Corrections on the new Barrier Treaty.—A pension to be demanded for the Electress.—Grote's reception by the earl of Oxford.—Means to be used to gain the Duke of Argyle and his brother.—A pension to be given to the lord Fitzwalter, &c.

Translation.

S I R, Hannover, Jan. 3d, 1713.
“ I Doubt not but this will find your Excellency arrived in London. Some time ago, I hinted to Monsieur l'Hermitage to speak to lord Halifax, of a design which suggested itself to me, and which, having met since with the approbation of all our ministers, I have orders to write to you about. It is to sound lord Halifax and other friends, if they could propose, in both houses, to bring in a bill excluding the Pretender, and any other Papist who has pretensions to the succession, with their posterity, even though he should become a Protestant.

The

The reasons for such an act are so strong, on account of the rumours which circulate about the prince of Wales in this respect, and of the alarms which these rumours give the nation, that I do not see they can venture to make great opposition to such a salutary scheme. If the act passes, we gain every material point for our succession; if the Queen's ministers oppose it, that will unmasque them, and contribute, more effectually than any thing else, to open the eyes of the nation. Please write to me what our friends say on the subject.

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I am likewise to tell your Excellency, that remarks on the project of a Barrier Treaty, proposed to the Dutch by lord Strafford, are sent this evening to the Baron de Bothmar. We have made seven or eight corrections, short indeed, but essential to our succession; and sent an order to Monsieur de Bothmar, to persuade the grand pensionary to try to prevail with the Queen's ministers to admit these corrections. Your Excellency will receive a copy of them by the next post; not in order to speak of them to the Queen's ministers, for you know that the treaty was not communicated to us by them, but in order to make use of them hereafter, when the opportunity offers, which can scarcely miss: and, in the mean time, you are desired to communicate these corrections to lord Halifax and other friends, and to write to us their opinion of them. I am, &c."

Robethon to De Grote.

Translation.

Hannover, Jan. 6th, 1713.

Hannover
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x. Bothmar,
No. 5.

"**L**ORD Oxford had mentioned the treaty of guarantee of the succession to Kreyenberg, and consequently would probably mention it to Grote. Robethon desires Grote to propose to his lordship, in the politest manner he could, to insert the corrections and additions which he had mentioned in his preceding letter, and of which he now sends him a copy. He complains of it, as an omission very offensive to them, that there was no mention of the Pretender in the treaty; and desires to have the person known under the name of the Chevalier de St. George particularly specified; 'if it is in earnest they have abjured the Chevalier; if it is in earnest they demand from France to remove him, and not to assist him; they cannot refuse to mention him in the treaty of guarantee of our succession. It is to be hoped the lord treasurer will repair the

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omission

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omission of such an essential clause, and pay attention to the just remonstrances of your Excellency on the subject.*

Your Excellency may be assured, that in the act which establishes the succession, and in all the acts which have been made since concerning it, even at the time when the Whigs had all the power in their hands, there never was a clause inserted for excluding the Pretender in case he turned Protestant; which, however, would be very necessary. It will be said, perhaps, that the popish lords likewise, who might be converted, would be excluded thereby from the house of peers. But there is a great difference between the sovereign and an individual. The Pretender, on the slightest appearance of a pretended conversion, might ruin all, the religion, the liberties, the privileges of the nation, &c. This is not the case of a lord, and therefore it is not parallel. Besides, when they exclude the Pretender, in such a case they may, if they chuse, make an exception in favour of the lords who would change. Your Excellency will speak of all this to persons more capable of judging of it, than I am."

Hannover
Papers, vol.
x. Bothmar,
No. 6.

—January 10th, 1713.—De Grote had given an account of his arrival in London. "What you say of the violence of the English is very true; and the Electoral Prince, to whom I read your letter, thinks that your judgment of them is very just.

With regard to the passage in cypher, all the ministers of his Electoral Highness think lord Halifax a very proper person to make a proposal to Harley †, who consulted him, and to speak to him, both about the pension for the Electress, and about the exclusion of the Pretender, to be inserted in the treaty of peace. Your Excellency will be so good as to converse on this subject with lord Halifax: he always paid great attention to Harley, who cannot take it amiss that he should enter into these affairs. Besides, he may speak of them to him as of himself, and not at our desire.

Monsieur de Bothmar writes to me, and all our ministers agree with him, that it would be proper to exclude from the crown, by act of parliament, all those who, after compleating their tenth year, continue to profess the popish religion."

Ibid. No. 8.

—January 13th, 1713.—"Your Excellency is in the right to restrain the excessive forwardness and vivacity of lord Sunderland. I shall

† Earl of Oxford.

write to you by the next post, if the sentiments of lord Somers, concerning the pension, are approved of here. I am very anxious about what the lord treasurer will say to you on the subject.

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They write us from Paris, that the Pretender is getting himself instructed in the religion of the church of England, and discovers he finds great satisfaction in it. This doubles the necessity of an act to exclude him, even in case of his conversion."

—January 17th, 1713.—"All our ministers order me to tell you, it is their opinion, that you should conform yourself to the sentiments of lord Somers, concerning the pension for the Electress; and that you should, by no means, offer to lord Oxford, that the Queen and he should dispose of the offices of the household. You will recollect that that offer was a thought of the Electress alone, who insisted to add it to your instructions; and did so principally because she had spoke in that strain to that Harley who was here, with whom she is highly dissatisfied at present; that gentleman, notwithstanding all his fine protestations, not having written even once since his departure from Hannover.

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Papers, vol.
x. Bothmar,
No. 10.

We have received no intelligence by the means of the duke of Marlborough. It is very proper to put a stop to the frequent visits of lord Sunderland, without disobliging him however. If the affair of the pension succeeds, you will be exalted to the third heavens. I hope you shall have your share of it; and I therefore prefer it, in all respects, to the affair of the arrears. I would not say so, however, to —."

—January 24th, 1713.—"It would be an excellent thing, no doubt, to oblige France to send the Pretender to Rome; and you must neglect nothing that will induce the British court to demand it. Ibid. No. 13.

Such is the spirit of œconomy here, especially since the speedy return of our troops is looked for, that you must not expect the Elector will put his hand to his pocket, even for a master-stroke of party (*coup de partie*), such as would be, beyond contradiction, to gain the duke of Argyle and his brother; although, according to Bernsdorff, there is not room to hesitate a moment."

"Another proof of this" (spirit of œconomy, continues Robethon) "is that the president told me, that having insisted with OUR MASTER for some extraordinary allowance for your Excellency, on account of your

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journey to London, and to enable you to settle there, the answer was a flat denial, and that he would not give a penny above what the late M. de Schutz had."

Hannover
Papers, vol. x.
Bothmar,
No. 14.

January 27th, 1713.—"I judge of Oxford's intentions, from the pains which he takes to avoid you. You cannot be too diffident of him, and you must take care that we are not duped by him. We may depend upon it, that Oxford is too far engaged with France and the Queen, to dare to be able to withdraw; and even though he inclined it, it would be impossible for him to bring back the Queen to proper measures; so that all he would gain, would be to meet with the same fate with Godolphin and Marlborough.

On this account, and with this precaution, the attentions which you propose to show to that minister, and the manner in which you intend to behave to the Queen's ministers in general, are greatly approved of here; and it gives great satisfaction, that you are agreeable to Halifax and other friends.

With regard to the pension, we think here, that Sunderland and Somers reason much better on the subject than Halifax; for, upon the supposition, which is but too probable, of the lord treasurer's intentions, the great aim should be to unmask him and the other ministers publickly, and to open the eyes of the nation, which cannot be done but by the means of some such business as this, brought before the parliament: whereas, whatever the Queen's ministers may be entreated to obtain from France about the removal of the Pretender, or to add to the Barrier Treaty, will not strike the people, and will be liable to chicane; and consequently now, when the nation is alarmed on all sides with the Pretender, is the proper time to bring an affair of this kind before the parliament.

I refer myself, on this subject, to the rescript which you will receive, signed by our master, and add only that Bernsdorf, in particular, recommends to you strongly, what regards Argyle and his brother, and to see if, by the hopes you shall give them both of a pension, in case the parliament, by their interest, shall grant a pension to the Electress, you can obtain some important service from them. This in reality is a capital point.

If

If Oxford continues to avoid you, as I imagine he will, and if Bolingbroke does so likewise, you need not be afraid of giving offence to the Whigs by your familiarity with these ministers. I have no hopes of our arrears.

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You will see, by the rescript of our master, that lord Halifax's advice concerning the Barrier Treaty, and the sending the Pretender into Italy, has been entirely followed; and that it is wished you would propose to our friends to move in parliament for a bill to exclude him, in case of his conversion.

Be so good as to thank lord justice Parker, for his good advice, and show him that it has been regarded. What does Nottingham do? Have you seen L'Hermitage? His Electoral Highness recommends to you in a very particular manner, the article which regards the duke of Argyle, and to make his compliments to his Grace.

The Chevalier de Reden told me the other day, that the Electress said lately, more than once, at a full table, that she had sent you a new reGENCY; reproaching herself for having put in so many Whigs. You see how we are placed. Judge if Mr. Winde and secretary D'Alais would neglect to write this to London; and is it not possible that the knowledge which the Queen's ministers have of it, may occasion the objections they propose to make to the registration, and have suggested these good advices from the Whigs?"

Copy of the Rescript, signed by the Elector, as mentioned above.

"We understand, with pleasure, by your private letters, that the duke of Argyle and his brother appeared disposed to court your acquaintance, and to give proofs of their zeal. The credit of his Grace must naturally be so great in Scotland, after the death of the Queen, that you can never pay too much attention to any favourable dispositions which he may discover to you. You will assure him of the very particular regard we have for his person, and also for his brother. If you observe that they act sincerely, we believe you may entreat them, when the proper time comes, to employ their credit to get an act, settling a pension on the Electress, passed in parliament; promising, in case the affair succeeds, to give them, from that fund, pensions proportioned to the importance of

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the service they will render her. You will easily comprehend, that you must make these promises in the name of the Electress."

"I must tell you," continues Robethon, in a postscript to de Grote, "by order of our ministers, who have all signed the minute of this rescript, that the Elector approves very much of the contents, but said, that it was the Electress who should sign it. The ministers did not at all choose to speak about it to the Electress; because the affair would undoubtedly be very soon made public. They entreat you however to conform yourself entirely to this rescript; being very well persuaded, that, instead of being disavowed, you will be commended by the Electress, if the affair of the pension succeeds. It is in this case clear, that Argyle and his brother are to be rewarded with pensions."

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x. Bothmar.
No. 16.

—January 31, 1713.—"Your delivering our remarks on the barrier treaty, with regard to the guarantee of our succession, is much approved of here. I see the lord treasurer seemed to pay some attention to them. We must wait the issue. You are desired to insist, that the Pretender may be mentioned in that treaty, and mentioned under the title of the person who usurps the name and dignity of James the Third King of Great Britain; and that it may be added, that it is principally against him, that the Queen requires of the States, to guarantee the succession established in the house of Hannover.

All your reflections, concerning a design of a bill to exclude the Pretender and other Papists, in case they turn Protestants, are approved of. The ministers make this additional reflection, that it would call our right in question, by supposing, that there were cases in which that right might be doubtful and require explanation, which we must never suppose, or put in question. The Pretender's being excluded and abjured, after the strongest form, in all cases, and without restriction or reserve, should be sufficient. You are, therefore, desired to drop the design of speaking of it to our friends, much less to the Queen's ministers. I imagine Halifax will be of this opinion."

Ibid. No. 17.

—February 3, 1713.—"I see lord Bolingbroke has declared himself sufficiently, concerning the guarantee of the succession, in the barrier treaty. I allow him, that an Englishman should not consent to tie up the hands of future parliaments by a treaty; but that is not the question here:

here : he leads you into an error : for the point in question now is, whether the States, by the present treaty, are to guarantee the succession only, as it is settled in the Electoral family, or whether they are to guarantee to infinity, whatever the Queen or her parliament may choose to determine hereafter, concerning the succession of the crown ? The council sat yesterday, his Electoral Highness refused the 50 £. to the Examiner ; but all the ministers are determined to urge him again, and hope to succeed. They find it very just ;—but you are to promise nothing.”

1713.
February.

—February 7, 1713.—“ When the session of parliament approaches, you must consider the affair of the pension for the Electress. It is a good sign, that her Majesty’s ministers discover uneasiness on account of these measures : it appears thereby, that these gentlemen are afraid the nation may see clearly, and that they are not in perfect security. It is proper, therefore, to continue to curb them a little.”

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Papers, vol.
x. Bothmar.
No. 19.

—February 10, 1713.—“ His Electoral Highness continues to be uncomplying in lord Fitz Walter’s affair. However, he shall be urged again, and to facilitate the business, it will be proposed to make the Electress concur. He allows 40 £. sterling to the author of the Flying Post.”

Ibid. No. 20.

—February 14, 1713.—“ The Elector, at the earnest importunities of all his ministers, consented to pay the 600 £. sterling to lord Fitz Walter. You may assure his lordship and lord Sunderland of this, and concert for the future with him, the necessary measures in all this affair, in order that my lord Sunderland may be reimbursed in the 300 £. he advanced to his lordship, and your Excellency will lose no time in communicating to him the resolution of his Electoral Highness in his favour, providing, at least, he has not already absolutely changed sides, which I do not expect. The flying post will have 50 £. and not 40 £. sterling, as I was told at first.

Ibid. No. 21.

When you bring the affair of the pension for the Electress on the carpet, please tell 60 (probably Oxford), that his relation who was at Hannover, assured the Electress frequently, that there was nothing more just, that the lord treasurer would contribute to it with all his power, and he himself also. It will be proper to put both the one and the other in mind of this, at the proper time.”

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February.
Original.
Hannover
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Bothmar x.
No. 22.

Letters from Robethon to de Grote continued.

The Queen's ministers are attached to the Pretender.—The Whigs propose to the Elector to go over with a body of troops to England.—Grote is directed to demand a pension for the Princess Sophia, and to insist upon the Pretender's removal.

In Robethon's hand, in French.

Translation.

—February 17, 1713.—“THE principal reason for the change of the Queen's ministry, was the design of establishing the Pretender; scruples were then raised in the Queen's mind concerning him, and lord Jersey endeavoured to serve him, long before the memorial was presented by the baron de Bothmar. They have exerted themselves to bring about a peace, merely to pave the way for the prince of Wales. That memorial had, at least, the effect of making the Queen's ministers proceed with more caution, and if we had done nothing, all the consequence would have been, that these gentlemen, meeting with no obstacles, would have accomplished their design much sooner.

That lord Oxford is devoted irrecoverably to the Pretender and to the King of France, is what we had no doubts of long ago, although his cousin, when he was at Hannover, endeavoured to impose, in that respect, upon the Electress and the Electoral Prince, with whom I did not choose to dispute the subject, for they would not have failed to reproach me with my partiality for the Whigs, and I choose rather to wait, until your Excellency, having observed the matter yourself, should bear testimony to this incontestible truth.

With regard to the project of going over with a body of troops now to England, Monsieur de Bernsdorff would have wished, that all that passage had been written in cyphers rather than any other; and his Excellency ordered me to tell you, that as that design requires absolutely the concurrence of the States General, and their men of war, it is impossible to think of it at present; since the States General give their whole attention now to hasten the peace, and to gain the good graces of the Queen and of her ministry, imagining they have done enough for us, when they signed the treaty guaranteeing the succession. We must, therefore, according to Mr. de Bernsdorff, give time to the States General and to the English

English nation, to be sensible of the pernicious consequences of the peace, and then we may take juster measures.

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The question is, if the King of France will not, in the mean time, establish the Pretender by force; but how can we do otherwise? If the Queen dies before the Pretender arrives, all things will be easier, and the States will be obliged, by their guarantee, to assist us. But it is the opinion of Monsieur de Bernstorff, that if it was necessary during the Queen's life time, to take such measures against her Majesty and her ministers, we would meet with terrible difficulties from the party in the nation who love the Queen; besides, it is almost certain, the Elector, in that case, will never bring himself to such a resolution. This your Excellency will very easily conceive; but we have every reason to hope, that, in case of the Queen's death, the Elector will do whatever can be expected from him, of which your Excellency may, if you please, give assurances to our friends.

Monsieur de Bernstorff judges the scheme of having ships of war from the King of Denmark, totally impossible."

—February 21, 1713.—"With regard to the long dispatches you sent from the Hague, by general Schulenburg; what they contain concerning the sentiments of Oxford and Bollingbroke towards the Pretender, was well known here already, and it will be a foundation to go upon for the future: but it is not at all admitted, that the sentiments of those two Jacobite lords must be attributed to the memorial of Monsieur de Bothmar. And with regard to the proposals of the Whigs, contained in the end of these dispatches," viz. the sending over troops to England, "I must refer myself to what I had the honour of writing to you about them, the thing being impracticable without the concurrence of the States General, upon which we cannot depend at present.

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Bothmar 10.
No. 23.

It is principally in the name of the Electress, that your Excellency must negotiate the affair of the pension, and it is much wished here, that you may present the memorial you have ready on the subject, before the session of parliament begins. Your Excellency will undoubtedly put the lord treasurer in mind, that his cousin assured the Electress, more than once, that the affair of the pension was very reasonable, and could not be refused, promising, that he himself would forward it when he returned, and assuring her Electoral Highness, that the lord treasurer would exert himself in it very willingly."

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Hannover
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vol. marked
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No. 25.

—February 28, 1713.—“You are desired to propagate in conversation, and to publish in the Flying Post, with reflections suitable to the subject, that a cardinal’s hat has been given to the abbé de Polignac, on the nomination of the Pretender, as King of England. This act as a King and as a Popish King, should not recommend him to the nation.”

Ibid. No. 26.

—March 3, 1713.—“We are very well pleased here, that you have delivered to the lord treasurer the two memorials, one concerning the pension of the Electress, and the other concerning the removal of the Pretender. It is evident from the verbose manner which the treasurer uses in the writing which he delivered to you, that he wants to confine himself to general terms, which signify nothing. I am not afraid that you will take them for current coin.”

Ibid. No. 27.

—March 7, 1713.—“Yesterday, secretary D’Alais presented a memorial, by order of lord Bolingbroke, bearing, that Mr. Mac Cartney having assassinated the Duke of Hamilton, her Britannick Majesty intreats his Electoral Highness, in case that man comes here, to arrest him and deliver him to the Queen. The answer was, that they heard nothing of him, and that it was not likely he would come here. Your Excellency will be pleased to confine yourself to that answer, if they speak to you on the subject.”

The two following Extracts have no date.

Ibid. No. 30.

“The Elector wishes much, that you would acquaint general Mac Cartney’s friends, that they should write to him, to come, by no means, to Hannover; for that would be a very great misfortune and embarrassment to the Elector, at this juncture, and might set him at variance irretrievably with the Queen. This is strongly recommended to you. I also write about it, by order of his Electoral Highness, to the baron de Bothmar, and to the duke of Marlborough.”

—“Monsieur de Bernstorff orders me to repeat to you, that the project of going over with a body of troops now into England, is absolutely impracticable, because the thing is impossible, without the ships of the States General, who are very far from being disposed, at present, to embark in such an affair; and indeed, it is all they could do, if they saw the Pretender actually in England. They are afraid for themselves. As long

long then as the Queen lives and the Pretender is out of England, and while the Queen makes no direct attack upon the rights of her Electoral Highness, it is not to be imagined, that the Elector will enter into the measures proposed by the Whigs, who are generally too sanguine.

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Monfieur de Bernstorff is very angry to find, by Monfieur de Bothmar's letters, that the Whigs communicated schemes of this kind to general Schulenburgh. It is probable he will not make a proper use of this confidence, and that abbé Passionei, the Pope's nuntio at Utrecht, being his intimate friend, is informed of it by this time.

The Electress and the Electoral Prince are entirely undeceived in their opinion of lord Oxford, since his fine discourse to your Excellency about the pension of the Electress. They could have wished here, that at the first conversation, in which your Excellency spoke to lord Oxford of the pension, you had delivered to him the memorial on the subject; because lord Oxford not relishing it, and the memorial being presented to him however, after it was known that he received it unwillingly, would say, perhaps, that we wanted to vex him; but to this, in my opinion, no attention should be paid at all, in this affair, nor in that of removing the Pretender."

A Memorial sent to the Baron de Grote, from Hannover, the 10th of March,
1713.

From the Elector's ministers, asking the opinion of their friends in England, concerning the measures to be taken upon the Queen's death.

March.
Original.
Hannover
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Bothmar 10.
No. 28.

Translation.

"THE Queen's situation obliges us to desire you to ask the answer of lord Sunderland, lord Somers, lord Halifax, and lord Townshend, to what follows.

What are the steps in general which we should take here, after we have received the news of the Queen's death?

What procurations, patents, or orders, should we have ready to be sent then, wherever it will be necessary?

Mr. Bernstorff is of opinion, that, in case of the Queen's death, as the Electress cannot set out immediately, nor travel with the necessary dispatch, the Elector, or, on his refusal, the Electoral Prince, should set out

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Hannover
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Bothmar,
No. 14.

journey to London, and to enable you to settle there, the answer was a flat denial, and that he would not give a penny above what the late M. de Schutz had."

January 27th, 1713.—"I judge of Oxford's intentions, from the pains which he takes to avoid you. You cannot be too diffident of him, and you must take care that we are not duped by him. We may depend upon it, that Oxford is too far engaged with France and the Queen, to dare to be able to withdraw; and even though he inclined it, it would be impossible for him to bring back the Queen to proper measures; so that all he would gain, would be to meet with the same fate with Godolphin and Marlborough.

On this account, and with this precaution, the attentions which you propose to show to that minister, and the manner in which you intend to behave to the Queen's ministers in general, are greatly approved of here; and it gives great satisfaction, that you are agreeable to Halifax and other friends.

With regard to the pension, we think here, that Sunderland and Somers reason much better on the subject than Halifax; for, upon the supposition, which is but too probable, of the lord treasurer's intentions, the great aim should be to unmask him and the other ministers publicly, and to open the eyes of the nation, which cannot be done but by the means of some such business as this, brought before the parliament: whereas, whatever the Queen's ministers may be entreated to obtain from France about the removal of the Pretender, or to add to the Barrier Treaty, will not strike the people, and will be liable to chicane; and consequently now, when the nation is alarmed on all sides with the Pretender, is the proper time to bring an affair of this kind before the parliament.

I refer myself, on this subject, to the rescript which you will receive, signed by our master, and add only that Bernsdorf, in particular, recommends to you strongly, what regards Argyle and his brother, and to see if, by the hopes you shall give them both of a pension, in case the parliament, by their interest, shall grant a pension to the Electress, you can obtain some important service from them. This in reality is a capital point.

If

If Oxford continues to avoid you, as I imagine he will, and if Bolingbroke does so likewise, you need not be afraid of giving offence to the Whigs by your familiarity with these ministers. I have no hopes of our arrears.

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You will see, by the rescript of our master, that lord Halifax's advice concerning the Barrier Treaty, and the sending the Pretender into Italy, has been entirely followed; and that it is wished you would propose to our friends to move in parliament for a bill to exclude him, in case of his conversion.

Be so good as to thank lord justice Parker, for his good advice, and show him that it has been regarded. What does Nottingham do? Have you seen L'Hermitage? His Electoral Highness recommends to you in a very particular manner, the article which regards the duke of Argyle, and to make his compliments to his Grace.

The Chevalier de Reden told me the other day, that the Electress said lately, more than once, at a full table, that she had sent you a new reGENCY; reproaching herself for having put in so many Whigs. You see how we are placed. Judge if Mr. Winde and secretary D'Alais would neglect to write this to London; and is it not possible that the knowledge which the Queen's ministers have of it, may occasion the objections they propose to make to the registration, and have suggested these good advices from the Whigs?"

Copy of the Rescript, signed by the Elector, as mentioned above.

"We understand, with pleasure, by your private letters, that the duke of Argyle and his brother appeared disposed to court your acquaintance, and to give proofs of their zeal. The credit of his Grace must naturally be so great in Scotland, after the death of the Queen, that you can never pay too much attention to any favourable dispositions which he may discover to you. You will assure him of the very particular regard we have for his person, and also for his brother. If you observe that they act sincerely, we believe you may entreat them, when the proper time comes, to employ their credit to get an act, settling a pension on the Electress, passed in parliament; promising, in case the affair succeeds, to give them, from that fund, pensions proportioned to the importance of

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for London, without the loss of a moment; and that, on the first news of the Queen's death, ships should be kept in readiness in Holland, for the security of his passage.

We ask, in that case,

1. What kind of procuration should the Elector or the Electoral Prince have from the Electress? How far should it extend? Should it authorize him to dissolve the parliament and to call another; to dispose of all places; to imprison suspected persons, &c.

2. We ask, If the Electress, after the Queen's death, can establish, until she arrives in London, a different regency from that which is appointed in the instruments now in England, or at least, add to it or retrench from it, as she chuses?

3. In case the Queen dies before your Excellency has changed the instruments, can you still establish as regents the lords named in the last instruments, and make them valid?

4. Can the Electress, after the Queen's death, authorize the Elector to dismiss this regency, and take the government into his own hands, composing his privy council of such persons as he shall think deserving?

5. If it is necessary, that the regency should subsist until the Electress arrives; we ask what share of the government can the Elector or the Electoral Prince have, jointly with the regents?

At the same time that the Electress sets out for London, Monsieur de Bernstorff would have the Electoral Prince or duke Ernest to repair to Ghent, Bruges and Dunkirk; in order to secure those three towns, place good governours in them, and administer oaths to the English troops which garrison them.

6. We ask, how should the order be drawn out which the Electress will give to the prince whom we shall charge with this commission?

M. de Bernstorff wants that Mr. Cadogan should be at hand to go over to England upon the first notice of the Queen's death, furnished with the necessary orders from the Electress, for taking the oaths of the troops in England, breaking the suspected officers, filling up their places, securing the tower of London, &c. We would choose to have these orders for Mr. Cadogan, with patents of the offices which will be given to

to him, ready in the hands of the baron de Bothmar, in Holland. Bothmar will speak on this subject to Cadogan, who goes to Holland now from the duke of Marlborough.

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We shall endeavour to know from the duke of Marlborough, by the means of Cadogan, what part he would choose to act, in case of the Queen's death. If he would go directly to London, being one of the regents, or go along with the Elector. Robethon hath already written, that it is desired here, that he should stay within reach; and that, instead of going to live at Francfort, he should settle at Wezel.

Lastly, we ask similar explanations concerning the internal affairs of the kingdom, with regard to the great offices which must be disposed of, in order that we might have the patents ready, and with regard to every thing else which our friends will judge necessary. We must have some form of the patents for great offices.

We ask, if the Queen being dead, the Electress should write to the lord mayor of London, and in what strain?"

A copy of the preceding Queries was sent to Bothmar, at the Hague, to be communicated to Mr. Cadogan, who was to come to Holland on a commission from the duke of Marlborough; and Bothmar, in a letter to Robethon, on the 18th and in a postscript to it on the 25th of March, gives him Cadogan's and Marlborough's answer to these queries.

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No. 140.
Ibid. No. 1384

It was the duke's opinion, that the Elector should go to England immediately, upon the Queen's death, with full powers from the Electress, as her lieutenant general. The Kings of England, he said, frequently invested lieutenants to govern the kingdom, in their absence, with all the authority and power they possessed themselves.

Cadogan thought, that the Electoral Prince should not go to take the command of the English troops on the continent; but that Bothmar should provisionally have powers in his hands to authorize the duke of Marlborough and himself (Cadogan), to secure these troops and the fortresses they garrison. If the Electress did not choose to sign a commission of that kind, it would be sufficient to have one signed by the Elector, in her name. The troops, upon seeing a parchment with the great seal of his Electoral Highness would readily obey a man so agreeable to them as the duke of Marlborough. It was not necessary to fol-

low

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low the form used in commissions of that kind in England, nor to write one in English. The duke of Marlborough's commission and his own were in England, and he could not send copies of them; but it would be sufficient to say in the new patent, that he was now invested with the same powers he had formerly from the Queen.

When the duke of Marlborough was sure of the fidelity of the troops abroad, he might follow the Elector into England, and leave the Electoral Prince with Cadogan to command the troops.

Cadogan thought it was very necessary, that he himself should have the commission of lieutenant general and governour of the tower, under the duke of Marlborough or the Electoral Prince. Bothmar, however, was not thoroughly convinced of that necessity.

Cadogan gave Bothmar the character of some officers. Colonel Cholmondely, who commanded the second battalion of Guards, which went back to England, was attached to the Protestant succession, and the two battalions, officers, and men, might be depended upon. Major general Sabin who commanded at Ghent, a timid man, but well affected at the bottom, and might be managed. Brigadier Sutton, who commanded at Bruges, was entirely dependent on the ministry; but to make amends, colonel Hill, who commanded the regiment of royal Scots, might be depended on. The commandant at Dunkirk, a Scotchman, and two battalions of that nation, were thorough Jacobites; but the eight English battalions were well affected, and would give a very good account of the other two, and of their commandant.

Cadogan concluded, with recommending, from the duke of Marlborough, that his Electoral Highness should have some one with the Pretender, to send exact and speedy intelligence of every thing that happened. The duke offered to find a proper person, if the Elector would lay out fifty louis-d'ors a month, and in the mean time, he would endeavour to have some news of what was done openly at the Pretender's court.

Bothmar writes, in his postscript, that Cadogan approved of the commissions sent to Marlborough and to himself: he gives it as his opinion, that Cadogan should be employed to command the troops abroad, that there might be an opportunity of doing something at home for Mr. Stanhope, who was well affected, and a man of abilities.

“ Mr.

"Mr. Cadogan," says Bothmar, "has named to me the three correspondents, who may be employed to procure intelligence of the Pretender."

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1. One of the magistrates of Huy, who is a capital enemy of the Jesuits, and is, for that reason, called the messenger of the Janse-nists.

2. An Irish officer of the name of Carol, who professes the Popish religion, but is a Protestant in his heart, and who has friends and relations at the Pretender's court.

3. A Lorrain gentleman, who served in the army, and whose name was Remiremont. He had forgot his real name.

These correspondents are to address their letters to M. Sapporin, director general of the post-office, at Brusselles, who will send them to me to the Hague. The three together will cost sixty louis-d'ors a month."

Intelligence concerning the Pretender.

Baron de Grote fell sick at this time, and Robethon corresponded with Galke, the secretary of the Embassy. In a letter, dated the 21st of March, 1713, he communicated to him the following intelligence he had received from Paris, concerning the Pretender.

Translation.

"THE affairs of the Prince of Wales clear up from day to day. It appears that, abandoning his religion for his interest, he is resolved to be of the church of England. He left all the Roman Catholics with the Queen, his mother, at St. Germain. None but Protestants are about him at Bar, except lord Middleton, who turned Roman Catholic in France, from mere policy. He is a man of merit, and of all those who followed King James, he is the only one whose desertion gave uneasiness to the government, at that time. The address of the city of Perth, in Scotland, has, no doubt, been sent to you: it is the more remarkable, that the deputies who brought it to London, were presented by lord Oxford. The duke of Shrewsbury must make a very poor figure in all this affair. It appears the ministry sent him to France, merely

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to keep him at a distance from business *, since every thing is transacted by the means of Mr. Prior."

There are several letters from Robethon to Galke about this time. But they principally regard the affairs of Germany, Denmark, and Sweden. In a postscript to one of them, dated the 28th of March, he desires him to communicate the inclosed intelligence to M. de Grote. It is in Schrader's hand, and marked on the top in Robethon's hand: "communicated by my lord Marlborough to Monsieur Bothmar."

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"Intelligence come from Father Ernest, Dean of the Cathedral of Tournay."

Translation.

"A Person of distinction who lives near Furnes, being at Dunkirk, in company with the commandant, Sir James Abercromby and the commandant looking upon this gentleman as a subject of the King of France's and as attached to his interests, told him, that he had just received a letter from major general Hill, governour of Dunkirk, in which he informs him, that the disturbances in England, and the credit of the Whigs increased to such a degree, that there will be a necessity, perhaps, of asking succours from France, and that, for that reason, Dunkirk will not be demolished, because it is the most convenient part for embarking these succours.

This gentleman from Furnes, wrote these particulars to a friend at Brusselles, who showed the letter to father Ernest.

Father Ernest wishes his name may be concealed; but he will continue to write every thing he can learn concerning this affair."

Intelligence concerning the Pretender.

Translation.

It is marked on the top in Robethon's hand, "communicated to M. de Bothmar, by my lord Marlborough."

Ibid. No. 37.

"THE duke of Lorrain, upon frequent solicitations from the Pretender, and an order from the court of France, has been obliged to write to his Imperial Majesty for two passports for the Pretender, one

* The correspondents of the Stuarts say just the same thing.

for going to the waters of Aix la Chapelle, in the month of August next, and the other for going to reside afterwards at Liege or Cologne. The Pretender has asked these passports, and is to go to Liege or Cologne, by the advice of his friends, and of the very ministry in England. In case the Emperor refuses these passports, the Pretender will go to reside at the Abbacy of St. Miel, on the banks of the Maese, and frontiers of Lorrain. He has very weak lungs, and will not return to Bar where the air is too sharp for him. He is now at Commercy, and has in his suite, the earl of Middleton, lord Edward, the son of the duke of Perth, Mr. Strickland, Mr. Mac Donald, Mr. Floyd.

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They are so very silent about every thing done in England, that a gentleman, about the Pretender, having said to one of the court of Lorrain, that their affairs went very well in London, and this discourse having been reported to lord Middleton, was dismissed and sent back to Paris.

Mr. Seldon, formerly governour to the Pretender, having quarrelled with lord Middleton, is likewise sent back to Paris. Five persons lately come from England, had secret conferences with the Pretender and my lord Middleton. They concealed their names and the object of their journey so carefully, that it was impossible to discover either the one or the other. It was remarked, however, that they were received with distinction, and that the passports in question were asked soon after their departure.

The affair of the passports was trusted to a very few persons, and as this is a fact, about which information may be got at the court of Vienna, the person who gives this intelligence, refers to that circumstance, as a proof that he is in a situation to be well instructed in the demands and designs of the Pretender's friends."

The Earl of Sunderland to Monsieur de Bothmar.

Inclosing an answer to the memorial inserted above, and forms of commissions.

—He proposes to the Elektor to send the Electoral Prince to England.

Translation.

SIR,

London, April 6, 1713.

"I Embrace this opportunity of a secret conveyance, to send you the answer to the memorial you sent me some time ago. This answer was drawn up by lord chief justice Parker, with the advice of lord

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Somers and lord Cowper. You will find in it a very clear description of all that the Electress may do, when the event happens.

I send you likewise, the form of a commission in Latin, for constituting the Elector or the Electoral Prince, after the Queen's death, *Custos regni* and justiciary of the kingdom, in the name of the Electress. This commission was drawn up by these three persons, with great care. There are, besides, two other commissions; one in Latin, for a lord lieutenant of Ireland, and the other in English, for a captain general, such as the Duke of Marlborough has been. I shall send you likewise, in a few days, a commission of high admiral, and one of lord treasurer; and I hope that will be sufficient to instruct the court of Hannover, in every thing they can do, after the Queen's death and before the successor arrives here.

Since it is so difficult for the Elector to contribute to the expence of the ensuing elections, all friends agree to make another proposal to him, which is of greater consequence, and which appears to them to be absolutely necessary. It is to send over the Electoral Prince. It is true, an invitation by a vote of parliament was formerly spoke of; but all friends are unanimously of opinion, that such an invitation, in the present situation of affairs, in such a parliament and under the influence of such a ministry, is impracticable.

They are of opinion, that the Electoral Prince, being a peer of the realm, and his precedency as a prince of the blood having been regulated by act of parliament, has so many just pretexts and reasons for coming, that those who should oppose him, would thereby do themselves the greatest injury which their greatest enemies could wish them. If the Elector will consent to this point, it will give such support to the friends of the succession, that the other affair of the money will not be necessary. This is the unanimous opinion of all friends, and they have charged me to write it to you.

We have a fleet of 18 ships of the line ready here. It is not pretended any longer, that it is for the Baltick. The treasurer said, three days ago, that it was intended for an expedition of quite different importance."

The

The same to the same.

The same subject continued.

April 10th, 1713.

HE had sent the preceding letter with the commissions, &c. by a gentleman belonging to the deceased baron de Grote. He promises again in this letter to send the other commissions soon, and urges, by a repetition of his former arguments, the necessity of sending over the Electoral Prince, "as a sure and easy, and as perhaps the only means of saving the succession. This journey must not be delayed in hopes of an invitation, which is absolutely impracticable. If the prince was once here, it is the opinion of all his friends, that they would easily obtain any pension they would choose, and in a manner suitable to the dignity of the family.

With regard to the removing the prince of Wales, they will not fail to propose it in the strongest manner in parliament. If they carry it, it will be a great point gained; if they lose it, it will be so much the worse for those who shall oppose them: for they shall be exposed thereby to the indignation of the people in the elections."

Robethon, after his translation of these letters for the Elector's perusal, adds, "These two letters were written by lord Sunderland to Monf. de Bothmar, when he sent him the answer to his questions, and the patents he asked. Mr. D'Oynhausen brought them all. I have made the inclosed translation of the answer to the questions. I don't send the forms of the patents to your Electoral Highness, as they are written in Latin, and with so many abbreviations, that it is difficult to read them; but copies shall be written of them."

Besides Robethon's translation, the original of the answers is extant, as follows:

*Answers to the Questions of the Memorial inserted above, drawn up by the
Elector's friends in England, and sent by Lord Sunderland to the Baron de
Bothmar at the Hague.* Ibid. No. 139.

"**T**HE following considerations will possibly furnish a more clear and useful answer to the queries proposed, than strictly pursuing the order of the queries, and breaking that which will be offered, into separate answers, to each distinct particular.

Q q q 2

1. The

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1. The instrument for nominating lords justices ought to be sealed up, and deposited with the archbishop, &c. during her Majesty's life, or their validity will be too doubtful to be depended upon: for the instruments already sealed up and deposited are effectual appointments of lords justices, until revoked or altered; and when there is an intention to revoke or alter them, the Act, page 227, appoints a particular method how that is to be effected, by three writings, under hand and seal, requiring them to be delivered up; and till that be done, by the express words of the Act, page 228, the instruments, sealed up and deposited as afore-said, are those which are directed to be brought before the privy council, there to be opened and read, and afterwards to be inrolled in Chancery. And, therefore, as often as it shall be thought fit to make any alteration in the three instruments, it ought to be kept in mind, that the alteration is incompleat, and that nothing is in effect done till the old instruments are taken up, and the new sealed up, and deposited in their place; and that during the Queen's life, in Robethon's hand.

2. In case of the demise of her Majesty, the regency established by the act of parliament may be entirely abolished, by the successor, before her or his arrival in Great Britain. The Kings and Queens of England have, by the common law, a power to constitute a regency in their absence, in such manner as is afore-mentioned; and this regency, established by this act, was not intended as any diminution of the royal power, but is merely provisional, to prevent an inter-regnum before the successor could arrive in person, or constitute a regency; and, when either of those things happen, the end designed by it is fully attained: accordingly by the express words of the Act, in the clause page 226, which makes the seven officers lords justices, they are appointed lords justices, and impowered to execute all acts of government, (no longer than) until such successor shall arrive, or otherwise determine their authority. And by the next clause, the persons nominated in the three instruments are only to be added to the seven, and to act with them as lords justices as fully, and in the same manner, as if they had been particularly named in the Act; and consequently, their authority will be liable to be determined in the same manner as the authority of the seven who are particularly mentioned.

But whether some of the regents may be removed from the regency, after they have once entered upon it, without abolishing the whole, is doubtful.

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doubtful. The successor's arrival of course determines the authority of them all; and whether the power of determining their authority otherwise (as the words of the act run), mean not a like determination of the authority of them all, is not clear enough to be depended upon in a matter of this consequence. It is yet more doubtful, whether those who are lords justices by virtue of the act, either the seven officers, or those named in the three instruments, can act together, with any others to be added anew to them by the successor, after they shall have entered upon their office.

Therefore, in case it should be thought requisite to remove any of the old, or to add any new, the safest way will be, to determine the whole regency, and constitute one or more person or persons lord justice or lords justices, with or without restraints, and with such directions as shall be thought fit.

3. The successor's power to determine the authority of the lords justices appointed by the act, before her arrival in Great Britain, supposes the power to appoint *a new one or new ones by the common law*. And in case of the demise of her Majesty during the life of the Electress, it is agreeable to law, and seems in itself proper and requisite, that she should appoint the Elector, her son, or the Electoral Prince, her grandson, Lord Justice of Great Britain, *Custos Regni et Locum tenens*, with power and directions, in case he shall see it fit and convenient, to dissolve and determine the privy council, and appoint a new one; to dissolve the parliament, and call a new one; to remove all officers, and dispose of all offices and employments in the disposal of the crown (which will extend to those of the seven regents not for life); and to execute and do all other acts of government in the name and stead of the new succeeding Queen, as if she were present in person. That she may do this, before her arrival in Great Britain, is plain, because it is a proper regal act, often done by the Kings of England; and the clause, page 231, which gives force and effect to such seal as the succeeding Queen or King shall make use of, to affix to any instrument to execute and do any regal act, proves that such succeeding Queen or King may do regal acts before her or his arrival in Great Britain. That the privy council may be determined, appears page 225, where it is continued six months, unless sooner determined by the next successor.

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That all officers, not for life, may be removed, and others put in their places, appears by the same clause; and it is to be noted, that in that clause concerning the continuance of officers of the privy council, all the officers appointed regents, except the archbishop, and the chief justice, are expressly named. Therefore, it is to be observed, they may be removed from their offices, though it be doubtful whether they can be removed from the regency, while it continues; and it seems plain, that the removal of them from their offices, does not of itself remove them from the regency, nor will their successors become lords justices, in virtue of their succeeding to those offices, for the regency is not annexed to their offices to go along therewith; but, page 226, the seven officers after-named, who shall be in possession of their offices at the time of such demise of her Majesty, are appointed lords justices until the successor shall arrive, or otherwise determine their authority; where it appears, that those who shall succeed to those offices are not within the words, to be lords justices, because not in possession of those offices at the time of the demise of her Majesty; and those who were in possession at the time of such demise are continued until the successor arrive, or otherwise determine (not their offices, but) their authority; *i. e.* their authority of lords justices.

That the parliament may be dissolved, is certain; and may be collected from page 228, where the regents, constituted lords justices by the act, are restrained from dissolving the parliament, without express direction from such succeeding Queen or King: therefore, by such direction, those lords justices may dissolve it; and much more, therefore, may another lord justice, appointed by the succeeding Queen or King, not under the restraints laid by the act, upon the provisional regency.

4. The prince so appointed lord justice, *Custos regni et locum tenens*, may, by virtue thereof, take upon him the whole government; and upon his so doing, and producing his patent, the regency appointed by the act will be determined. However, it may be proper to have an express clause for determining the regency inserted in the patent, to prevent all doubts in that case, and nothing more is requisite to the abolishing the regency.

5. The acts done by such lord justice, pursuant to his authority, will, in law, be the acts of the sovereign, however the privy council, the parliament,

liament, and officers being appointed, to continue for some time, unless sooner determined, dissolved, or removed, by the next successor. To leave no room for doubt, it may be proper to insert express powers and directions, for the lord justice to dissolve and determine the privy council, to dissolve the parliament, and to remove officers if he shall see fit.

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6. The removing of any officers in the disposition of the crown, and appointing new ones, is a regal act, which may be done abroad, taking care to declare of what effect the seal whereby the instrument is sealed shall be. And as to offices to be executed in Great Britain, the instrument granting the office, or directing the regents to grant the office, may be sent over before the next successor or the *Custos regni* can arrive; consequently, a captain general may be abroad appointed to command the forces abroad, and to secure their fidelity, &c.

The regency will have power sufficient as to the forces in Great Britain; but yet the successor may appoint a captain general for them too, if it shall be thought requisite.

7. A particular power to seize and imprison suspected persons, will be neither necessary nor useful, the ordinary magistrates have sufficient powers for that purpose.

8. It is to be observed, once for all, that any dormant instrument for any of the purposes aforesaid, sealed during her Majesty's life, will be of no force by the laws of Great Britain."

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

He thanks the Elector for giving him the 2½ per Cent. on the pay of his troops; and for a commission to act in case of the Queen's death.—He will hazard life and fortune for his service.

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Translation.

SIR,

Aix-la-Chapelle, April 11th, 1713.

"I Received, by Monf. Bothmar, the last declaration concerning the deduction of two and a half per cent. which your Electoral Highness was so good as to sign. Your Highness will permit me to make you my very humble acknowledgments, and to shew you how sensible I am of the honour you do me, by this strong testimony of your protection and of your support from the unjust and violent persecution raised against me, on account of that affair.

Monf.

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Monf. Bothmar ſent me likewise, by lieutenant general Cadogan, the commiſſion authorizing me to act for the ſervice of your Electoral Highneſs, when the opportunity mentioned in that commiſſion will occur. When that happens, I ſhall repair, with all poſſible diſpatch, to London; for the principal difficulties are to be apprehended in the beginning; and if I may be allowed to tell my opinion to your Electoral Highneſs, I think you cannot be in too great a hurry to croſs the ſea. I learn, with very great pleaſure, that this is the opinion of your Electoral Highneſs; and I cannot help telling you, that it is likewise the opinion of all your moſt devoted ſervants in England.

I wiſh I could convince your Electoral Highneſs by my actions rather than by words, how deeply ſenſible I am of theſe freſh and important marks of your confidence; and I entreat you to be perſuaded, that I ſhall be always ready to hazard my fortune and my life for your ſervice. All good Engliſhmen ought to be of the ſame ſentiments in regard to you, as they cannot hope for the ſalvation of their country, but from you alone. That that may be the caſe, is the moſt ardent wiſh of him, who has the honour to be, Sir, &c."

Letters from Kreyenberg and Hermitage to Robethon.

London, April and May, 1713.

The baron de Grote died in the beginning of this month; and Kreyenberg and Hermitage began to correſpond with Robethon. They wrote in cyphers, and ſent their letters to Hannover by a private conveyance: Robethon decyphered them for the uſe of the Elector, and his copies of them are now extant. It will be ſufficient, for the moſt part, to abridge them and to narrate their contents, as they all relate to the ſame ſubject: The reaſons for ſending over the Electoral Prince as the only ſecurity of the ſucceſſion, and the moſt proper means of proving the inſincerity of the Queen and her miniſtry in their profeſſions of friendſhip towards the Electoral family.

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A Letter from Kreyenberg.

London, April 14th, 1713.

"THE friends of the family of Hannover in both houſes of parliament affirm, that the treaſurer could not have given a more fatal blow to their influence in the nation, and to the ſecurity of the proteſtant ſucceſſion,

sion, than by making the Queen declare, that a perfect friendship subsisted between the two courts. Halifax, Townshend, Sunderland, Somers, Orford, Cowper, and the lord justice Parker, consulted together for two days; but could not contrive any probable means of preventing the consequences of the treasurer's designs. The two first lords came twice to Kreyenberg, in the name of the rest, to represent, that it was necessary the Elector should take some step that would undeceive the nation. Kreyenberg proposed, that they themselves should make some motion in parliament, which they knew the ministry would reject. This would discover the insincerity of their protestations. They answered, that the ministry would then represent them as seditious in the eyes of the nation, who believed implicitly the Queen's declaration, and as designing to create a misunderstanding between the two courts; and they gave it as their opinion, that the Electoral Prince should take advantage of the Queen's declaration, and come over to England, which would greatly embarrass the ministry."

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Letters from M. l'Hermitage.

The Queen's speech was artfully designed to mislead the people.—The only way to undeceive them, is to send over the Prince.—He may take advantage of the Queen's declaration, and come over without asking permission, as he is a Peer of the realm.—The advantages of this measure to the Whigs.—The disadvantages of it to the Tories.—It's influence on the Elections.—The conduct the Prince should follow.

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London, 21st, 25th, and 28th of April, 1713.

"THE Queen's speech, which you have already received, is very artfully composed to blind the eyes of the people; especially the article which insinuates, that there subsists a perfect understanding between her Majesty and their Electoral Highnesses, as if the Queen did nothing without consulting the Elector; when, at the same time, she has not even a minister at Hannover.

Eight of your principal friends, who dined together on Thursday, at my lord Halifax's, have given me in charge to tell you, that there will be no resource, unless the Electoral Prince is sent over soon. All these fine compliments to the Electoral family, which are contained in the Queen's speech, and in the address of the two houses, should encourage your

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court to approve of this journey, and they furnish the most natural pretext in the world; which is, to come in person, to acknowledge thankfully such obliging declarations, and pretend to consider them as very sincere: for it is but just to pay the dissimulation of the Queen and of the treasurer in the same coin. And his Electoral Highness cannot but be sensible of the unbecoming manner in which they treat him, by publishing from the throne, that they do nothing but in concert with him; while they neglect to give the least answer to the two memorials, presented by the deceased M. de Grote, concerning the removal of the Pretender and the pension of the Electress; and while they sacrifice entirely, at Utrecht, the interests of his electorate, and of his office as high treasurer of the empire.

At any rate, here is the finest opportunity in the world, to catch lord Oxford in his own snare. It would seem that Providence presents it to you. For God's sake, do not neglect it; for when you would choose to recur to it hereafter, it may be too late.

The prince does not require an order to come here, either the invitation of the parliament, which is not to be expected from a parliament so ill composed as the present, or the permission of the Queen, which most assuredly she will not grant, if it is asked. He is entirely at liberty to come of his own accord, being naturalized, and being duke of Cambridge and a member in the house of peers, and his rank as prince of the blood being settled. The Queen herself cannot forbid him according to the laws, neither to come into the kingdoms, nor to take his seat in parliament; and her Majesty and her ministers, after such public and solemn declarations, which the Queen and the two houses have lately made, cannot retract themselves, and will be obliged to receive the prince well, while every one will turn to him, as to the rising sun, seeing the Queen's health is so broken.

My lord Halifax told me, that the friends would by no means propose in parliament, that it would be necessary to have some one of the Electoral family in this country; for that would be questioning a right, which your princes have obtained, and give a handle to parliament to take, in that respect, some improper resolution, which might render the coming of the prince more difficult; neither will they speak of the pension

sion for the Electress; but I believe they will bring the removal of the Pretender upon the carpet.

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The friends are very desirous, that the Elector should immediately resolve to send over the prince, in order that he may arrive during the present session of parliament, which will not continue but two months, and may take his seat in the house of peers, not in order to vote with the Whigs, and against the court, but in order to take possession of what is due to him; and to convince the nation of the falsehood of the rumours they circulated, that the Elector is indifferent about the crown of England. For, in other respects, our friends agree, that the Prince should make his court to the Queen, pay attention to the ministers, care for every one without distinction of party, and refrain from coming to the house when party questions are debated, since he would be obliged, if he came on such occasions, to vote either against the court, or against the friends of the succession.

That the nation is for the Electoral family, and against the Pretender, is evident now to a demonstration, since the court imagines they cannot carry the ensuing elections, but by means of her Majesty's declarations in favour of the family; and the members of the house of commons, that they may be chosen again for the next parliament, cover themselves, in their addresses, with the same mask of a pretended zeal for the protestant succession: an example, which will be followed, in all the addresses that will be presented, on the peace, from all parts of the kingdom.

The lord treasurer publishes every where in the counties, that his Electoral Highness is in perfect concert with the Queen, and will be very well pleased, that the members recommended by the court should be chosen. This artifice succeeds to the treasurer's satisfaction in many places; and as he has, besides, money to lay out, and is very liberal of it on such occasions; the Whigs are discouraged thereby from offering themselves to be chosen, from the fear of being disappointed. So that there is a danger of having a new parliament as devoted to the ministers as the present; after which, these ministers being absolute masters for three years, will easily accomplish their pernicious designs, and establish the Pretender in this country.

1713.
May.

The presence of the Electoral Prince in the kingdom, will be sufficient to defeat this plan of the ministers. It will encourage the Whigs to get themselves chosen, and they will chearfully take upon themselves all the expence of the elections, without asking any thing from his Electoral Highness. The presence of the prince will alone have a mighty influence on the elections, and gain over to the well-affected party an infinite number, who follow the court only because they are not supported by the successor, and are in the mistaken notion of the Elector's neglecting the affairs of England. All these fears will vanish. Every one will attach himself to the prince, and by that means we shall have a good parliament; after which, his Electoral Highness may decide in it as he chooses, both with regard to the affairs of the succession and the affairs of Europe.

The sending the Electoral Prince then is an infallible remedy against present evils, and against such as are dreaded hereafter. It is easy, it is natural, it is unexpensive, and without any risk in the present conjuncture; insomuch, that I cannot conceal from you, that if our friends, who ask it with so much earnestness, see they are refused, they will believe themselves absolutely abandoned, they will hope for no further resource, they will lose courage, and take their own measures.

Lord Halifax would have the prince to come post, with a valet de chambre and two footmen, under another name, without his order of the garter, and without liveries, and take his passage in the packet boat, with a passport from lord Strafford, procured under a borrowed name. The rest of his servants and baggage would follow. In short, the only question is, to come speedily and secretly, and every thing will go well."

Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Schutz fils 8.
P. 9.

A Letter from M. l'Hermitage.

London, May 9th, 1713.

THE Electoral Prince should come of his own accord. The present parliament will never invite him. The Queen will be angry if they should force her to invite him; and if the parliament should reject a motion of addressing the Queen to invite him, the prince could not come again with any propriety; whereas, no one can take it amiss if he should come in consequence of the Queen's speech. It is necessary either to send the prince, or to undeceive the nation by a manifesto, denying the good understanding which the Queen pretends to subsist between her

and

and the Electoral family. But this last measure will occasion an open rupture with the Queen, and may be attended with a thousand inconveniencies. "Send over, therefore, the prince: for the safety of England, or to speak more properly, of Europe, and your own safety is at stake; for if you abandon the crown to the Pretender, you cannot save yourselves. The prince should have letters from the Elector and from the Electress for the Queen, and likewise for the treasurer; and the letters for him must be very flattering, testifying the greatest confidence in him, and entreating him to direct and guide the prince."

1713.
May.

Extract of a letter from the Princess Sophia to the Earl of Strafford.

Desiring him to thank the Queen for her speech.

Translation.

Hannover, May 9th, 1713.

Original
draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Strafford.

"AS our envoy in England is dead, I imagine that you will allow me to address myself to you, and to entreat you to thank the Queen, in the most humble manner, for the gracious speech, which her Majesty has been pleased to make to the parliament, in my favour, and in favour of my family. I am well persuaded, that the Queen does me the justice to believe, that I do not pretend to enjoy the good effects of it myself. I therefore hope, that her Majesty will have no aversion to me, on that account; and that she will be persuaded, that I shall be attached to her, with all imaginable respect, as long as I live. — I have been much scandalized by a book which has been sent to me called "Free-thinker." Although it is very natural for every one to think as he chooses; yet, in a well-governed state, every one should not have the liberty of publishing his opinion; and I imagine that is not allowed in England. Poor Mr. D'Alais is so scrupulous, that for fear of losing his employment he does not go to our reformed churches [the Calvinists], although our articles of faith are not different from those of the Episcopal church; and there is no other difference, but that the reformed have not such rich benefices to give away, at which, I believe, the clergy are very angry."

Letters

1713.
May.
Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Schutz fils 8.
p. 7.

Letters from Bothmar from the Hague, and from L'Hermitage from London, to Robethon at Hannover, May, June, and July, 1713.

Reasons for sending the Electoral Prince to England.

Bothmar to Robethon.

Translation.

May 16, 1713.

"IT was Marlborough's opinion, and also the opinion of all friends in England, that the Electoral Prince should go over under the pretext of thanking the Queen for the affection she expressed in her speech towards the Elector's family. "They wrote to me, that there was the greatest difficulty imaginable, in determining the Queen to mention the serene family at all in her speech; and that she did not consent to it, but after the strongest representations that it was absolutely necessary, in order to quiet the minds of the people, and to succeed in the elections for the ensuing parliament."

Bothmar had always dissuaded their friends from insisting on this demand, but he was now convinced it was proper to comply with it. His presence would animate the Whigs and discourage the Jacobites, and disconcert all their measures for bringing in the pretender. The prince should embark on board a Danish frigate in the Elbe, to avoid inconveniences of going by Holland.

Ibid. p. 10.

A letter from M^r Hermitage.

Translation.

London, May 19, 1713.

A Repetition of the reasons for the prince's coming over. He should have letters of thanks from the Elector and Electress to the Queen, upon the supposition of a good understanding; and likewise letters for the treasurer, placing the prince entirely under his direction. "This will produce one of two effects. If the treasurer pays attention to these recommendations, he will ruin his credit with his own party; and if he neglects the prince, he will lose his credit with the nation.— This is intimated to you in the name, and at the desire of our friends."

A letter

A letter from M. l'Hermitage.

London, May 26, 1713.

IT appears from this letter, they apprehended in Hannover, that, if the prince came over without the Queen's permission, he might be sent back with disgrace. L'Hermitage assured them, that as the prince was a peer of the realm, no one would venture to propose such a measure; and that it was not even in the Queen's power: and besides, that the prince's presence would encourage a number of people to declare openly against the court, and would influence the ensuing elections in favour of the Whigs.

1713.
May.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Schutz fils. 8.
P. 12.

A letter from M. l'Hermitage.

June 9, 1713.

THIS letter was decyphered in a different hand from Robethon's.

It appears from it, that the court of Hannover proposed to send over duke Ernest, instead of the Electoral Prince; but their friends in England thought that this would neither embarrass Harley nor quiet the nation. The presence of the prince they considered to be absolutely necessary, as the Scots threatened to break the union. This was the opinion of both high and low, although they were totally ignorant of its having been ever proposed.

June.
Ibid. p. 14.

A letter from M. l'Hermitage.

Decyphered by Robethon.

Translation.

June 18, 1713.

Ibid. p. 16.

"Lord Anglesea is determined to drive the lord Treasurer to extremities, and has been, for some time, in strict connection with the duke of Argyle. This earl is one of the greatest Tories, and is not a good tempered man. He is very haughty, and very ambitious. He is one of the most active men in the world, and does not deviate an inch from what he hath once undertaken: and being very clever, there is reason to think that the Treasurer will not consider him as an indifferent enemy, and that his hatred will give him room for serious reflections.

This nobleman is offended at the haughty manner in which the Treasurer treated him; and because he discovered that the Treasurer designs to bring over the Pretender, whom he does not favour, though he is

1713.
June.

deep in all the other schemes of the Tories : but it is said he has estates in Ireland, which he would be in danger of losing, if the Pretender came over.

The treasurer has discovered long ago, that he is neither loved nor esteemed by any party. The affront he lately received, when the treaty of commerce was thrown out, makes him sensible of the danger to which he is exposed, and will hasten the execution of his design of bringing over the Pretender, to which the Queen's state of health will be a further inducement. The King of France likewise is offended for losing the advantages he would have obtained by that treaty, and will contribute every thing in his power to send over the Pretender. The presence of the prince, is the only remedy against these and other evils."

Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Schutz filz 8.
p. 18.

A letter from M. l'Hermitage.

Translation.

London, July 4, 1713.

"**L**ORD Anglesea unites himself more and more with the Whigs, and they concert measures together for proposing something in parliament. He had an interview yesterday with lord Halifax and others. The duke of Argyle likewise acts in concert with them, and is not idle."

L'Hermitage writes, that if they fail, their want of success will be imputed to the neglect and indifference of the Elector : if they succeed without his assistance, there is reason to fear that they will not hereafter show that gratitude or compliance which would be necessary to obtain the emoluments of government, which will not perhaps be so considerable. The Treasurer having proposed a reconciliation with the Whigs after their fall, they assured him, that they would willingly renounce all pretensions to offices, and support his measures with all their force, if he would humble France, and free them from their fears of the Pretender. But he laughed at their offers, and followed a different plan ; in consequence of which they have constantly opposed him : they are determined to do so, at the expence of their lives, if the Pretender comes ; and if he does not, the Treasurer, Bolingbroke, and others, consider themselves, no doubt, as threatened with the same danger,

These

These repeated representations from the Hannoverian agents in London, produced at last the following answer. It is a copy in Robethon's hand, of a letter sent in cyphers to Messrs. Kreyenberg and l'Hermitage.

1713.
July.

A Letter to Messrs. Kreyenberg and l'Hermitage.

The Elector's objections against sending the Prince.—He endeavours to serve his friends, by assisting to carry on the war against France; but cannot give money to carry the elections in their favour.

Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Schutz fils 8.
p. 20.

Translation.

Hannover, July 4, 1713.

“**H**IS Electoral Highness having assured our friends, by the late baron de Grote, that he will never abandon them; and that on the Queen's death, he would do every thing which the nation could expect from him; and having renewed these assurances, after the death of de Grote, by his resident Kreyenberg, in the strongest and most positive manner, it would be surprising, that they should doubt of these assurances from a prince who is known to be a religious observer of his word.

The Elector does the greatest service to the well-affected in England, which the state of affairs in Europe in general, and his own particular situation will allow, when he engages the Emperor and the Empire to continue the war against France, and employs 17,000 of his own troops against that kingdom. This puts it out of the King of France's power to send an army with the Pretender into England, and it is not to be supposed that he will venture to go without a French army, since he is proscribed by the laws, and has the nation against him. If he does, will the friends of the succession, who are so rich, and have so much influence, and have the nation and the laws on their side, lose courage and submit immediately, when their religion, their laws, their property, and their liberties are at stake? especially when they are sure of speedy assistance from the Elector. The nation must exert itself, for the Elector cannot save them against their will.

The Elector is at so much expence on the troops he employs on the Rhine, that he cannot give the money demanded for the elections. Besides, he should fail infallibly, as the court would always have the heaviest purse, and such a measure could never be kept so secret as not to give great offence to the English ministry.

1713.
July.

There are several objections against sending the Electoral Prince. There can be no security for a safe passage. It will be impossible for him to go secretly. The ministry might put obstacles in his way; and they might subject him to mortifications after his arrival. The Elector has been so often amused these two years, with false intelligence of the Queen's health, that he does not know but her death may be still very distant; and it would be imprudent in him, upon an uncertainty, to expose his only son and the only hope of his family."

Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Schutz fols 8.
p. 22. and 24.

Before M. l'Hermitage received this letter, he wrote one on the 14th of July, repeating all the reasons he had formerly mentioned for sending over the Electoral Prince, and after he had received it, he wrote another in the same strain on the 21st. The reasons, which the Elector's ministers desire him to communicate to their friends in England, for not sending over the Electoral Prince, would give so little satisfaction, that he determined not to mention them, and he himself endeavoured to obviate them all in another letter on the 25th.

Ibid. p. 26.

Ibid. p. 28—
35.

L'Hermitage wrote several letters on the same subject to Bothmar at the Hague. Bothmar sent copies of them, decyphered, in Schrader's hand, to Hannover, and marked always in his own hand at the top, that they were from l'Hermitage, and of such a date. L'Hermitage thought the succession would be lost, unless the Electoral prince came to England. Lord Halifax believed now that 50,000 *l.* sterling, instead of the 100,000 *l.* they asked at first, would be sufficient to carry the elections against the court; and the duke of Argyle told Halifax, that with 20,000 *l.* he would answer for all the elections in Scotland.

"But there being no further hopes of obtaining these things," says Bothmar, "they want that we should prescribe what our friends should do; my lord Halifax having told l'Hermitage, that they did not know what to do, since France will be no sooner delivered from the war of the Empire, than the Pretender will be in England, and then it will be impossible to answer for any thing. But that, if the Elector of Brunswick, or at least the Electoral Prince, could come over this winter, he would answer for it, that the ministry would be overturned, and all things put out of danger."

The

The Earl of Sunderland to Bothmar.

Copy in Schrader's hand. The date is in Bothmar's; and "Lord Sunderland to Bothmar," in Robethon's.

Translation.

1st August, 1713.

1713.
August.
Hannover
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10. Bothmar.
No. 13/.

"I Had the honour of your letter of the first of August. There is no doubt but that, if the Queen happens to die before the ministers here have adjusted their measures with France, for bringing over the prince of Wales, the friends of the family here will have strength enough to support their cause until the Elector arrives, and they are all of opinion that the presence of the Elector would be infinitely more useful than that of the Electoral Prince, not only in that case, but even at this very time. But as they imagine that the Elector would not choose to come before the Queen's death, they proposed that the Electoral Prince should come, as he has such a just pretext for this, which regards himself alone, being a peer of the realm; and they propose this not only in view of the Queen's dying soon, for the danger is then by no means so great, but in order to have a support, and some one to counteract the designs of the ministry, who will use the authority of the Queen while she lives; the administration of affairs, which the laws place in their hands, for concerting such measures with France, that the Pretender will be here in an instant, and then it will be too late to prevent him.

All this is so clear to common sense, and must be particularly so to the Elector, who knows better than any one the engagements of the ministry with France, that it is very surprising he should hesitate a moment, and from any jealousy he may have of the Electoral Prince. If he will come himself, as I had often the honour to tell you, all his friends will rejoice at it more than at the coming of the Electoral Prince. But if he will neither come himself nor send the Electoral Prince, I assure you that all friends, of all ranks, will consider themselves as abandoned. Perhaps this will not be relished at Hannover; but I would not be a faithful servant to the Elector and to the Protestant succession, if I did not acquaint you with the just state of the affair.

We exert ourselves more this session, and with greater success, than we had reason to expect, in hopes that having another parliament, we should have some support from your court. When it is seen that what

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August.

was proposed, with regard to money, is rejected, and that the Elector will neither come himself, nor allow his son to come, we shall become tired, and leave affairs to take what turn they please."

Originals.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Strafford.

On the 17th of May and the 24th of July, 1713, the earl of Strafford wrote to the Electress of Hannover. His letters contain an account of public and private negotiations, reflections on the state of affairs, and observations on the Emperor's obstinacy in continuing the war. Lady Strafford having a grateful sense of the notice which the Electress had been pleased to take of her, wrote also a letter to her Royal Highness.

A copy.
Ibid.

Extracts of a letter from Sophia, Electress of Hannover, to the earl of Strafford.

Translation.

Herrenhausen, August 4th, 1713.

"I Believe it was from a little vanity, you have chosen that your lady should write to me, and let me see that she has not less wit than you, and writes a prettier hand."—"You have reason to be well pleased that you are born an Englishman; for you banish your Kings when they don't behave well, and want to introduce a new religion. There is none that I abhor so much as the Popish: for there is none so contrary to Christianity. Whoever is a sovereign, should never submit himself to the dominion of a foreign power, such as the Pope."

The Jew who wrote the following very intelligent and sensible letter, gave the Elector a very different account of the state of parties in England, from either his own agents or the English noblemen, who sent him their opinion and advice. It is in Robethon's hand, and marked by him at the top, "Translated from Jacob Mears the Jew."

September.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Schutz fils 8.
p. 36.

Jacob Mears to the Elector.

The Earl of Oxford's motives and views.

Translation.

Cleves, Sept. 12th, 1713.

"S I R,
AS I am encouraged from your Electoral Highness to give my opinion of the affairs of England, I shall take the liberty to tell

you, that the changes which happened, are founded solely upon the en-
mity of the earl of Oxford against the duke of Marlborough. To ren-
der that great General useless, Oxford advised the Queen to finish the
war, and conclude a peace with France; and, to gain the favour of the
people, he provided for the payment of ten millions of debt, by esta-
blishing the South Sea company; gaining, at the same time, the Clergy
of the church of England, by building fifty new churches, and by other
methods sufficiently known.

He hath likewise drawn the Jacobites into his party, by conniving at
their hopes and at their views for the Pretender, in order to alarm there-
by your illustrious house. But, in my humble opinion, your Electoral
Highness should employ all sorts of means to engage Oxford and his
friends in your interests; promising to continue them in their offices, and
to protect them against Marlborough and his adherents, after the death
of the Queen; for I don't believe that lord Oxford and his friends are
for the Pretender; all he did was from a hatred to Marlborough, and to
revenge himself of one, who had disgraced him with the Queen."

Jacob Mears advises the Elector to employ some men of address in
England, with powers from him to gain the leaders of the Tories, by
promises and money, who might easily be prevailed upon to abandon the
Pretender, and would then dispose the Queen to be favourable to his
Electoral Highness. He thinks the Electoral Prince should go over, and
gives directions about his behaviour in England.

"I submit all this to the great prudence of your Electoral Highness,
and am always ready to obey your orders; and if your Electoral High-
ness chooses that I should come to Hannover before I go over to England,
I am ready to obey, and to have the honour of going for your commands,
entreating your Electoral Highness to conceal my name and my person.
I shall wait at Cleves for an answer to this letter."

"To prevent him from coming here," says Robethon, in a note at
the end of this letter, "I wrote to him, thanking him very gravely, and
telling him that he might go to England when he pleased, and that if
he learned any thing which concerned the service of your Electoral High-
ness, he might give information of it to the resident Kreyenberg."

1713.
September.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Schutz fils 8.
No. 18.

Extracts of Letters from Baron de Schutz, envoy from the Elector of Hannover, and Monsieur Galke, secretary of the embassy in London, to Bothmar at the Hague, and Robethon in Hannover.

Containing several particulars concerning their secret intrigues in England.

Sept. and Oct. 1713.

Ibid. p. 38.

Ibid. p. 40.

SINCE the death of the Baron de Grote, the Elector had no one to represent him in England but his ordinary resident Kreyenberg. Galke was only secretary to the embassy, and Monsieur l'Hermitage does not appear to have been in any public character from the court of Hannover. Baron de Schutz, whose father had been envoy at London, was sent thither, with the same character, in the beginning of September. His first letter to Robethon is dated from the Hague on the 12th. He acknowledges himself obliged to Robethon for his employment. He wrote him another letter on the 14th, and gave him an account of a conversation with Mr. Cadogan. "He (Cadogan) approves entirely of the plan of uniting ourselves with the Tories, of whom some are for our succession, and others dissatisfied with the Queen and with the ministry, and he thinks that the motions we choose to make in the ensuing parliament should be proposed by them, and not by the Whigs. He recommends Mr. Hutchison as a fit person for that purpose; being an avowed Tory, and having great credit among the party."

"He believes the duke of Ormond is well affected towards our succession; but he apprehends he may be led, on account of his strong engagements with the lord treasurer, and as he is not capable of resisting, by a solid reasoning. He describes the duke of Argyle as a man entirely led by his ambition: he believes, however, that, the ministry having broken their word to him, he may support, at least for some time, the party he has lately embraced, and by whom he was very well received, although he was well known to them. Cadogan accuses him of having been one of the principal instruments who contributed to all the changes which happened for some years back, from personal hatred, and to satisfy his ambition."

Cadogan considered as the greatest advantage to their party, the continuance of the war of the Empire against France, and the death of the King of France, or of the Queen, or of the Pretender. The first was old,

old, the second was sickly, and the third was consumptive. The Queen, he said, GOT DRUNK every day, as a remedy against the gout in her stomach.

1713.
September.

Baron de Schutz to Robethon.

London, Sept. 22d, 1713.

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Papers, vol.
marked
Schutz fils 8.
P. 42.

THIS letter regards almost entirely his journey and arrival in London, and Kreyenberg having placed the lottery tickets belonging to the Electress in the hands of Mr. Strafford, a merchant, who failed some time ago, and some other private business. "The duke of Argyle continues to be on very bad terms with lord Oxford. Neither the one nor the other are now in town. It is believed that Sir Thomas Hanmer is entirely reconciled with lord Oxford. L'Hermitage assures me, that the ministry are enraged at the continuance of the war in the Empire."

Baron de Schutz to Baron de Bothmar, in cyphers.

Ibid. p. 44.

This is a copy decyphered in Schrader's hand; the address and date, at the top, in Robethon's.

Translation.

September 22d, 1713.

"I Have it from very good authority, that the Queen is altogether prejudiced against our family, and that the impressions they have given her in that way are so strong, that it is judged impossible to efface them. Lord Oxford leads her implicitly; making her believe that all his measures were necessary to preserve her crown, after having persuaded her that the Whigs had a design of depriving her of it. One is at a loss what character to give of this man. He told a stranger, who wanted to put him on his guard against some one, 'I never trusted any one; I am determined not to trust any one for the future; consequently no one deceived me, or can deceive me.' He promises the same thing to five different persons, which, at least, will procure him four enemies for one friend. Plessen promised to give me notice in time; but we see one another but seldom, and in public we pretend to be scarcely acquainted."

Baron de Schutz to Robethon.

Ibid. p. 46.

Besides the originals of Schutz's letters, decyphered by Robethon, there are copies of the most of them in Robethon's hand. These copies are abridged and put into the form in which Robethon chose to shew them to the

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September.

the Elector; and he sometimes omits things which he did not think necessary to mention. The following extracts, therefore, are always from the originals.

Translation.

September 26th, 1713.

“**M**R. Cadogan told me, that Sir Thomas Hanmer is not satisfied with the treasurer: for he pretends never to have received any thing from him, and says, it is not in the treasurer’s power to prevent his being speaker. As Hanmer is very selfish, one cannot depend upon his continuing firm.

Lord Bolingbroke came to see Cadogan immediately upon his arrival, to ask if he would choose to be presented to the Queen, which was to have been done the day before yesterday, by the duke of Ormond. He made him the greatest offers of service; and, in eight or ten days, Cadogan will tell me every thing he shall learn in a tour he proposes to the country to see Lord Sunderland, with whom he will find lord Halifax.”

Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Schutz fils 8.
P. 55.

Schutz to Bothmar.

The date is in Bothmar’s hand. All Schutz’s letters to him were decyphered by Schrader. This is a copy in Schrader’s hand.

Translation.

Sept. $\frac{1}{2}$, 1713.

“**T**HE avowed Jacobites speak with assurance of the Pretender’s return; but they are divided in their opinion of the manner. The most unreasonable among them would choose that, without depending upon a powerful party here, he should come with a considerable body of troops from France. Others, lest they should alarm the people, want that he should come alone, after having written to the Queen, representing to her his right to the crown, in the most submissive and affecting manner: for they suppose that the Queen would propose him to the parliament, which, they flatter themselves, will be devoted to the court, and disposed to infringe the act of succession.

Such a representation, in their opinion, would have so much the greater influence on the Queen’s mind, that it is certain she attributes the loss of her children to the dethroning of her father; having been very sensibly touched with an affecting letter which he wrote to her before his death, and in which he recommended his family to her. It was brought to her
by

by Madam Oglethorpe, who went twice to France. These things are communicated to several persons, in order to sound them, and partly in order to take the necessary precautions and measures against the objections which are made to them; and lastly, in order to find out if measures are concerted for opposing them. I have all this from lord Portmore *."

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September.

Monsieur de Plesse, or de Plessen, as his name is sometimes written, had been of the prince of Denmark's household. He had entered into a secret correspondence with the Elector's agents in London, unknown to the Queen and to the ministry, to whom it appears he had constant access.

"Although he (Plessen) discoursed with the Queen about the prince of Wales, during an hour, for three following days, he was not able to obtain any answer from her, when he turned the discourse to the Electoral family of Hannover; but her Majesty began constantly to speak of something else."

Galke to Robethon.

An original in Galke's hand, decyphered by Robethon.

Translation.

September 29th, 1713.

"I AM assured from all hands, especially by those who had business to transact with the treasurer, that it is impossible to comprehend the answers he gives, much less to put them afterwards in writing. Besides, he frequently gives such as have no connexion with the proposals which were made to him. Again, when he takes me aside, and appears to speak with the utmost confidence to me, and to enter deep into business, he leaves me, and bows to the right and to the left to those who come in. All those in the room, who see such a farce, imagine you have had an audience, and a favourable answer; and no doubt but you to whom he spoke, knows that he said nothing to you."

This is only the copy of a letter sent by Schutz in cyphers. There is a copy of it decyphered in an unknown hand, and another in Robethon's.

October.
Ibid. p. 61
and 63.

Translation.

October 3d, 1713.

"MR. Stanhope came to see me, and made me all the protestations I could expect. He does not think there will be fewer Whigs

* His lordship's authority is good. He was himself a Jacobite.

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September.

in the next parliament than in the last; but he has a very bad opinion of it. He considers the efforts made in Scotland for breaking the union, as proceeding from the instigations of the lord treasurer; because after that, it will be more easy for him to bring in the Pretender. In short, his opinion is, that if things continue never so short a time upon the present footing, the Elector will not come to the crown, unless he comes with an army. He believes the greatest number of the country gentlemen are rather against us than for us; but, to make amends, he assures that the wisest heads and most honest men have our interest at heart."

Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Schutz fils 8.
p. 67.

The following is a copy, in Robethon's hand, of a letter written in cyphers by Schutz to Bothmar.

October 10th, 1713.

"**M**R. Cadogan told me, this morning, that on a jaunt to the country to see his friends, and, among others, lord Sunderland, he had employed to very good purpose the arguments with which you furnished him in writing, when he passed through the Hague. He recommends again to employ 6 or 7000*l.* Sterling, to secure, thereby, six or seven voices in the house of peers, which will secure us a majority against the treaty of commerce, and against the attempts which may be made to infringe the succession. For he says, it is a certain fact, that several peers, wanting a livelihood, are obliged, in order to have wherewith to subsist, to take pensions from the court, and to vote as it orders them. He hopes Sir Thomas Hanmer may be gained, and he designs to sound him by the means of two of his friends, with whom he is to pass some days.

L'Hermitage, who will not go any more to Hannover, tells me, that if our court is not at this expence, to gain some members in the house of peers, who will prefer 400*l.* Sterling from us, to 1000*l.* from the Queen, we will ruin ourselves and our friends in this country. Mr. Cadogan intreats you much to represent the consequence of all this to our court. He promised me a list of these poor lords, when lord Sunderland shall be here.

Ibid.

The same to the same.

Translation.

October 13th.

"**T**HE duke of Argyle having sent for Kreyenberg to his country-house, Monday last, told him, that he knew, from good authority, that the Queen would not change the five among the sixteen Scotch peers, whose names Kreyenberg sent already. He looks upon the earl of Breadalbin,

Breadalbin, though his near relation, and also upon the earls of Dun-
donald and Dunmore, as avowed Jacobites; and he is afraid lord Selkirk
and lord Portmore will follow the ministry.

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He spoke to the Queen, some time ago, concerning his brother lord
Ilay; saying, that he flattered himself that her Majesty would be pleased
to employ him in the ensuing parliament. But he says she answered
coolly, that she had not yet come to any resolution concerning the Scotch
peers. When lord Ilay spoke of it to the lord treasurer, he answered,
that he did not design to meddle in these things.

The duke of Argyle assures, that he spoke several times, for some
months, to the Queen, and discovered to her his apprehensions from the
Pretender; adding, that he suspected even some persons about her Ma-
jesty. To which her Majesty answered, sometimes by a sneering smile,
and sometimes by saying to him, How can any one entertain such
thoughts?"

Schutz to Robethon.

A copy in Robethon's hand. The original was sent by Schutz in cyphers,
and by a secret address.

Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Schutz file 8.
p. 71.

October 13th.

"General Lumley having promised to endeavour to gain Sir Thomas
Hanmer, Mr. Cadogan goes with him to Mr. Hill's, to see if he
will assist him in engaging the knight to change. In that case, Mr. Cado-
gan thinks that I should promise him titles and offices from his Electoral
Highness, when he accedes to the crown. Mr. Cadogan hopes, that the
duke of Kent will change for us; but he recommends the pensions to five
or six poor lords, as a capital affair, and without which the union of Eng-
land with Scotland will be lost."

Robethon adds, in his own hand, to another letter from Mr. Schutz
of this date; "They say, that my lady Jersey is gone secretly to France.
I shall inform myself more particularly about this." She is mentioned
again in a letter from Galke, dated from London, $\frac{2}{20}$ October, 1713.
"They reason differently about lady Jersey's journey to France. Some
maintain, that she went only to obtain some money which her late hus-
band placed there unknown to his family*; and, as a proof of this,
they

Ibid. p. 70.

Ibid. p. 77.

* Sir Edward Villiers was created earl of Jersey by King William. He was, in his
reign, envoy and ambassador extraordinary to the States General, one of the plenipoten-

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they observe, that, notwithstanding the great œconomy with which he lived, no ready money was found by him at his death: others pretend that she went in order to be at a distance from her creditors; and lastly, others say, that it was to be among the first to make her court, and to offer her second son in Lorrain. The relations of the young man waited on lord Bolingbroke, to entreat him to send after him, and bring him back hither, and hinder him from following his mother to France; but before those who were sent to take him arrived at Dover, he had left it."

Robethon added, in his own hand, after this letter; "Lady Jersey was at Windfor to take leave of lady Masham."

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Papers, vol.
marked
Schutz fils 8.
p. 79 and 81.

There are other two letters from Schutz of this date; one in French to Robethon, and one in High Dutch to president Bernsdorff. He complains, that he frequently spoke to Monsieur Kreyenberg about the 400 lottery tickets belonging to the Electress, but without success. He believes that Kreyenberg's affairs are in bad order; for he owed to him the loss of 5000 l. which he had trusted to Strafford. He begs that his own expences should be considered, and entitle him to a greater allowance, especially as every thing was very dear.

Translation
from the
High Dutch.

"I know too well, from experience, that when I shall spend all my own little income, no one will give me a fortune; and if, in serving our master with activity and zeal, one must ruin his health and lose his money, I truly think, that nothing but an extravagant, not to say a foolish, desire can induce any one to accept such services. You may depend upon it, that the four weeks I have passed here, cost me already, after deducting all extraordinary expences, 200 guineas. Now, judge you, who know the state of my affairs, if I can support this with the ninety which I am to receive."

Representations of this kind frequently occur in the correspondence of the Hannoverian agents in London.

tiaries for the treaty of Ryswick, ambassador extraordinary to the court of France, secretary of state, and chamberlain of his Majesty's household. He died on the 28th of August, 1711, the day he was to have been named lord privy seal. He had married Barbara Chiffinch, daughter to William Chiffinch, Esq; closet-keeper to King Charles II.

Schutz

Schutz to Robethon.

A copy, in Robethon's hand, of a letter sent by Schutz in cyphers.

Translation.

October 24th.

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Papers, vol.
marked
Schutz fils 8.
p. 83.

"**L**ORD Halifax received, with the utmost gratitude, the compliments and assurances which I gave him from the Elector; declaring to me his willingness to sacrifice his fortune and his life for his service."

Halifax assured Schutz, that the treasurer endeavours to convince every one that the Elector approves of all his measures: this prevented the friends of the succession from opposing him; "and if he speaks in this strain, to a nobleman of lord Halifax's capacity, with whom he pretends to converse as a friend, and who is considered to have the confidence of the Elector, what will he not say to others, who, he knows, are not so well informed? These assertions of the treasurer's, and the orders which monsieur de Grote had, as well as myself, to see very few Whigs, and but rarely and in secret, will render it very difficult to undeceive our friends.

"Lord Halifax believes the Queen, as well as her ministry, is entirely against our succession, but he is persuaded, that her Majesty, far from choosing to yield the crown to the Pretender in her lifetime, is no ways disposed, as yet, to bring him over."

Lord Halifax assured Schutz, that it was owing to him alone, that the Treaty of Commerce was rejected: he was the first who opposed it in the house of peers, and he engaged lord Anglesea and others to oppose it in the house of commons: "And as he gave me clearly to understand, that to sacrifice all his fortune, and expose himself to the resentment of France, of the Pretender, and of the Queen's ministry, was playing a very high game, until one was well assured that such a conduct was approved, could not a letter to him be obtained from the Elector, thanking him for his services in the last session, begging the continuance of them, and asking his opinion of the state of affairs in this country."

Schutz

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marked
Schutz fils 8.
P. 93.

Schutz to Robethon.

This letter was carried to Hannover by Monsieur de Melleville, and was not written in cyphers.

Translation.

London, October 30th, 1713.

“ I Saw lord Sunderland at Kreyenberg’s the day before yesterday. He does not despair of the affairs of this country, as many others do. He thinks the Treaty of Commerce will be rejected, although a better one will be presented to this parliament, than that which was rejected by the last. He assures me the duke of Argyle, who passed some days with him in the country, may be depended upon. He thinks him incapable of ever reconciling himself with the minister; as he acknowledges now that he acted formerly on wrong principles, and is dissatisfied with his brother for having shuffled, *i. e.* for having paid court to the lord treasurer, in hopes that he would have made him one of the 16 Scotch peers. The misfortune is, that he has thereby neglected to be chosen in opposition to the court, which the duke thinks he could not have missed to be, if he had spoke out, and employed the interest of his friends in Scotland. They say he is disgusted at having been played the fool with in this manner, and disappointed in his hopes; and he must have exerted himself very much and with great success, though chiefly out of spite, in order to carry the elections of the commons in Scotland against the court, since it is certain that, of 45 members, there are 34 or 35 Whigs.

Young Mr. Murray, who is known at Hannover, has changed sides, and is now a spy of the lord treasurer’s, who detached him to me the day before yesterday. He had the imprudence to regret to me, that many were chosen who were disagreeable to the court, and who were punished by the last parliament.”

Ibid p. 98.

Schutz to Robethon.

The original letter decyphered by Robethon.

Translation.

October 31st, 1713.

“ CADOGAN came again to represent to me the indispensable necessity of the Elector’s giving six or seven thousand pounds Sterling to secure six or seven lords, who are paid by the court, and whom the court does not suspect of being able to leave them, as they have so much need of the pensions given to support them.”

Extracts

*Extracts of Letters from Schutz to Robethon and to Bothmar, Nov. 1713.
Containing several particulars concerning private characters and the history
of the times.*

Schutz to Robethon.

A copy in Robethon's hand of a letter sent by Schutz, in cyphers.

Translation.

Nov. 3, 1713.

“**T**HE duke of Argyle, with whom I was this morning, assured me strongly, that the lord treasurer could not be depended on; that he knew him better than any one, from his own experience; and that he was very sure, that he exerted himself with all his might against the succession, and for the Pretender. His intimate friends must have said, that he was too far engaged to withdraw, and that he was forced to most of the things which he did. The duke of Argyle assured me, that very odd questions were put to the officers, of whom the treasurer was not entirely sure; and that he broke them, when their answers did not please him. He behaves in the same manner to those who have other employments.

The offer which the elder Mr. Murray made me, this morning, of carrying me to the lord treasurer, and which I thought proper to refuse, proceeded, undoubtedly, from the lord treasurer himself. This embarrasses me greatly, and will do so more hereafter, if I do not receive orders soon to assume a character. Our friends disapprove much of my incognito, if it is to continue.”

A copy in Robethon's hand of a letter sent by Schutz, in cyphers.

Ibid. p. 104.

Translation.

Nov. 7, 1713.

“**T**HE Duke of Argyle coming to see me, the day after I waited on him, spoke to me with great openness; telling me among many other particulars, that he constantly spoke to the Queen about the succession; but, however frequently, could never obtain any answer from her. As the duke sometimes observed, that he was not well received by her Majesty, he ascribed the cause of this, to the malicious reports which had been made to her of his conduct, and he entreated her to let him know what he was accused of, that he might exculpate himself by informing her of the truth; but having never been able to obtain that favour, he conjured her to compare the freedom and the boldness,

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ness, with which he always told her his opinion concerning affairs in general, and concerning his diffidence of some persons who had the honour of approaching her frequently, without enjoining secrecy, with the manner in which they spoke to her, in order to judge who acted most honourably to her. But still he had no answer.

Monsieur de Pleffen confirmed the truth of all this to Schutz. The duke of Argyle thought it was absolutely necessary to gain lord Anglesey and Sir Thomas Hanmer. The friends of the succession offered to assist Hanmer in being chosen speaker; and he assured them, that he was under no engagements with the court."

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Papers,
vol. marked
Schutz fils 8.
p. 109.

Schutz to Robethon.

Translation.

London, Nov. 14, 1713.

THE son of the duke of Berwick, who is to marry the widow of lord Petre, is expected here. Her fortune must be immense; those who speak moderately of it, give her 40,000 l. a year. Her husband was a Jacobite; but wanted to have the Pretender, without the assistance of France, and seeing that was impossible, he gave himself no further trouble to bring him in."

The following letter is not in Schutz's own hand; but it is an original decyphered by Robethon, who marked at the top, "from M. de Schutz, sent by Mr. Cadogan."

Translation.

Nov. 18, 1713.

Ibid. p. 115.

"THE intentions of her Britannic Majesty should be sufficiently known to us, since the Tories, who are our friends, as well as the Whigs, acknowledge that she is totally prejudiced against us; and that failing the Pretender, in whose favour, besides her own inclinations, the recommendations of a dying father engage her to act, her hatred against us is so strong, that she will endeavour to leave the crown to the greatest stranger, rather than allow it to fall to the Electoral family. She is confirmed in these sentiments by those who are continually with her and who possess her favour, and who, besides being for the Pretender, hate our princes.

A maid of honour who attended the week when the thing happened, says, that lady Jersey, two days before she set out for France, had a conversation of two hours with the Queen, in the night time."

A copy in Schrader's hand, so that the original was probably a letter from Schutz to Bothmar, in cyphers.

Translation.

Nov. 21, 1713.

"**M**ISS Oglethorpe, the lord treasurer's mistress, said, that the Pretender was to travel, and she said so the very day news came from Holland, that the bishop of London had declared at Utrecht, to the plenipotentiaries who are there, that the Queen entreated their masters not to receive the Pretender in their dominions."

The following letter is in Galke's hand, and not signed; but it is decyphered by Robethon, who marks on the top, "from M. de Schutz."

Translation.

Nov. 24, 1713.

"**L**ORD Halifax is very happy at the steps which the Queen's ministers were obliged to take, at Utrecht, by the bishop of London. He hopes it will furnish an opportunity, in the ensuing parliament, of doing something for the further security of the succession, and for the advantage of the Electoral family; as he is persuaded, it was unwillingly the Queen's ministers took such a step. For he believes them disposed, from inclination and duty, to favour the Pretender. He flatters himself that our affairs are not so desperate as we imagine, and that our enemies meet with difficulties which we are ignorant of, and which forced them to such a measure. In short, he hopes, whether the Pretender stays in Lorrain or leaves it, that means will be found in the ensuing session of parliament, to take advantage of this step against them."

It was, on this occasion, the Queen must have written to the Pretender to inform him, that it was against her will she took that step, assuring him, that his interests were always dear to her; that she would take all imaginable care of them; that it was not yet the time to declare herself, and a great deal more in the same strain, and even treating him as a brother. But as such a letter must have been written very privately, it is difficult to conceive how any notice could be got of it, and it is necessary not to discover any diffidence of the Queen in that respect, as the bad consequence of that would fall back upon us."

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Papers,

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Schutz fils 8,

p. 114.

Ibid. p. 126.

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November.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Schutz file 8.
p. 127.

Schutz to Bothmar.

This is a copy in Schrader's hand, who always decyphered the letters sent to Bothmar. The date is in Bothmar's own hand, and Robethon marks "it was sent by Schutz, in cyphers."

Translation.

London, Nov. 28, 1713.

"**A** Mr. Strickland, vice chamberlain of the Pretender's court, is here now; as I knew this only since yesterday, I have not been able yet to learn whom he has seen since he came here.

It is affirmed, that the court gives a great deal of money to the Highlanders in Scotland, in order to have them ready when they shall have occasion for them; from which it is presumed, that the Pretender may probably take a tour to that country, and this opinion is greatly confirmed by the discourses of the Jacobites, who speak openly of his arriving soon. A great number of Popish priests arrive here every day. They have passes under the little seal [*le petit sceau*], for entering the kingdom. Several of them were met, within a few days ago, at the dutehes of Buckingham's."

Ibid. p. 134.

Schutz to Robethon.

Translation.

London Nov. 28, 1713.

"**T**H E R E is a rumour in town, that lord Peterborough was for some time incognito at Dunkirk, and also in England; at one time, under the name of Smith, and at another time, under the name of Thompson. At Dover, he appeared with a plaister on an eye, and in bad cloaths. This disguise did not hinder his servant from knowing him there, and from calling him by mistake, my lord, which angered him so much, that after having beat the servant, he forgot himself so far, as to say, that the rascal had made him miss a great aim. Others imagine there is room to conjecture, that having been three weeks between this place and Paris, he must have stopt at some other place."

Ibid. p. 135.

In a copy of a letter of the same date from Schutz to Bothmar, for it is in Schrader's hand, who decyphered all Bothmar's letters, we meet with the following postscript.

"Peterborough staid, for many days, incognito, at Sandrick, while he was supposed to be gone; after which, he went by Calais to Barleduc, having been sent thither from hence. De Lormes assures me he knows this certainly, though he does not choose to name his author."

The Duke of Marlborough to Robethon.

This letter is in the duke's hand; but not signed.

Reflections on the measures of the English Ministry.—Reasons for sending the Electoral Prince.

SIR,

Antwerp, Nov. the 30th, 1713.

“ I Have not troubled you since my coming to this place, because nothing of the least consequence has offered; but Mr. Cadogan being now returned from England, with an account of the present situation of things and disposition of people's minds there, I thought it necessary to take notice in general to you of it, and, at the same time, acquaint you, I send him to the Hague, in some few days, to communicate all matters to Monsieur Bothmar, in order to his transmitting, in the most ample manner, to his Electoral Highness, the sentiments and thoughts of our friends in England, concerning the unhappy condition we are in, which I am sorry to tell you, grows worse every day, and will very soon be desperate, unless some speedy remedy is applyed. Though the whole conduct of our ministry, both as to affaires at home and abroad, leaves no room to doubt of their intentions to bring in the Pretender, yet I cannot forbear mentioning some circumstances relating to it, which have happened since the last sessions of parliament: I shall begin with our court's entering into a stricter and greater union with France than ever, notwithstanding the collusive manner with which the French King has evaded executing those articles made with England, which were for our advantage; and as the highest and most convincing mark of the double dealing and pernicious designs of our ministers; I shall, in the next place, instance their affectation of writting to such princes, not to receive the Pretender, into whoes countrys they are sure he will never come, and their making no step in earnest, towards the removing him out of Lorrain, notwithstanding the addressies of both houses, and that his being there or in France is the same thing, by which means, the article in the treaty of peace, for the security of the Protestant's Succession is eluded: to this must be added, the giving all employments, military and civil, to notorious Jacobits; the putting the governments of Scotland and Ireland into the hands of two persons who are known friends to the Pretender; the choosung the 16 lords to serve for Scotland, of which two were with the Pretender, last summer, and most of the rest declared Jacobits; the ministers receiv-

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ing with such distinction, Sir Patrick Lawless, and under the pretence of his transacting the business of Spain, their admitting him into their confidence and privacy, though an Irish Papist and an avowed agent of the Pretender's; the violence and force used in the election of members for the city of London; the invading the freedom of elections all over the kingdom, by corruption, oppression, and bribery, in order to get such persons chosen, as are in the interest of the Pretender; the animating the clergy to preach up hereditary and testamentary right, both which principles are destructive to the succession; the encouraging the publishing that pernicious book, lately written to support those doctrines, which, though high treason by our laws, yet this book which asserts them, was written, either by direction or connivance of Ld. T. as may be judged by the following circumstances. First the materials for it were collected either out of manuscripts in his own library, or out of such public records as Mr. Lowndes was known to have been employed in the search of; Ld. T—r, library keeper, corrected the manuscript, and the printing of the book was published in the Gazette, and though the printer was taken up for form's sake, the sale of the book is openly permitted, and great numbers of them sent gratis all over the kingdom. Many instances of the same nature might be joined to these I have mentioned; but I think these more than sufficient to demonstrate the views of the ministry, and the danger of delaying any longer the entering into effectual measures for the preventing of them. But as this matter is of the highest moment, and that the safety of our religion, property and liberty will depend upon the resolutions to be now taken, our friends in England submit every thing to his Electoral Highness's great wisdom and discretion, and will execute with zeal and pleasure, whatever instructions or orders he shall please to give them in this most important affair. However, they believe themselves obliged, at the same time, both in duty to his Electoral Highness and out of concern for the safety and good of their country, to represent, in the most humble and submissive manner, that considering the present state of things in England, nothing can so effectually assure the succession, as his Electoral Highness going there; or, if that can not be hoped for, the sending the prince, which would animate and encourage, to the greatest degree, all those of both parties, who wish well to the succession, and break the measures of those who

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are against it. But, though this is the unanimous sense of our friends in England, yet they leave and wholly submit it to his Electorale Highness prudence and judgement, and desire that this their advice may be understood to proceed from hearts full of affection and unalterable attachement to his Electoral Highness person and interests; for the promoting of which they will be allways ready to venture their lives and fortunes. As I write you this, in the last confidence, I desire it may be communicated only to his Electoral Highness and Monsieur Bernstorff, and for fear of accidents, you will be pleased afterwards to burn it. I am with truth, yours."

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December.

Schutz to Robethon.

Schutz had, by this time, assumed the character of Envoy from the Elector, and was introduced to the Queen.

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Schutz fils 8.
p. 151.

Translation.

London, December 4th, 1713.

—"LORD Ilay returned, yesterday, from Scotland. He was with me, this morning; but as it was the first visit, and as a number of people came in upon us, we could not speak of many things. To judge of him by his words, he is entirely in the interests of our master; consequently it is unlucky, that he is not in parliament to give him proofs of this. He takes it very much amiss, that he is not one of the 16 peers of Scotland.

You have inclosed a very curious piece. It is in the hands of the ministry, who have not ventured to present it to the Queen."

Robethon adds, in his own hand: "It is an address from the Highlanders of Scotland, who desire the Queen to dispose of every thing, so as that her brother may succeed her."

Sir Hugh Paterfon of Bannockburn, being introduced to the Queen by the earl of Mar, presented to her Majesty addresses from the boroughs of Inverness and Nairne, which might be interpreted in this sense.

Schutz to Robethon.

Ibid. p. 156.

It is a copy in Schrader's hand of a letter from Schutz in cyphers; the original having been probably addressed to Bothmar at the Hague.

Translation.

December 8th, 1713.

"HAving seen Lord Ilay, at his house, I asked his opinion of the association proposed for Scotland, of which his brother had sent him

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him a form. He told me, that the form in the main was good, but the plan could not be followed, as it was in many things contrary to the laws; and that as it could be executed but by the Presbyterians alone, who were all for the protestant succession. As all the members of the church of England were *Jacobites, without exception*, great care must be taken to draw it up in such a manner, that the latter could have nothing to object to it; since otherwise the members of that church in England would join them and oppose it. He promised to me, that he would consider this, and contrive it with the assistance of some men of abilities.

It was he, who told me again, that the court pays about 40,000 l. sterling to the Highlanders in Scotland; giving from 3 to 400 l. to the chieftains for exercising them frequently, and for being in a condition to assemble them, in case of need. Notwithstanding this, it is his opinion, that if the government will not acknowledge and assist them openly, they may be opposed with success, as he presumes he can himself assemble 20,000 men in four counties which are for us*.

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Schutz fils 8.
p. 149, and
158.

Schutz to Robethon.

Translation.

December 11th, 1713.

SCHUTZ attended lord Oxford's levee, and asked an hour in private with him. "I saw by his countenance he was embarrassed. He answered me only in monosyllables, and seemed to be willing to ask if I had any thing very particular to say to him. I imagined, that, perhaps, he did not understand my French; for that reason, I whispered to him, an usual custom in his house, and asked him again an hour in English. He answered me, at last, that he was ready every day to speak to me at the Treasury."

Schutz was as little pleased with his audience at the treasury. "He enquired about the health of the Electoral family, I believe twenty different times, interrupting me as often. After answering each question, I began again to speak to him of the arrears; and to continue this farce longer, he made excuses to me, that he did not come to see me, alledging that the affliction occasioned by the death of his daughter, prevented him."

* It is to be feared, that Ilay sacrificed matter of fact to his zeal in this instance.

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" There came lately from the court of St. Germain's, some persons of condition, who are not named, and who are still here, and endeavour to persuade the widow of lord Petre to go to France to marry the duke of Berwick's son."

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December.

Schutz to — (Bothmar probably) ; for it is a copy in Schrader's hand of a letter written by Schutz in cyphers.

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Papers, vol.
marked
Bothmar, 10.
No. 135.

Translation.

December 11th, 1713.

" **H**ALIFAX and Sunderland made the elder Mr. Craggs tell me, that, considering the course which things take now, and after all the expence which our friends have been at, to carry the elections of the members of the common-council of London, they think it absolutely necessary, that we should not lose the affair for the want of about 2000 l. sterling, which the Elector should furnish, and which they solicit me incessantly to give. You may judge of my embarrassment ; for besides this, Stanhope joins them, assuring me, that, however far he is from proposing the smallest expence to the Elector, he finds this so essential and so seasonable, that he cannot avoid to conjure me to procure it, as they are all sure, that being masters of the council, London will present to parliament any address they choose, which will be an example to the rest of the kingdom, and cannot fail to have great and good effect. Set this affair then in a proper light, that I may not be disfavoured, in case their reasonings prevail with me so far as to engage me to furnish this money."

Bothmar to Monsieur de Bernsdorff.

Ibid. No. 134.

Hague, December 16, 1713.

CADOGAN was at the Hague, and gave to Bothmar a memorial concerning the state of affairs in England, and the means of retrieving them. It was to be sent to the Elector, and drawn up in such a way, that it might be communicated to the well affected Tories : but he mentioned several other particulars to Bothmar, which the latter writes to his correspondent in this letter. The Elector should assure the Tories, that the Whigs would resign to them offices and employments. If the Electoral Prince would go to England, there were 50 or 60 great men who would hazard their fortunes and their lives to serve him. If the Elector himself would go, they would furnish him any sums of money that he should judge necessary for the execution of his designs. A proof of the possibility of this was, that eight or ten persons were able to furnish the Emperor

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December.

peror with three millions. They would furnish money much more readily for the preservation of their own country.

They again entreated his Electoral Highness very earnestly to grant the pensions they ask for some poor lords, who want necessary subsistence; and if they cannot engage his Electoral Highness to agree to any thing they propose, they will endeavour to provide for themselves as well as they can, and yield to the times. "He told me, that the dutchess of Marlborough was to return to England in spring, and that perhaps the duke would do so likewise; for being now 66 years of age, it was proper for him to think of dying in peace in his native country, if he could. If we will do nothing ourselves to secure the succession, we cannot expect it without a miracle. I am afraid we will not get off with the loss of our hopes of that succession, and that so much trouble will be given to us, and so many enemies raised against us elsewhere, that we will not be either in peace or safety in the Electorate, until we shall be so low, that they may be assured they have nothing further to apprehend from us."

"You recollect, that both the duke of Marlborough and Cadogan have provisional orders from the Electress to take the command of the troops and of garrisons in case of the Queen's death. Cadogan told me, it would be proper to have a particular one for Mr. Armstrong quarter-master general, who commands at Dunkirk, to seize upon that place, and execute the orders of Marlborough or Cadogan. That order may remain in the duke of Marlborough's hands, until it will be time to execute it; which Cadogan answers Armstrong will do, although the ministry confide in him. He is a creature of Cadogan's, who knows, that according to the laws such orders are not valid; but he says, that officers and soldiers, so very well affected as they are, will not examine the point so narrowly, and will be satisfied with seeing the name and the seal of the Electress; and when once the thing is done, reasons will be easily found afterwards to justify it."

Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Bothmar 1c.
No. 142.

Bothmar repeats a great deal to the same purpose, in a letter to Robethon, dated the 19th of this month; and, in a postscript to it on the 23d we meet with the first mention of a person, whose name will frequently occur hereafter, Mr. Clignet, postmaster at Leyden. He intercepted a letter, which he communicated to Bothmar, and which Bothmar was to send to lord Sunderland. They suspected it to be from lord Peterborough.

Clignet himself wrote to Robethon at this time, and promised the continuance of his services in this way.

1713.
December.
Ibid. No. 38.
Ibid. No. 1. 6.

Bothmar wrote again to Robethon on the 30th, about Cadogan's memorial. "He, Cadogan, relishes much the idea of Mons. de Bernstorff, that his Electoral Highness should borrow to the extent of 20,000 l. sterling from his friends in England, at an interest of 5 per cent. to defray the expences to be laid out on the poor lords and the common-council, during the three years that the parliament sits. He wished the sum had been 24,000 l. which would have made 8,000 l. a year; but he was at last satisfied with the 20,000. He says it will not be necessary to go far for this sum. That he himself and the duke of Marlborough will furnish it on the obligation of his Electoral Highness; and, providing the interest of 5 per cent. be regularly paid, they will not ask when his Highness would choose to reimburse the capital. I said nothing to him of what you wrote to me of his Electoral Highness's reimbursing this capital out of his own revenue, in case other resources fail; but I doubt much if we can insert in the obligation, that this money will be paid out of the pension to be granted to the successor, on his accession to the crown. It will be sufficient not to specify the time of reimbursing it.

I beg of you to tell me, if lord Stamford has received any thing yearly till now from his Electoral Highness or from the Electress."

Bothmar writes to Robethon about letters he received from the Sieur Ridpath, and a book Ridpath was to publish at this time. Bothmar proposes, that the Elector should be at the expence of the impression, and recompense Mr. Steel, who was assisted in a work at this time, by Mr. Walpole and Mr. Stanhope.

The necessity of sending over the Electoral Prince, at least of giving out publicly, that it was intended to send him, is repeated in almost every letter written by the friends of the family of Hannover, from England and Holland, in the course of this year.

STUART PAPERS.

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THE earl of Middleton, secretary of state to the Pretender, having retired from that office, in the beginning of December, Nairne, whose collection of papers has thrown so much light on the history of these kingdoms, resigned his place of under-secretary. The seals being given to Sir Thomas Higgins, the correspondence to and from Britain passed through his hands; and all the papers are probably still preserved in the Scotch College at Paris. That part only of the correspondence with the Pretender, which passed through the office of Mr. Nairne, as secretary of the closet, has fallen into the hands of the Editor. This deficiency is, however, very amply supplied, by the minute detail of facts, contained in the Hannoverian dispatches for the present year.

The Pretender, having retired from the dominions of France, before the conclusion of the peace, lived in great security at Bar-le-duc, in Lorraine. The two houses of parliament, instigated by the Whigs, who were themselves urged by the house of Hannover, presented addresses to the Queen, to use her influence with the princes in alliance with Great Britain, not to receive him into their dominions. These princes, however, were no strangers to the circumstance, that the Queen, and even some of her servants, desired that he should not be molested. She herself had obtained, from the French King, and, by her influence, from the Emperor, such passports, for her brother, as justified the reception given to him by the duke of Lorraine. The Jacobites in Britain, with their usual intemperance and zeal, were highly elevated with the hopes of his speedy restoration. His health was publicly drunk. He was mentioned, in common discourse, by the title of King; and scarce any doubt can be formed, that the Queen herself encouraged his hopes, and promoted

promoted his views. The respect with which he was received abroad rose in proportion to the favourable appearance of his affairs at home. The duke of Lorrain received him with a royal munificence, and gave him convincing proofs of his friendship in the following negotiation.

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February.

A letter to the Duke of Lorrain from his Envoy at Vienna.

Concerning the marriage of the Pretender with one of the Arch-dutcheffes.

Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 15.

Translation.

February 22d, 1714.

“IN answer to the letter, with which I have been honoured from your Royal Highness, concerning the designs of the Chevalier de St. George to be allied to the family of Austria, I shall tell you that I have communicated them to the prince of Trautson, who willingly undertook the commission to the Emperor, and even gave me reason to expect a speedy answer, which I have waited for from day to day; but your Royal Highness knows, that they are not as expeditious, at this court, as one could wish. Accordingly I have not been able to obtain an answer until last night, when the prince sent for me very late to tell me, that he had given an account to the Emperor of what I had said to him concerning the Chevalier de St. George; that his Majesty had appeared to relish the proposal, but found the present times too critical to be able to come to a determination; adding, that he did not believe that it was the interest of the Chevalier de St. George to determine any thing positively, in the present conjuncture, and that he was disposed to give the Chevalier marks of esteem and regard when the occasions offered. This, in a few words, is the answer that was made to me. I remarked, however, in continuing the conversation with the prince of Trautson, that, far from being averse from this alliance, they would desire it much; especially if the Chevalier de St. George was restored to his dominions, as it is not doubted will happen in a short time.

This minister found, that there was a disproportion of age, between the Chevalier de St. George and the youngest of the archdutchesses, niece to the reigning Emperor; and that they would be more inclined to settle the youngest of the archdutchesses, his sister, the first being only twelve, and the last two and twenty years old; and it is believed here, that the Chevalier de St. George is twenty-five. The minister strictly enjoined me

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to

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to write to your Royal Highness, that you ought to preserve the most profound secrecy in this affair; that the present conjuncture requires this, on your own account, and on account of the Emperor and of the Chevalier de St. George; that a discovery would infallibly ruin it; and that I should do myself the honour to write all this precisely to your Royal Highness, of whom I have the honour to be, with all possible respect,

SIR,

Your Royal Highness's most humble, &c.

DESAMOISE."

The answer of the Duke of Lorraine to his Envoy at Vienna.

Translation.

March, 1714.

Nairne's
papers, D. N.
vol. iv. 4to.
No. 52.

"I Was not able to answer sooner the letter which you wrote to me, wherein you informed me of the Emperor's answer to what I had written to you concerning the designs of the Chevalier de St. George, with regard to the alliance he would choose to form with the family of Austria. The reason of my delay has been, that I could not till now find an opportunity of giving information to the Chevalier de St. George, who appeared to me to be very sensible of the marks of regard and esteem which the Emperor has shewn him; and he has given me in charge to write to you about this, in order that by my orders you might show that he has a grateful sense of the Emperor's behaviour; that he has a mutual esteem for him, and will seek every opportunity of cultivating that friendship and regard, which the Emperor has testified for him. He expressed himself in the most obliging terms. You will, therefore, execute this commission as soon as you receive my letter. I will even tell you, as from myself, that I thought I had perceived the Chevalier de St. George would have wished that he himself could have written to the Emperor, to shew his gratitude; but that he did not believe it became him to write for the first time as an incognito. I want to know, though for no other reason but pure curiosity, if the Emperor would receive or answer a letter from the Chevalier de St. George, and write to him as King.

I forgot to tell you, that I had for a long time the curiosity to ask you, as particular an account as you could give me of the temper, the genius, and the education of the four archduchesses, the sisters and the nieces;
and

and as I have the pictures of all the Emperors, I would choose likewise to have those of the archduchesses. I command Sauter to write to you the particulars I would choose to know; and, as you must take time to get the pictures, I wish that may not hinder you from answering what I have written above."

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In various letters to the earl of Middleton, Sir William Ellis and others, from their correspondents in England, it appears, that some friends proposed to the Chevalier de St. George to change his religion, at least to have protestant servants, and a protestant clergyman with him. To satisfy them in this last particular, Mr. Lesly, the famous nonjuring clergyman, so often mentioned in these papers under the feigned name of Lamb, was sent for to Bar-le-duc, in the room of Mr. West, who was not so well known. Mr. Lesly wrote a letter on the subject, addressed to a member of parliament. It was openly handed about by the party; and at the same time, the Chevalier himself wrote another on the same subject.

"*Abstract of a letter, written in his Majesty's hand, on the subject of religion, to a person in England, to be shewn to his friends there.*"

A copy in Nairne's hand.

March 13th, 1714.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. iii. 4to.
No. 27.
and vol. iv.
No. 54.

"I Would very much have wished not to have been obliged, at this time, to enter upon so nice a subject as that of religion; but your two last letters are so pressing and positive, that it would be an unpardonable dissimulation in me, should I not answer your letters, with the same sincerity you write them.

I shall, therefore, begin by putting you in mind of the last conversation I had with you upon that subject, to which I have nothing to add, but that I neither want counsel nor advice to remain unalterable in my fixt resolution, of never dissembling my religion; but rather to abandon all than act against my conscience and honour, cost what it will. These are my sentiments; and, had I others, or should I act contrary to those I have, where is the man of honour that would trust me? and how could ever my subjects depend upon me, or be happy under me, if I should make use of such a notorious hypocrisy to get myself amongst them? I know

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know their generous character could not but detest both the crime itself and him that should be guilty of it. And would they but give themselves time seriously to consider, I am persuaded they would not make my religion the only obstacle to my restoration; it being itself the greatest security for their liberties, properties, and religion, by putting it out of my power ever to invade them should I intend it; which is so far from my thoughts, that, on the contrary, I am most willing and ready to grant all the reasonable security that can be demanded of me, in relation to all these points, all my desire being to make them a flourishing and happy people.

I can have no other interest but theirs; whereas, how many other rightful heirs are there to the crown after me, who being powerful foreigners, may have inclinations equal to their power, and may very probably never give rest to England, till they enslave it in good earnest?

Will my subjects be always so blinded, as to make a monster of what is in effect their greatest security; and not perceive and endeavour to prevent the real and just causes they have of fear and apprehension?

My present sincerity, at a time it may cost me so dear, ought to be a sufficient earnest to them of my religious observance of whatever I promise them: for I can say, with truth, that I heartily abhor all dissimulation and double dealing, and I love my subjects even now too well not to wish, as much for their sakes as my own, that they would at least open their eyes to see their true interest, and timely provide for their future peace and quiet.

I know my grandfather and father too had always a good opinion of the principles of the church of England, relating to monarchy; and experience sufficiently sheweth, that the crown was never struck at but she also felt the blow: and, though some of her chief professors have failed in their duty, we must not measure the principles of a church by the actions of some particular persons."

Queen Anne died on the first of August this year. The Chevalier de St. George communicated the news to the duke of Lorrain, and received the following letter from him on the occasion.

The

The Duke of Lorrain to the Chevalier de St. George.

On the death of Queen Anne.

The letter is in the Duke's hand.

Translation.

SIR,

August 15th, 1714.

"THIS moment Mr. Strickland is arrived with the letter, which you did me the honour to write to me. Behold then, at last, the period arrived which must decide your fortune! You have taken the only proper course, by going to Paris; and I hope that you will find at the court of France the succours which are necessary for securing the success of your enterprise. The honour which you did me, Sir, during your stay in my dominions, and the liberty with which you allowed me to tell you my sentiments, induce me to entreat you now to remember, that by the death of Queen Anne, France is free of all engagements with England; those which had been contracted by the most Christian King having been only with the Queen personally, and not with the English nation. This leaves France without any engagement, and in a situation to support you without any reproach. But, Sir, this support, when too public, may not be advantageous to you; and in my opinion, as I have had the honour of representing to you several times already, the most essential succours are, not to allow you to want money, to secure your passage by some ships, and to permit you to take along with you the national troops, which would not alarm any one in England; whereas French troops certainly would.

Some arms and ammunition will be no less necessary; ammunition may be easily found at Calais, and for fear of losing time, arms may be taken from the troops which work at the new harbour near Dunkirk; for they may make some difficulties about the time which will be necessary for furnishing these things. If the duke of Berwick, as you believed, was not desirous of attending you, he has succeeded: but, Sir, I entreat you to remember that a good officer, who is not a stranger, is necessary for you. I have no doubts but you will land in Scotland; it is upon that kingdom, it appears to me, you ought principally to depend. You will probably find there a greater number of friends; and besides, it is a country in which you can better maintain your ground. The disunion of
that

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that kingdom is the measure, which will attach them most to you. Forgive me, Sir, this detail; but amidst the great occupations, in which you are engaged, you may not perhaps recollect this, of which, however, you yourself are convinced. My zeal makes me take too much liberty, which you will be pleased to excuse; as well as any omission I may have been guilty of, during your stay in this country. I can do nothing now, but pray God to bless your undertaking, and to preserve your health; beseeching you, Sir, to grant me your protection, and to be persuaded of my zeal, which will not cease but with my life.

SIR,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant,

LEOPOLD."

Carte's Memorandum-book marked vol. xi. 4to. p. 13.

An anecdote concerning Queen Anne's confession to the Bishop of London, about her brother, on her death-bed.

Mr. Carte had this anecdote probably from the duke of Ormond; for he marks it on the top, "D. of Ormond."

"THE night before the Queen died, when the council broke up, the duke of Buckingham came to the duke of Ormond, clapped his hand on his shoulder and said, My lord you have 24 hours time to do our business in, and make yourself master of the kingdom.

The Queen, before she died, sent for the bishop of London, made a sort of confession to him, particularly as to her brother; for it could not well relate to any thing else: when as the bishop took leave of her to go out of the room, he said aloud, in the presence of the duchess of Ormond and other company, Madam, I'll obey your commands: I'll declare your mind; but it will cost me my head.—The Queen proposed to receive the sacrament next day, but died first."

Ibid. p. 6.

Anecdote from R. Lestly.

"HE came into France in October 1714; his design was to go into the South with Mr. Downes, who was hindered by Graham the bookfeller chicaning with him about his books which he had sold, and was detained in England; so that R. L. came alone to Paris, and was afterwards obliged to go to Nancy to the King, where talking with him on the terras, he advised him to make an attempt on England, the moment he

he heard the parliament was dissolved. The King said, the Highlanders pressed him exceedingly to it; the Lowlanders were doubting as to the time, but would rise if he came; and the English were against it, and for deferring. R. L. said, for this reason he ought to go; because the English were only for deferring, to know the issue of a parliament; which if the Tories got on their side, there would be a Tory ministry, and an end of the King's hopes. That himself had twenty cautions in a day given him in his ear by persons about the court, not to advise the King to this attempt, but his duty obliged him to it; and though he did not care to mention particular persons, yet he would name them if the King pleased.

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He told ME this with more particulars, March the 25th, 1724."

*Various Anecdotes concerning the Earl of Oxford, Bolingbroke, Harcourt, &c.
about the time of the death of Queen Anne.*

Mr. Carte's
Memoran-
dum book,
marked vol.
xi. 4to.
p. 45, & 92.

"L. L. (on the 30th of May, 1726, at supper with L. S.) told us, that he never believed lord Oxford sincere in his designs to serve the King, till one day Abbé Gaultier came to him on a very particular occasion.

He had had with lord Oxford a conference about the King's affairs, in which lord Oxford was giving him his sentiments, in relation to the conduct that the King ought to observe to carry his point. The Abbé said, he might forget, and desired lord Oxford to put them in writing; he did so, and gave the paper to the abbé, desiring him to transcribe it and restore it to him, next day. When the abbé came home, though he understood English pretty well, yet it was so bad wrote, that the abbé could not read it. In this difficulty, knowing none to trust so nice an affair with but L. L. he came to him, and told him the case, desired him to transcribe it for him, which he did in so legible a hand, that the abbé could read it, and transcribed it afterwards himself, [time enough to restore it next morning to lord Oxford; (L. L. thought him always sincere afterwards).

July 9, 1725, dining at lady S.'s, lord M——r said, that the night the proclamation was ordered to be issued out against ——, he was summoned to the cabinet council, at K——, and it being whispered, that it was in order to such an affair; he meeting lord Oxford, asked him if it was: lord Oxford said, he knew nothing of it; that he did not meddle in af-

Ibid. p. 92.

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fairs, and that he would be against it if proposed. Soon after he met lord B. and asking him about it, and expressing his wonder, that they should think of such a thing after it had been so carried in the house of lords; B. denied that he knew any thing of it. Afterwards they were called into council, where the Queen giving no body time to speak, said she had resolved on a proclamation, which she caused to be read, and then, without staying for, or asking any body's advice, went out: so that it was all her own act. Asking lord Bolingbroke afterwards how it came to be issued out, in such a manner, he said, lord Trevor (who was then necessary to him) positively insisted on it that it should be done, and he was forced to comply.

May 30, 1726, at supper, at L. S.'s, L. L. was giving an account of the struggle between lord B. and lord Oxford. The latter was absolute at first, and lady Masham hated L. B. who was only kept in, because the peace was transacting, and nobody else could speak French. At last, lord Oxford, disobliging lady Masham, in the affair of Quebec, she joined L. B. and lord Oxford was turned out a little before the Queen died. The design of L. B. at the time, was to bring about the Hannover succession: and two or three days before her death, L. L. and Sir W. Windham going in a coach together, the first said, Now they had got the power entirely into their hands, they might easily bring about a restoration; to which Sir W. said, Put that out of your head; that will never be: — is an impracticable man (*i. e.* he would not change his religion at that moment) and will never be brought in: and L. L. going on the Saturday evening (before the Queen died) to Kensington, met Arthur Moore and John Drummond waiting for L. B. (who dined with S. W. W. and a great deal of company that day, at Blackheath), who did not come, though John was appointed to attend there for L. B. to receive his last instructions, in order to set out the next day for Hannover, to make up matters with that court. This John Drummond himself told L. L.; but the Queen's death did not allow them time to execute their scheme, and they could never make the court believe they had any such schemes.

Further

Further Anecdotes of the Lords Oxford, Harcourt, and Bolingbroke. The beginning of their quarrel.—Their conduct and views at the Queen's death.—The reasons of the Earl of Oxford's quarrel with the duke of Ormond.—The Duke of Marlborough and Lord Bolingbroke were always friends.

1714.
Mr. Carte's
Memoran-
dum book,
marked vol.
xi. 4to. p. 47.

"**L.** L. on the 28th of June, 1725, told me, that Mr. Harley, at the time he was bringing about the change in the ministry, in 1710, was near quarrelling with lord Harcourt and Bolingbroke. He had a mind to fix them in their old posts of secretary of war and attorney-general. But the one insisted on being lord chancellor, and the other secretary of state; which he refusing to agree to, they came to L. L. and told him the case, and that there was no doing any thing with him, and therefore, they determined to go, the one into Oxfordshire and the other into Berkshire, next morning; and as he was to stay in town, they begged of him to shew himself cool and reserved to him. L. L. said, he was sorry for the occasion of their going; but he would not quarrel with an old friend without reason. They said, all that they desired of him was, to shew himself cool to Mr. Harley, which he determined to do. After they were gone, lord L. wrote a letter to Mr. Harley, acquainting him with Harcourt and Bolingbroke's being with him and their resolution; and told him very plainly, that if he went on at this rate, he would lose all his friends, and nobody would have any thing to do with him; represented the consequences and desired him to consider them. He left a copy of this letter in England. Harley and Bolingbroke, after parting with L. L. had gone to Mr. Harley's, and this letter was delivered to Mr. Harley, whilst they were with him, and they saw the superscription to be lord L's hand. Bolingbroke asked L. L. afterwards, what was in the letter; for, he said, he never saw a man so struck, in his life time, as Harley was after reading it. The issue was, Harcourt and Bolingbroke were satisfied, and staid in town.

Harley used often to complain to lord L. of the Tories having been cut out of business for above twenty years, and of their unfitness for it; and had, therefore, a mind to bring over a capable Whig or two. But the least motion of it put the Tories in a flame, and he could not do it.

Harcourt had complained often, in very feeling terms, to lord L. that he knew no more of the measures of the court, though he was L. C. than

1714. his footman. That lord Bolingbroke had not made him a visit of a year, and lord Oxford did not so much as know him. But just before the Queen died, Bolingbroke brought him into his measures, and they were entire confidents.

Oxford and Bolingbroke had always been pushing one another, from the very time of their power, and labouring to supplant each other. Lord Oxford told L. L. upon asking when he had seen Harry St. John, and L. L. answering, that Harry was a man of business, and he had not seen him of a long while, that Bolingbroke was betraying all their counsels to lord Marlborough; and that he owed the finding out of the secret to little Dartmouth, and Erasmus Lewis had made the discovery.

It is certain, lord Marlborough was very fond always of Harry St. John; and, on the loss of his son, the lord Blandford, said he had no comfort left, but in Harry St. John, whom he loved and considered as his son: and, notwithstanding the difference, on account of Party, the duke always had a regard for him.

Bolingbroke, in the midst of his struggle with lord Oxford, was hated mortally by lady Masham and abominated by the Queen, for his loose life, and Oxford was in the height of his credit; so that he must have fallen, if he had not been necessary for the scheme of the peace, he being the only man about court that could speak French, or transact any thing with Mesnager or the other persons sent over by the court of France, or to be sent into France.

About the same time, or a little after the first overtures of peace, the Quebec expedition was set on foot, in which lord Oxford refused to gratify Mrs. Masham, in an affair relating to it, by which she would have got a good sum of money. She, though his relation, resented this highly. Bolingbroke improved the moment, struck in with her and told her, he would get it done, in spite of lord Oxford. He did so; and she stood by him afterwards.

Lord Oxford, who was for serving the King||, fancied Bolingbroke was engaged in that scheme; and, therefore, thought to strike in with the H. of H. This completed his ruin; and he was mistaken in his point: for Bolingbroke's view was the H. of H. and the night after lord Oxford was out, L. L. came to Kensington, to get the Queen to sign some papers,

|| This seems to be a mistake.

which

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which he deferred upon the dutchess of Ormond, (who was then in waiting) her telling, that the Queen was something indisposed; but she would acquaint her, if his lordship pleased. But, he said, it was no matter of consequence, and he would not disturb her. He saw there waiting for lord Bolingbroke, who failed them, Charles Cæsar, John Drummond, &c. John was to part in a day's time, for Holland, to engage lord Albemarle to negotiate for them, with the court of Hannover; and these and others then in waiting, as John Drummond himself told L. L. were all in that scheme. The earl's death blew up this affair; that ministry lasting only three days, and the house of Hannover not sensible of their obligation to them.

Lord Marlborough landing, as it were, the moment of the Queen's death, I was apt to fancy, he might be in that scheme; but L. L. said, he did not believe it; and he heard lord Bolingbroke, in company with himself, lord Bath, and others, on the day of the duke's entry into London, speak with a violent resentment upon it, and say, He ought to be sent to the Tower for it.

December the 13th, Mrs. A. O. told me, that lord Oxford opposed the duke of Ormond's list of new officers for the army, because it was composed of Bagnals, Mathews, and other Irish, and because the duke of Ormond insisted, that the officers turned out should be paid for their regiments and posts which they had purchased with their blood, which the new officers proposed were not able to do; nor could the Exchequer then supply 50,000 *l.* which was the least it amounted to. That, upon lady Masham's quarrel with lord Oxford, about her share in the 10 per cent. reserved out of the Assiento contract, which was intended to be shared between her, &c. She sent for A. O. to apply to the duke of Ormond; who said, she could not pretend to have so much credit with the duke, though perhaps her mother might. That her mother was sent for, and she (A. O.) went to Sir John Stapleton's, where the duke was to sup, fetched him away to Kensington, where lady Masham told him how ill the Queen was, and how uneasy at nothing being done for her brother; and that, if he would but secure her 30,000 *l.* of the ten per cent. which amounted to 100,000 *l.* she would join with him, and he should have the modelling of the army, &c. as he pleased. He was afterwards introduced to the Queen, who was ill, (this was the year before her death) in order

1714. to offer his service to serve her brother, and have the modelling of the army, &c. granted him : but instead of giving any assurances or making any proposals to the Queen, who was prepared to grant him every thing ; he only asked her, if she had any commands for him, and went away without saying more.

The duke of Ormond took it ill of lord Oxford, that when he desired 1200 *l.* a year pension might be settled on lady Hales, lord Oxford proposed to make the duke's own pension 6000 *l.* instead of 5000 a year, and offered to get it done, and then the duke might give her as much on his own estate : but lady Hales piqued herself on having a pension from the Queen ; and made the duke refuse the offer and quarrel with lord Oxford, who would not grant the 1200 *l.* a year pension.

When lord Oxford was turned out, Bolingbroke's scheme and Harcourt's was for the house of Hannover, to make the duke of Marlborough general, and if the duke of Ormond submitted to it, to allow him the post of lord-lieutenant of Ireland ; if not, to turn him out of all, and slight him."

HANNOVER

HANNOVER PAPERS.

1714.

THOUGH the Tories were generally deemed Jacobites, by the house of Hannover, there is no reason to believe, that the whole of that party were friends to the Pretender. The bigotry of that prince, in adhering, with such obstinacy, to the Romish faith, cooled the zeal of those who were most attached to the line of hereditary succession. Besides, many Tory leaders, disappointed in their own views upon office, and offended, upon that account, with the lord treasurer, began to cabal with the Whigs. Among these was the earl of Anglesea, a man of quick parts, but revengeful in his disposition. This earl, together with Sir William Dawes, the successor of arch-bishop Sharpe, in the see of York, possessed great influence with the Tories. On the 5th of April, in the present year, they joined themselves to the Whigs; when, upon a division in the house of lords, the protestant succession was, by a small majority, voted out of danger. They were followed by the whole bench of bishops, by the earls of Abingdon and Jersey, the lords Ashburnham and Carteret, and some other temporal peers of the High Church party. Their principles, however, were not the sole motives of this desertion. The means by which Anglesea, the arch-bishop, and their friend Sir Thomas Hanmer, were gained to the house of Hannover, are explained, upon more solid grounds, in the following papers.

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Notwithstanding the votes in parliament, the security of laws which had never been infringed, and the manifest attachment of a great majority of the nation, the family of Hannover, misled by the ignorance of their agents and the violence of the Whigs, continued to think, that their succession to the throne was in the utmost danger. The Elector himself, harassed and fatigued, by the eagerness of his agents, and the vehement remonstrances

1714. remonstrances of those who called themselves his friends, had become extremely indifferent, about a throne so difficult to mount. He had, during the whole course of the preceding year, declined to gratify the Whigs, in sending over the Electoral Prince. He refused to satisfy either their avarice or their wants with pensions. He would not give them money to influence the general elections in their favour. He rejected their violent proposal of invading the kingdom with an army. Having failed to awaken the ambition of his Highness, they applied themselves to his humanity and his fears. They represented, that their liberties, their fortunes, and, perhaps, their lives were in the utmost danger, should the Pretender succeed to the throne. They insinuated, that neither the Elector himself nor his family could be safe, upon that event, in the heart of Germany : that a prince, who considered them as rivals in the succession, would never sit down contented, till he had reduced them so low, as to cease to be an object of terror. This last consideration had, at length, such an effect upon his Highness, that he permitted his envoy in London to demand a writ of summons to the Electoral Prince, as duke of Cambridge ; a transaction that made a great noise at the time, and is fully explained in the following papers.

The attention of the people having been gradually raised by this and similar circumstances, the Queen and her servants found it absolutely necessary to concur, at last, in appearance, with the sentiments of the nation. They had hitherto succeeded, notwithstanding the arts of the Whigs, in establishing a general opinion, that a perfect harmony subsisted between the courts of Great Britain and Hannover. Whatever affection the Queen might have had for her brother, a great part of it was obliterated, by his bigotted attachment to a system of religion which she abhorred. She, however, secretly wished that he might succeed her in the throne. But her servants would be extremely willing to retain their power, by gaining the good graces of the house of Hannover * ; and she herself

* “ A foolish circumstance which rendered ineffectual all endeavours of the late ministry to establish themselves in the good graces of the court of Hannover, as I shall particularly relate in another work. It may suffice to hint, at present, that a delay in conveying a very inconsiderable sum to a very inconsiderable French *vagrant* †, gave the opportunity

† “ *Robitban*, then at Hannover, out of the service of some German prince, it is not known how, got into some credit with the Elector.”

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herself sent Mr. Harley, this year, to Hannover, to inquire what further securities the Elector thought necessary for the succession of his family to the throne. She offered to concur in whatever he should demand, excepting the sending over a prince of his family to reside in the kingdom. This, she thought, was the same thing as to descend from the throne. She and her ministers were much blamed by the Whigs, for refusing to invite the Electoral prince. That party had forgot that they themselves had been equally averse from such an invitation, when they were in power †.

The lord treasurer, while a commoner, and speaker of the house, voted for all the acts that were passed in different sessions of parliament, for settling and securing the succession in the protestant line. Notwithstanding what has been supposed by the court of Hannover, and asserted, with uniform vehemence, by the Whigs, no decisive proofs can be advanced, that he ever favoured the Pretender, during the four years of his administration. In the two last years, when he found himself declining in the Queen's favour, and felt a consequent diminution of his influence in the cabinet, he made all advances to the court of Hannover, consistent with the awkwardness of his manner, the reserve of his temper, and that affectation of secrecy and design, which he thought absolutely necessary for a minister, and which he probably used to conceal his own want of extensive talents. A discerning reader will perceive, even through the complaints and prejudices of the Hannoverian agents, that this unfortunate man wished sincerely to secure a retreat for himself, behind the succession in the protestant line. He paid no court to the Jacobites and high Tories,

portunity to a more industrious party of corrupting that channel, through which all the ideas of the dispositions and designs of the Queen, the ministers, and the whole British nation were conveyed." *Swift's Enquiry.*

† "For my own part, I freely told my opinion to the ministers, and did, afterwards, offer many reasons for it, in a discourse intended for the public (but stopped by the Queen's death.) That the young grandson, whose name I cannot remember, should be invited over to be educated in England; by which, I conceived the Queen might be secure from the influence of cabals and factions. The zealots, who affected to believe the succession in danger, could have no pretences to complain; and the nation might one day hope to be governed by a prince of English manners and language." *Swift's Enquiry.*

1714. that was not absolutely necessary for continuing himself in office. Bolingbroke was the principal adviser of all the violent measures which contributed to increase the terrors of the Whigs, and to continue the suspicions of the house of Hannover.

The apprehensions of those who were, or pretended to be, well-affected to the succession in the house of Hannover, were not entirely groundless. The jealousy of the Electoral family could not altogether have proceeded from the inventions of faction, the misrepresentations of party, or the ignorance or blind zeal of their agents in London. Though Queen Anne was, perhaps, conveniently free from strong attachments of any kind, though she was actually too dilatory and unenterprising in her nature, and timid in her disposition, to engage in any dangerous undertaking; though she was probably as averse from bringing over the Pretender, during her life, as she was from seeing a prince of the Electoral family residing in the kingdom; yet it can be now no question, but towards the end of her reign, she was favourably disposed towards her brother, and would have been well pleased, without any trouble or danger to herself, to have secured for him the eventual succession of the throne. He himself was no stranger to this circumstance, and he formed his expectations accordingly. In a declaration, published immediately upon her demise, he says, "Of her good intentions towards us, we could not, for some time past, well doubt; and this was the reason we then sat still, expecting the good effects thereof, which were unfortunately prevented by her deplorable death."

The court of Hannover, though the suspicions of their agents were greater than the truth, could not possibly be strangers to the Queen's intentions. Notwithstanding all the kind assurances and protestations of friendship received from Anne, it was natural for them to suspect her sincerity, when they saw that all the avowed friends of the Pretender supported all her measures. The character and manner of her minister were calculated to increase the suspicions of the Electoral family. With some abilities, he possessed all the weaknesses, and even stooped to the meannesses in which the whole art of every shallow politician consists. Regardless of sincerity, in his political conduct, he often promised more than he had either power or inclination to perform. Flying perpetually from the point,

point, in his conversation upon business, he disgusted mankind in general, in proportion to the eagerness which men entertain concerning their own affairs. It was only when he meant not to adhere to his word, he gave any answer at all; and that was even then contrived in a way that rendered it ambiguous. There was an air of secrecy in all his manner, and visible in every feature of his countenance, and an affectation of mystery and deep design, even in trifles. This defect in his character was so little calculated to gain the confidence of others, that it actually exposed himself to suspicions, when in reality he might have no bad designs.

The repeated charges brought against the earl of Oxford, in the Hannover papers, may be justified by the defects of his own manner and mind. But his colleagues in office, especially the viscount Bolingbroke, were more sanguine in their temper and determined in their measures. An inveteracy, arising from mutual injuries, had subsisted between them and the Whigs for several years. It was foreseen, that an universal change of men and measures would take place, upon the demise of the Queen: that the Electoral family would employ the Whigs in the administration of their affairs, whenever they should succeed to the crown: that the Tories would be humbled, and those at present in office be in danger of their lives and fortunes. It was, therefore, natural to suppose, that men in such circumstances had entered into secret measures to form a shelter for themselves, against the storm which was gathering over their heads. Their common prudence, if not their principles, might be supposed to direct their views to the Pretender. But, notwithstanding all these appearances, there is reason to believe that, had the Queen lived for some time longer, even Bolingbroke would have found means to reconcile himself to the house of Hannover; having held an uninterrupted communication with the duke of Marlborough, who was much more attached to the recovery of his own power, than to either of the rivals for the British throne.

“THESE devils of *Grubstreet* rogues that write the *Flying Post* and *Medley* in one paper, will not be quiet. They are always mauling lord treasurer, lord Bolingbroke and me. We have the dog under prosecution, but Bolingbroke is not active enough; but I hope to swinge him. He is a *Scotch* rogue, one *Ridpath*. They get out upon bail, and

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write

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write on: we take them again, and get fresh bail; and so it goes round*.”

There are several letters from this Ridpath to baron Bothmar, the Hannoverian envoy at the Hague. He had fled to Holland, and was writing at this time an answer to the book on *Hereditary Right*, and endeavouring to make himself very necessary to his correspondent.

Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Bothmar, 1c.
No. 41.

George Ridpath to the Baron de Bothmar.

The Scots, who are well affected to the Hannover succession.

Rotterdam, January 2d, 1714.

“ I Have a letter from colonel Erskine, who was lately in the west of Scotland, with his nephew, Mr. Cunningham of Buchan, one of our members of parliament, and other gentlemen, who have an interest in that part of the kingdom. His errand was to set addressees on foot in favour of the Hannover succession. They have communicated the matter to several great men, who are their friends, such as the earl of Ilay, who is lately gone to London, and my lord Polwarth, who has undertaken to speak to several of the squadron, *i. e.* the duke of Montrose and Roxborough, the marquis of Tweeddale, Mr. Baillie of Jerviswood, son-in-law to the earl of Marchmont, &c. The earl of Buchan, who is also nephew to colonel Erskine, has likewise spoke to them, and they appeared very frank in the matter; being very much provoked by the Highland address, of which I sent your Excellency a copy, and is going through among other Jacobites in that country.”

Ridpath was assured by the colonel, that the Cameronians of the South and of the West, both of Mr. Hepburn's and Mr. M'Millan's party, had declared openly against the Pretender, and expressed great indignation at their being suspected of Jacobitism. He had a confirmation of these and of other particulars, in a letter from a minister at Edinburgh; and he recommends to Bothmar to procure a letter of thanks from the court of Hannover to colonel Erskine and the earl of Buchan, who had great interest among the Presbyterians.

* Swift's Letters, p. 185. vol. 1. 8vo. London, 1767.

Extracts of letters from Baron de Schutz in London, to Robethon in Hannover.

The Pretender favours the Protestants.—Earl of Stair obliged to sell his regiment.—Earl of Oxford makes advances to Schutz, who continues to suspect him.—The Queen's sickness.

Schutz to Robethon.

Translation.

London, January 2d, 1714.

“THE duke of Berwick's frequent journies to Barleduc are not undertaken without some great design. It is asserted that the Pretender has dismissed all his Roman Catholic servants, and, among them, they name even two lords. The young widow Peters seems to be resolved to go to France to marry there the son of the duke of Berwick.

My last will have informed you, before now, that lord Oxford changed his opinion. Notwithstanding all the proofs of this news, I had a great difficulty to believe it; and I could not conceive that we could derive great advantage from it. I expect to see him to-morrow, and I shall speak to him again about the arrears. I am very sorry I was not at home to-day when he called.”

The same to the same.

Ibid. p. 172.

This is a copy, in Robethon's hand, of a letter written by Schutz in cyphers.

Translation.

January 2d, 1714.

“LORD Stair told me, that lord Mar came to tell him, in a friendly manner, that it was intended to make some changes among the officers; and that he being one of those they wanted to remove, he was willing to ask him if he would dispose of his regiment. To which he answered, that having never done any thing that could displease the Queen, and having served her faithfully, he could not imagine he deserved to be broke: that, to say the truth, he had no desire to dispose of his regiment; and that the Queen was mistress to do what she chose. But as he cannot prevent the storm, in case they wanted to oblige him to resign, he intends to consult his friends; and if they judge it proper, he will make as much as he can of his regiment, rather than allow himself to be deprived of it, for a trifling sum, at which the price will be fixed, as happened to others.”

The

1714.
January.
Original.
Hannover
vol. marked
Schutz fils 8.
P. 169.

1714.
January.
Original.
Hanover
Papers,
vol. marked
Schutz fols. 8.
p. 173.

The same to the same.

This is Schutz's original letter, decyphered by Robethon.

Translation.

London, January 5th, 1714.

“ I Waited upon lord Oxford, the day before yesterday, to express my regret for not being at home when he did me the honour to call, and to ask him if he had any orders to give me. He answered to this, that he would come to see me again; intimating to me, that he would choose to have a private conversation with me, in order to give me his sentiments of the Elector's affairs in this country, and of the measures which, in his opinion, he should take in the present conjuncture. I entreated him then, after having thanked him for his good intentions to my master, to name an hour, that I might have the honour of coming to wait on him, which he did not choose, putting me off till his return from Windsor; and assuring me that her Majesty was perfectly well affected to his Electoral Highness, and to all the Electoral family.

When I asked him if he had recommended to the Queen his Electoral Highness's rank in the Electoral college, and his office of arch treasurer, without answering by yes or no, he made great protestations to me of his zeal, of which he was willing to give proofs, without being influenced by hopes of being recompensed; but, in order to have no reason to reproach himself hereafter, that he neglected to give the salutary advices which he thought himself obliged to give.”

Schutz not knowing, probably, that Oxford had quarrelled, at this time, with Bolingbroke, and lost his influence in the cabinet, paid so little attention to these advances, that he did not communicate them to the Elector, but desired Robethon to make them known to his master. He considered them, he says, “as general expressions, which would have been more allowable when I saw him for the first time, six weeks ago;” but did not appear to him now to deserve to be mentioned.

Ibid p. 178,
179, &c.

The Queen was dangerously ill, at this time, and there is a particular account of her situation, notwithstanding the endeavours of the ministry to conceal it, in letters from Kreyenberg to Bothmar, and from Schutz to Robethon. The treasurer and secretary Bromley received an express from lord Bolingbroke, from Windsor, between two and three in the morning, of the 5th of January. Bromley set out directly for Windsor,

but

but the treasurer staid in London, which made Kreyenberg believe that there was nothing very extraordinary, if other circumstances did not prove the contrary. Dr. Sloane, who was never called for, by a certain great personage, but when in great danger, set out about the same time for Windsor. Masham sent to the clerk of the signet-office, before he was out of bed, begging of him to make out his patent of remembrancer of the Exchequer, (though in the Christmas holydays), which made Kreyenberg believe that time was of consequence at Windsor.

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January.

The Duke of Marlborough to Robethon.

The ministry are in the Pretender's interest.—It is necessary to send over the Electoral Prince, &c.

Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Bothmar, 10.
No. 146.

S I R,

Antwerp, January 6th, 1714.

“ I Did not receive, till the 20th of last month, the favour of yours of the 12th, and I defer'd answering itt till the return of Mr. Cadogan from the Hague, who, as I acquaint'd you in my last, went thithere to communicatte to Mr. Bothmer the sentiments and thoughts of our friends in England, and to inform himself of the situation of things in Hollande. By the accounts he brings, as well as by what has been write from thence, it is evident the principal regents of the Republic begin to be now convinced of the designs of the English ministry to bring in the Pretender; and since the destruction of their state must inevitably follow, they have warmly taken the alarm, and seem disposed to enter into any measures towards preventing itt, which the form of their government will allow of; and, as they very well know, a strickt friendship with the Emperor and Empire is absolutely necessary for attaining this great end, they are at present very desirous to reconcile themselves to his Imperial Majesty; but the managements they are outwardly forced to keep with France and the English ministry, obliging them to proceed in this matter with the utmost secrecy and caution, they are resolv'd to transact it privately, by such friends as both sides have an intire confidence in; and, to shew how much they are in earnest, they appear inclin'd to recede from several advantages given them by their Barrier Treaty. As his Imperial Majesty has likewise the business of England at heart, and believes his own safety concerned in securing the succession of his E. H. and family †, it is hardly

† The duke was misinformed.

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to be doubt'd but such temperaments may be found by the comon friends afore-mention'd, as will re-establish the former union between the Emperor and the Republick; which matter being explain'd in the memorials transmitted by Mon^r. Bothmer, I must refer to them for the expedient you mentioned of an adress of thanks for the good offices employed, and endeavours used to remove the Pretender, and the grounding an invitation on their having prov'd ineffectual. I shall take the liberty, since you desire my privat opinion, to tel you freely, I am apprehensive that matter may be so artfully manag'd by the court, as to get the first part of the proposition past and the other dropt, the ill consequences of which are so obvious, that it is unnecessary to explain them: However, if his E. H. shall not approve of what our friends in England have humbly represent'd, they will be ready to execut, with all the zeal and fidelity imaginable, this or any other thing his Electoral Highness shall judge for his service; and since the ministers drive on matters so fast in favour of the Pretender, every body must agree, if something further be not done in the next sessions of parliament towards securing the succession, it is to be fear'd it may be irretrievably lost. Mr. Cadogan returns in about fourteen days to the Hague, in order to receive his El. H^{'s}. commands from Monsieur Bothmer, in relation to what he is to say to our friends, at his return into England. I am ever your's.

Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Schutz fils 8.
p. 182.

Extracts of letters from Schutz to Robethon.

Suspensions of Oxford.—Embarrassment of the ministry.—Rumours of the Pretender's conversion; and of a French armament.—Advances made by Schutz to Sir Thomas Hanmer.

Schutz to Robethon.

The beginning of this letter is in Galke's, and the rest in Schutz's own hand; and the whole of it is decyphered by Robethon.

January $\frac{1}{2}$, 1714.

"THE lord treasurer told me to-day, conjuring me not to communicate it to any one, lest they should frustrate the design, that having spoke to the Queen of our affairs, a strong proof of his sincere design to do every thing in his power to procure the advancement of our succession,

succession, she was willing to pass an act, by which the Electress would be empowered to name all the regents, without being confined to the seven, who, by an act of parliament, are to be regents by their offices; and that it was on that point he wanted to speak to me.

I could not conjecture any thing from what he said to me, with regard to this power to the Electress, but that he wanted to have an opportunity of touching [altering] the act of succession, and you may judge what use he would make of it. I spoke of this to Halifax; and his advice is, that the Elector should take care not to concur in it; but to declare that he is satisfied with the present form. Knowing the treasurer's character, his opinion is, that though he should speak of this to me again, he will not say more than he has said already."

Schutz to Robethon.

The original decyphered by Robethon.

London, January $\frac{5}{16}$, 1714.

THE ministry, during the Queen's late illness, were embarrassed by their uncertainty, whether the late or the new parliament should assemble, in case of her Majesty's death. But as the old must meet then, they will do every thing they can to assemble the new very soon. A proclamation was signed yesterday, with a blank for the date, to be filled up as they please. The chancellor was busy searching the records for precedents for regents to prorogue a parliament; which shews that they are afraid of any parliament, in case of the Queen's death.

"It is always rumoured, that Sir Thomas Hanmer will be chosen speaker of the house of commons. He is not yet, however, reconciled with the court. It is said that the seals are to be put soon to an act in favour of Mareschal Berwick, repealing that by which he was outlawed: many believe that this is done already, as there are several examples of the same kind, and as Roman Catholics, who had served in France, are placed in the army and in other employments. Bolingbroke and Oxford gave a bad reception to Argyle and Stair, the day before yesterday, at Windsor. Lord Marishal, a great Jacobite, will have the company of Scotch grenadiers, vacant by the death of lord Crawford. The Jacobites triumph at the news received yesterday from France, which say,

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that

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Schutz fils 8.
p. 184.

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that the Pretender is of the religion of the church of England, and that he received the communion on New-year's-day, from the hands of Mr. Lesley, who is invested with the character of his chaplain."

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Papers, vol.
marked
Schutz fils 8.
p. 188.

Schutz to Robethon.

A copy in Robethon's hand. The original was written by Schutz in cyphers.

January 19th, O. S. 1714.

"SINCE the Queen's illness, and the rumours of a French armament at Brest, our friends, both Tories and Whigs, urge me incessantly about sending to them the Electoral Prince; protesting that nothing else can save our affairs. The duke of Kent, lord Orrery, and lord Windsor gave me to understand they were of that opinion, and assured me it was likewise the opinion of Sir Thomas Hanmer. They maintain, that several who are for us, will not venture to declare themselves, while we will not show, by such an easy step, that we have the affair of the succession at heart; but they will declare themselves as soon as they see a prince of the family here. They say likewise, that severals of our enemies will not act against us in that case.

Lord Ilay gave me the project inclosed of an address, which the well-affected in Scotland intend to present to the Queen. You see how many friends we have in Scotland, in England, and in Ireland, where the parliament was prorogued, merely for shewing too much zeal for us."

Ibid. p. 195.

Robethon translated the Scotch address for the use of the Elector. They complain, among other things, of discourses and publications depreciating the Queen's parliamentary right to the crown, and maintaining the hereditary right of a popish, abjured Pretender. They complain, that large bodies of Highlanders, who were Roman Catholics, and declared enemies of her Majesty's government, frequently assembled in arms, and took the liberty to publish, that their chiefs and captains not only had her Majesty's protection, but were furnished by her with large sums from her Treasury.

Ibid. p. 189.

Schutz to Robethon.

London, January $\frac{22}{23}$, 1714.

"SIR Thomas Hanmer is in town since Thursday last. He went the day before Yesterday to Windsor, where, lest he should dine

dine with any of the ministry, he asked the dutchess of Northumberland, as soon as he arrived, if he could presume to come and dine with her. It is affirmed, more than ever, that he is on bad terms with the ministry; which I have reason to believe is true."

Schutz to Robethon.

A copy, in Robethon's hand, of what Schutz wrote in cyphers.

January 23d, O. S. 1714.

"**L**ORD Oxford wrote a letter this afternoon to lord Halifax, in which he tells him, that his cousin, Mr. Thomas Harley, having kissed the Queen's hand yesterday, to thank her for having named him to go to Hannover, and being charged with a commission, which he was sure would give pleasure to his lordship, he did not choose to lose a moment in giving him notice of it.

Having reasoned with lord Halifax on this event, we imagine, that from this measure we must suppose one of two things, or perhaps both; either that the Queen appears to the lord treasurer to be in such a bad state of health, that he thinks he ought to make his court to his Electoral Highness, or that things are not yet come to maturity here in favour of the Pretender, and that France does not choose to assist him to mount the throne, nor to give him the number of troops which his friends judge necessary. But, in either case, he thinks that we can draw great advantage from it; and even though lord Oxford should be as great a fool, and as great a rogue, on this occasion, as he has always been, such a measure as sending, in this present conjuncture, his cousin, who is his great favourite, may set him forever at variance with such of the Tories as are for the Pretender; by which he will lose a great part of his credit.

Lord Halifax told me, that the petition of the principal merchants of London, and likewise that of 3 or 4000 of the richest inhabitants of that city, was resolved upon, Friday and Sunday last, at his house; and that they were to be delivered to-day. He promises himself great effect from them; and the more so, that there is no example of London's having ever given one."

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Schutz fils 8.
p. 191.

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Schutz fils 8.
No. 193.

Intelligence from England by the way of Calais.

A copy in Schrader's hand-writing.

January $\frac{1}{2}$, 1714.

"THE ministers give out that the Queen is out of danger; but the physicians say the contrary. Doctor Arbuthnot, a Scotchman, who alone took care of her Majesty for two years, will not take upon him to prescribe any more, without consulting others. Mr. Blondel, a famous surgeon, was called to Windsor, and, on his return, he told in confidence to one of my friends (for they enjoined him secrecy), that he was called to open the Queen's thigh, and that he thought she was in a very dangerous state.

Upon the first news of the Queen's sickness, several French battalions had orders to march towards the sea, under pretext of changing the garrisons; and they remain there, viz. at Graveling, Calais, Berg, St. Winnox, St. Omers, and Boulogne. Most of the Irish regiments in the French service, who made the campaign on the Upper Rhine, are arrived likewise in the Low Countries. Clare's regiment is at Douay, Galmoy's at Valenciennes, and Donington's, which was the late King James's regiment of guards, at Avesnes."

Ibid. p. 194.

Schutz to Robethon.

London, January $\frac{1}{2}$, 1714.

"I Went Yesterday to see Sir Thomas Hanmer, whither Mr. Hill carried me. He received me very well, and assured me, that he had desired Mr. Hill to bring him to wait upon me. I made him the proper compliments, which he received with testimonies of great respect, protesting that he had the interests of the Electoral family much at heart: that he believed the happiness of all the nation depended on the protestant succession; and that he did not desire to be believed on his word, but by his actions; hoping to find opportunities which would enable him to give proofs of his intentions. He called upon me to-day, while I was at the treasurer's. It is impossible to imagine how much the ministry flatter him. The lord treasurer was more than an hour alone with him yesterday."

Ibid. p. 201.

There is a copy, in Robethon's hand, of another letter, which Schutz wrote, of this date, in cyphers. Schutz thought lord Oxford flattered himself,

himself, that by Mr. Harley's embassy to Hannover, he would convince the Electoral family, that he was really in their interest; but he supposed that he intended nothing more than to give the Electress power to alter the regency, in which he suspected, that both Oxford and the chancellor had bad intentions.

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January.

George Ridpath to Bothmar.

A character of Ker of Kerland.

Rotterdam, January 27th, 1714.

Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Bothmar 10.
No. 55.

HE had not finished his answer to the Hereditary Right yet, but expected to have it ready for the press very soon.

"This morning, one Mr. Ker of Kerland, a Scotch gentleman, but a very dangerous person and a spy, sent to me, desiring to speak with me. He pretends to be going to Hannover and other parts of Germany, but first to the Hague. He is one of the worst of men, though he pretends to be a Presbyterian, and to have great interest among the zealots of the West of Scotland. He had so once; but now they know him. I am confident, that he is sent over by the lord treasurer, and that those who are with him come upon some ill design, as well as himself.

P. S. Kerland has an odd look with his eyes, particularly the right one; he has a thick calf of a leg."

Extracts of Letters from Schutz and Kreyenberg to Robethon and Bothmar.

A letter from Schutz.

A copy in the hand-writing of Mr. Schrader, who usually decyphered Bothmar's letters, to whom the original was probably written.

Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Schutz fils 8.
p. 196.

London, $\frac{1}{10}$ January, 1714.

"SIR Thomas Hanmer told me, that he saw with regret, that Mr. Thomas Harley was chosen to be sent to our court, as he would have wished that they had made choice of a man of quality and merit, and whose zeal for the protestant succession, as established in the Electoral family, was known to all the world, in order that the Elector might place confidence in a man of that character. When I made him observe the little attention which the present ministers paid to my master, he appeared to be surprised, and said to me, that, although they called themselves of a certain party, he hoped, that a judgment would not be formed of the whole party from a bad specimen."

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There is a copy of a letter giving an account of the negotiations between France and the Emperor at this time; there is written at the top of it, in Robethon's hand, "Paris, 31 January, 1714, From the Secretary of the Pretender's mother to lord Aillsbury." It concludes with the following passage: "Our friend at Bar-le-duc remains firm to his persuasions as yet, though many efforts have been made to bring him over. It was a great comfort to his mother to find his firmness in that point, by a letter under his own hand. We shall see what the darling hopes of a crown will do, when proper steps are made towards it."

Schutz to Robethon.

London, ^{22 January,}
_{2 February,} 1714.

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Schutz fils 8.
p. 202.

"I Was with the treasurer, in the morning, the day before yesterday, and I don't fail to go regularly every day he sees company: but I own to you, I was surprised when he told me, that if I had any thing particular to say to his cousin before his departure, he would come to speak to me, after having assured me several times, of his own accord, that he himself, as well as his cousin, would speak to me of all the points on which he proposed to explain himself in Hannover. I made no answer to this discourse, so inconsistent with those he had held with me formerly; but confined myself to recommending to him again the business of the arrears; about which, he answered, he would speak to me before his cousin set out."

Schutz expected, that the news of a French armament upon the news of the Queen's death, and the march of troops to Boulogne and Calais, would open the eyes of the public.

Schutz to Bothmar.

Ibid. p. 205.

A copy, in Schrader's hand, of a letter written by Schutz in cyphers.

London, ^{26 January,}
_{6 February,} 1714.

"I Wrote to you, that, the morning after the Queen found herself indisposed, an express came from Windsor to the abbé Gaultier, to inform him of her situation, of which he sent immediate intelligence to France. Upon this, no doubt, the armaments of which you speak were begun."

Lord

Lord Halifax went to thank lord Oxford, for acquainting him with his cousin's embassy to Hannover; but Oxford said nothing of the subject of this embassy; and the cousin himself, who came to wait of lord Halifax, and staid an hour, was as silent about it; upon which Halifax said to him, "That he wished lord Oxford, who had all the power in his hands, would put our succession out of danger; that he would thereby do a signal service to the nation, which he would render happy, and gain to himself the gratitude and favour of all the family that should succeed to the throne: but if he would not do this, he must not be surpris'd, if he (Halifax) and all those who were of his opinion, should exert all their efforts in spite of him, to put this affair in a clear point of view, and to save themselves with their country. He assures me, they must undoubtedly meditate some mischievous blow; and that, if they do not bring in the Pretender, it will not be for want of attempting it.

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Our friends hope, that the States-general will watch the motions of the French, and have the six Scotch regiments in their pay, in some place near the sea, in order that they may be sent over instantly in case of need."

Schutz to Robethon.

A copy, in Robethon's hand, of a letter written by Schutz in cyphers.

February 6th, N. S. 1714.

"IT is certain, that lord Bolingbroke wrote, yesterday, to Arthur More, to tell him, that the Queen is in a dangerous situation. He said, God grant she may live till Friday next; adding, that he has not yet been able to regulate every thing with her; but that, if she lives to that day, he has great hopes to see their design succeed. Sir Patrick Lawless saw her Majesty last night, and having returned from her about midnight, he went to Mons. de la Faye, who set out instantly for France."

Several men of quality applied again to Schutz about the Elector's sending over the prince. Many of them expected to be sent to the Tower as soon as the French designs were ripe. A friend gave 100 l. to an officer for going to France, to learn with certainty, if the Irish troops were assembled in the neighbourhood of Bologne.

There is a letter from Kreyenberg, in High Dutch, either to Robethon or Bothmar of this date. He gives a very particular account of the

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Papers,
vol. marked
Schutz fils 8.
p. 209.

Ibid. p. 214.

Queen's

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Queen's sickness. She had great pain in the stomach and belly, with a difficulty of breathing; some called it a colic, and others a gout in the stomach. The physicians were sent for by express; in the mean time, doctor Arbuthnot, who was alone in waiting, prescribed the necessary remedies, which for a considerable time had no effect; but, at length, the Queen had the long wished for *beneficium ventris*, and with some violence, by which however she was much relieved, but still is thought by no means to be out of danger.

Mr. de la Faye, a gentleman of great credit at the French court, was suddenly called out of company at night, by Mons. d'Iberville. He made ready to go immediately post to Paris. At 12 at night he was equipped for his journey; but was obliged to wait till 6 in the morning, to get lord Bolingbroke's dispatches, with which he set out for Dover.

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Schutz fils 8.
p. 211.

Schutz to Robethon.

London, ^{29 January,}
_{9 February,} 1714.

"TO-day the lord treasurer did not tell me so positively, as the day before yesterday, that the Pretender had left Bar. This is surprising! Abbé Gaultier said, that he went to Luneville, and that he would advise him to go to Rome, where I wish he was."

Ibid. p. 213.

The same to the same;—and of the same date.

A copy in Robethon's hand, of what was written by Schutz in cyphers.

"I Employed a friend to beg of Sir Thomas Hanmer, who is an intimate friend of Mr. Bromley's, to be so good as to sound him, as to his intentions towards the succession. He did so; and Bromley protested to him, that he had it as much at heart as he was against the Pretender. He went still farther, and discovered his suspicions against some of the present ministry; but Bromley affirmed, that he was not just to them; at least, he assured him, that he did not observe any such thing in their words or actions. This, together with his sending his son to Hannover, may be a reason for believing what he says, at least with regard to himself."

Applications from several people for the coming over of the Electoral Prince, and the reasons for it, are repeated over again in this letter: "It is not a panic terror which makes them reason in this manner; but all the

the actions of the ministers discover, that they will forget nothing in the Queen's last moments for putting the finishing hand to a work, in which if they fail, Bolingbroke said, more than once, they were ruined. What are you afraid of, to displease a Queen and a ministry who want to ruin you?"

Bromley denied to Sir Thomas Hanmer, that an armament was preparing in France.

George Ridpath to Bothmar.

Further particulars of Ker of Kerland.

Rotterdam, February 9th, 1714.

"AS to Ferguson, who calls himself Ker of Kerland, the character I have given of him may be depended on. I am of your Excellency's opinion, that the letter you was pleased to send a translation of, is of his own framing, and it confirms me that he is sent as a spy by my lord treasurer; for the plan is, according to the directions which his lordship gave to one of his spies, to fish out matter for a plot to be charged on the Whigs, for bringing in the house of Hannover by force, during her Majesty's life, which the spy himself discovered to one of my friends."

Ridpath, in this long and tedious letter, confutes all that Ker had written of the Cameronians and of the Presbyterians in general, and of the influence and conduct of his predecessors, as well as his own. "It's true he had interest enough among the Cameronians, on his wife's account, at the time of the Union, to keep them from breaking up the parliament; but he was well paid for it, by the lord Godolphin and the D. of Queensberry, and by that money bribed others to concur with him; but that being now known, the Cameronians hate him and call him a traitor."

Ferguson, it seems, had married the eldest daughter of Ker of Kerland, and the male heirs being extinct, assumed the name of the family. "He did get money from lord Godolphin, on pretence of his interest with the Cameronians, and that he was courted by France; but upon the change, he played the knave, and endeavoured to blacken the late ministry, as not having listened to his information of a Jacobite plot, and that he could procure an address from 15,000 Cameronians for settling

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the Hannover succession, and by this means got money from the present lord treasurer, and I believe he has been his tool ever since.*

Bothmar and Robethon thought Ridpath an useful correspondent.

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February 12th.—“ I have received two letters from England by the last post; one of them confirms the character I gave your Excellency of Ferguson, *alias* Ker of Kerland. It is from a relation of his, that I write for a fuller account of his character; he says, he is one of the worst men upon earth, begs me to have no manner of concern with him, and that I would advise all my friends to beware of him, as of the plague.”

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Schutz fils 8.
p. 218.

Extracts of Letters from Schutz to Robethon.

Schutz to Robethon.

A copy in Robethon's hand of what Schutz wrote in cyphers.

Translation.

February 13th, 1714.

“**T**HE protestations which the treasurer himself made to me, and which his cousin made to me by his orders, that he would take care of our affairs, in case of the Queen's death, have little weight with me; as I imagine we are not much obliged to those, who will not shew themselves to be our friends, but when it will not be in their power to do us any harm. You may be persuaded, that in case of the Queen's death, every thing will be regulated here to the satisfaction of his Electoral Highness; so that Mons. de Bothmar will have no difficulties to surmount when he arrives, the Queen's death being not, as I wrote you frequently, what we have most to fear; besides, if there will be any danger then, it will be over before Mons. de Bothmar can be informed of it.

You'll see the instructions I want are not for what shall be done in case of the Queen's death, but in case the Pretender comes during her life. It is not the want of a leader, in case of her death, which embarrasses; but who shall be a leader in case of an enterprise by France against this kingdom during her Majesty's life.”

Ibid, p. 227.

The same to the same.

London, 1st February, 1714.

“**I** Was at the lord treasurer's the day before yesterday, to tell him that his cousin had said nothing particular to me, and ask him if I should

should write any thing to Hannover before he arrived. Upon this, he assured me, that his cousin was fully instructed in all particulars; and that he hoped his Electoral Highness would be highly satisfied with what he would communicate to him.

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There is a rumour current in town, that some man of great quality would go soon to Hannover; but I believe it is without any foundation, and the more so, that they name the duke of Ormond, or the duke of Kent, or lord Halifax."

The same to the same.

A copy in Robethon's hand of what Schutz wrote in cyphers. "This letter," says Robethon at the end of it, "came by a secret address, which I have at Leyden; but the letters of the same date, addressed to the Hague," which have been already inserted, "had not arrived, when the post set out from thence to Hannover, on the 20th."

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Schutz fils 3.
p. 224.

The designs of the ministry.—The dangers of the succession.—Reasons for sending over some Prince of the Electoral family.

February 16th, 1714.

"HAving spoke, a few days ago, to lord Townshend and lord Cowper, on their return from the country, before they had seen any of our friends, they said the very same things to me, which I wrote to you already. I hope, therefore, you will maturely weigh an affair of so great importance, on which depends your succession, and the fortune and lives of those who have your interests at heart in this country, and who are devoted to your service.

Consider further, that if ever the Pretender mounts the throne, (which he will undoubtedly do, if he comes with a French army, *i. e.* 10 or 12,000 men, before any of the family is here) in what manner England and France in conjunction will concur in your ruin, and in the destruction of a family, which they will know they disoblige so much, by robbing it of a crown which was destined for it, and of which they will not believe themselves to be in peaceable possession, while that family remains on a good footing. I leave it to you to consider, what efforts they will make to ruin it, in one way or other.

You must be sufficiently convinced, ever since the same thing has been so often repeated to you, that the ministry of this country make great

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efforts to weaken our party among the people, by making them believe, that the oaths which they take, as well as the act of succession, regard the Electoral family merely because they were the nearest protestant successors, at the time when these acts were past; and that, as they were past merely to prevent the danger of seeing the crown of these kingdoms fall into the hands of a Roman Catholic, the principal design was to have a protestant successor. That, therefore, it was sufficient to answer that design; and that, to find a protestant successor, who was nearer of kin than the Electoral family, would be a thing which was just, and to which every true Englishman ought to be naturally inclined.

These reasonings have their weak side, of which I wish the nation was as thoroughly persuaded as I am. But the real state of this kingdom at present is, that all honest men, without distinction of party, acknowledge, that although of every ten men in the nation nine should be for us, it is certain, that of fifteen Tories there are fourteen who would not oppose the Pretender, in case he came with a French army; but, instead of making any resistance to him, would be the first to receive and acknowledge him.

It is likewise very certain, that if some prince of the Electoral family came now to this country, all those who are at this time in office would hasten to make their court to him, and things would be made quite safe and solidly settled in our favour.

What answer shall I make to these facts, which I know to be certain! How can I encourage men, whom you do not choose to acknowledge or support, either by money or by sending over some one of the family? Or, in short, what other measures can I take, which will give them courage, at a time when they know for certain, that the next session of parliament will not end without infringing the acts of succession? And what remedy do you imagine you can then apply, which may prevent or disconcert their design? Is it Mr. Harley's embassy, and the manner in which the lord treasurer and he explain themselves to me? Is it the proofs, which they give you of their attachment at Utrecht? In short, what is it?"

For my share, Sir, I entreat you to employ all these reasons to convince our master, without being restrained by any apprehensions of hurting my fortune thereby. I had rather lose it, by saving men of honour, who are in the interests of his Electoral Highness, and by showing him the
true

true state in which his affairs are in this country, than fail to inform him of his danger of losing both his succession and perhaps something else.

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These things must undoubtedly appear disagreeable to you. Judge then, how I must consider them, and with what satisfaction I can hear them repeated to me so often, by all those who are generally acknowledged to possess abilities and zeal, and who have had the constancy, till now, of remaining attached to our interests; although, without a miraculous interposition in their favour, as well as in ours, they must believe themselves to be absolutely lost, seeing themselves entirely abandoned by those in whose cause they run every kind of risk."

Monf. Martines to Robethon.

Martines was Resident from the Landgrave of Hesse at Paris. This is a copy in Robethon's hand of a letter written by Martines in cyphers.

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Translation.

Paris, February 19th, N. S. 1714.

"EVERY one here says, that all that the Queen of England does seemingly to remove the Pretender, is but a feint, and that the real design is to give him the crown. Lord Hamilton, who was always here with the late King James, and since with the Pretender, said, some days ago, that he who would be first in London after the Queen's death, would be crowned. If it is the Pretender, he will have the crown undoubtedly; and if it is the Elector of Hannover, he will have it. But it is easier for the latter to be there than for the Pretender, who cannot go but through France, which he is forbid to do, and where he cannot pass but incognito.

But it is very certain, that they furnish him here with all the means of going over speedily to England when the event happens."

Lord

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Schutz fils 8.
p. 229.

Lord Polwarth to Robethon.

Measures taken to support the interests of the family of Hannover, and to oppose the adherents of the Pretender.—A list of the peers and commoners chosen in Scotland, wherein the friends of the family of Hannover and of the Pretender are distinguished.

Original.

SIR,

Edinburg, Feb. ⁹/₂₀, 1714.

"I Wrote to you, on the 6th of January, and then offered my opinion of what I thought was for your service. I know not if my letter came safe. Since that time, and before, I have been following out the method appeared to me the properest to advance that interest I shall ever serve, and which are, to unite upon the main distinction of being friends to the establishment and protestant succession all those whom I had ground to believe wished well to them, but, by some unhappy incidents, differed in minuter matters: and then to engage those I know to be sincere friends to that succession, and of character and interest, in a closer friendship and correspondence with you: both which I have advanced a good deal, notwithstanding of some rubs I have met with in both, needless to be mentioned here, but what you may know afterwards.

Matters, since that time, have pressed a little harder. The Queen, as you must know, has been ill; and, upon the first notice of it, the Jacobites, who have been over looked, while others were under discouragements, and who had provided themselves in arms, seemed ready to make a push for their favourite Pretender; and many of the Popish and Jacobite nobility and gentry came to town, as is suspected with that view. Whereupon, friends, I can't give their names here, met and considered what might be proper upon this emergency. The safety of this place soon appeared to be of the last consequence to the cause in general in this country, both for its being the fate of the government here, and so a right place, more observable and important, for the life and spirit it must give to meaner and remote places, and because of the public money's being for the most part lodged here: a good morsel for their stomachs!

To secure this place, therefore, the magistrates, who are generally well affected, and who have the executive part of the law in their hands, were spoke to, and desired earnestly to augment their guard, and take care it

be

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be in right hands; to arm the honest people of the town, and to have a watchful eye upon all strangers and suspected persons, to prevent a surprise, and so pary the first shock, which probably may be the worst: all which they radyly enough agreed to, and I hope will observe. Care is taken to encourage them, by assurances of support and advice, which you know people of their reach and resolution require not a little; at the same time, what arms can be got are providing for those places of the country may be trusted, and accounts are given of circumstances to friends elsewhere, that things may goe uniformly.

I must own we have more Jacobites here than in other places of Britain, and that they are but two well provided; but still I am perswaded, the honest people, with a very small assistance, will be able to hold head against, if they have non els to deal with; however, care would be taken that the small number of troops here be ordered and disposed of to the best advantage.

These are the measures were thought at present adviseable, which I could not advertise you of sooner, I hope they will pleas; and as need may require, and ther is access, you will send advice of what is thought proper.

I send you now the rest of what I promised, and what I formerly writ of; which is no easie matter, and which I cannot desire you to rely upon, so unfixt are the generallity of mankind. However, that I may not fail in any thing that may possibely be of use to you, I have sent it according to the present situation. You'll understand what I now write by comparing it with what I wrot before. And as to 5, 7, 12, and 14, of the 1st, they have been thought friends of the present establishment and succession; but their behaviour of late has rendered them suspect. The rest have left no ground to doubt them, as you already know.

The 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 32, 33, 34, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42, of the second, have always been reckoned friends to that establishment and succession, upon good grounds: as the 1, 5, 7, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 27, 29, 31, 35, 37, and 40, have been suspected of being friends to the Pretender.

I cannot give you particulars here, but what's write will give you a view of what you desired of me. I have sent also a cypher inclosed, by which I may have occasion to write. You'll pleas to let me know if it comes

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comes safe to hand: ther was a mistake in my former. Lieut. Col. George Douglas is a member to the commons in place of Captain Moody, which you'll pleas to help. I could have sent you some papers are handed about here, the Highland address, and the Pretender's declaration; but I know you have them another way, and I would not give you duple truble. Adieu.

A List of the Members from Scotland to the Parliament 12th of Nov. 1713.

Sixteen Peers.

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| * 1. Duke of Athol. | * 9. Earl of Dondonald. |
| * 2. Earl of Mar. | * 10. Earl of Braidalbin. |
| * 3. Earl of Eglington. | * 11. Earl of Dunmore. |
| * 4. Earl of Kinnoul. | † 12. Earl of Orkney. |
| † 5. Earl of Loudon. | * 13. Earl of Roseberry. |
| * 6. Earl of Findlater. | † 14. Earl of Portmore. |
| † 7. Earl of Selkirk. | * 15. Viscount of Killyth. |
| * 8. Earl of Northesk. | * 16. Lord Balmerino. |

Forty-five Commoners.

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|--|-----------------|
| * 1. George Lockhart of Carnwarth, Esq; | |
| † 2. John Cockburn of Ormiston, Esq; | |
| † 3. George Ballie of Jeriswood, Esq; | |
| † 4. Sir Gilbert Eliot of Stabbs, Bart. | |
| * 5. Mr. John Pringle of Hayning. | |
| † 6. William Morison of Prestongrange, Esq; | |
| * 7. Sir James Hamilton of Rosehaugh, Bart. | |
| † 8. Sir William Johnston of Westerhall, Bart. | |
| † 9. The honourable Brigadier John Stuart. | |
| † 10. John Montgomery of Giffan, Esq; | |
| † 11. The honourable John Campbell. | |
| † 12. Colonel John Campbell. | |
| † 13. Sir Robert Pollock of that ilk, Bart. | |
| * 14. Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn. | |
| † 15. Sir James Carmichal of Bonington, Bart. | |
| * 16. Lord James Murray, Dawallie. | |
| * 17. Colonel James Scot. | |
| * 18. Sir Alexander Cuming of Culter, Bart. | |
| | * 19. Alexander |

- * 19. Alexander Mackenzie of Frazerdale.
- † 20. John Forbes of Culloden.
- † 21. Sir James Campbell of Ardkinlaff.
- * 22. Sir Alexander Erskine, Lord Lyon.
- * 23. Mr. John Carneggy of Boyfick.
- † 24. Alexander Abercomby of Glaffach.
- * 25. Colonel John Stuart of Stuartfield.
- † 26. Alexander Grant of that ilk.
- * 27. Lieutenant colonel George Douglas.
- † 28. Sir John Erskine of Alva, Bart.
- * 29. Lieutenant general Ross.
- † 30. Sir James Stuart of Goodtrees, Bart.
- * 31. George Yeoman of Murie.
- † 32. Colonel John Middleton.
- † 33. Henry Cuninghame, Balquhan.
- † 34. Thomas Smith, Esq.
- * 35. Charles Oliphant, M. D.
- † 36. Sir David Dalrymple, Bart.
- * 37. James Oswald of Dunykeer.
- † 38. Sir John Anstruther, Bart.
- † 39. Mr. William Stuart.
- * 40. Honourable James Murray, Esq.
- † 41. Sir Alexander Maxwell of Monreith.
- † 42. Robert Monro of Foulis.

Sir William Johnston of Westerhall, Sir James Carmichal of Bonington, and William Morison of Prestongrange, are chosen for two places, which makes in all forty-five members to the house of commons. When they make their election, I shall write who they are that are chosen.

Extracts of letters from Schutz and Kreyenberg, to Robethon and Bothmar.

The death of Archbishop Sharp.—Oxford's credit and designs.—The friends of the succession insist upon the coming of the Electoral Prince.

Translation.

THERE are two letters from Schutz, dated $\frac{9}{20}$ February. One of them to Robethon is an original, and the other to Bothmar is a

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copy

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Hannover
papers, vol.
marked
Schutz fil.
p. 231 and
233.

Hannover
Papers
vol. marked
Schutz fil.
p. 231 and
233.

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copy in Schrader's hand. He tells Robethon, that secretary Bromley maintained that there was no armament going forward in France, nor any troops moving down to the coast. He acquaints him with the death of archbishop Sharp, and gives his character. "He (the archbishop) really believed four years ago, with others, whose eyes are now opened, that the church of England was in danger, and concurred in the measures of those who endeavoured to put it in security; but having found out his mistake, and being convinced that they had no other design than to satisfy their avarice, their ambition, and their private resentments, he left them about a year and a half ago, and even hindered her Majesty from giving a deanery in England to the *Sieur Savist*, the favourite and creature of the prime minister, who gave him since a deanery in Dublin."

This is the only mention we meet with of doctor Swift in all the Hanoverian papers.

Hannover
papers, vol.
marked
Schutz fils.
p. 237, 251,
and 256.

There is a letter from Kreyenberg to Robethon in High Dutch, and two in French, from Schutz; one in his own hand, and the other in Galke's, dated $\frac{1}{2}$ February.

They acquaint him, that some motion was to be made in parliament in favour of the Electoral family. "If one may form a judgment from several incidents which happened within a few days, affairs take a turn here to our advantage. Some persons declare openly for us, from whom that was never expected. We shall see if they continue to speak the same language when the parliament meets. Among other circumstances, it is considered as a very lucky one, that orders are given to bring back three regiments of cavalry and two of dragoons, which remained in Flanders till now, although they were a part of the 8000 men which are granted for the defence of Great Britain."

Ibid. p. 259.

London, $\frac{1}{2}$ February, 1714.—Schutz writes to Robethon that the parliament met; that Sir Thomas Hanmer was chosen speaker; that the seals were put to a warrant the preceding week for 5000 *l.* to the Lord Treasurer, as a reward for his good services, and to enable him to purchase a house of the duke of Grafton's, in the neighbourhood of St. James's palace; and that 6000 *l.* were to be given to lord Peterborough, for his services as general of marines.

There

There is a copy in Robethon's hand, of a long letter which Schutz wrote in cyphers, of the same date.

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Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Schutz fil.
p. 261.

"Lord Nottingham came to me to desire me to offer his respects to the Elector, and to intreat him not to take amiss the liberty which he takes of declaring to him his sentiments on the present state of affairs in this country, as he thinks himself in conscience obliged to give him these proofs of his attachments to his service, after having once devoted himself to it.

"As he lays it down for a foundation, that the Queen's ministers are against the succession, and for the Pretender, which he proves by their conduct these two years, he thinks it is not by them we should expect to be maintained in our rights to the succession; and as they are convinced themselves, it would be too late, after the Queen's death, to attempt to set the Pretender on the throne, they will exert themselves to secure it to him during her Majesty's life."

Nottingham thought they would do this by the assistance of France, or in an attempt to alter the regency bill, and expected the Elector would, at last, agree to the only remedy, which all his friends judged would be effectual; viz. to send over the Electoral Prince. "Your friends will not fall, without employing all their efforts to preserve you the crown: and as they see that all their representations to you have been, in vain, that you do not deign to believe them, and judge, perhaps that it is their own interest which influences them to speak in this manner, they will demand of the lord chancellor a writ for the Electoral Prince to take his seat in the house of peers." This would be considered as an invitation from the Queen, and no one would venture to oppose it. "They ask from me," says Schutz, "a positive answer to this directly. They can only represent things to you, and if, after you neglect every thing, they will at least have the satisfaction to have done whatever depends upon them, and will endeavour to support the misfortunes which will happen to them, only because you neglect your interests, by refusing to follow the advice of those who think them inseparable from their own."

P. S. "The design of the ministry is to give a blow to the succession by altering the regency bill, and naming, among the lords justices, after the Queen's death, some who are devoted to the Pretender."

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marked
Schutz fils.
p. 252.

There is a copy in Schrader's hand, of a letter from Schutz to Bothmar, of this date. Both lord Oxford and secretary Bromley declared against the coming of the Electoral Prince, as a thing that would be liable to a thousand inconveniencies. "Oxford has done every thing in his power to be reconciled with the duke of Argyle, and entreated lord Orrery to be always his friend, promising to him, that he would keep himself very quiet in parliament, and do prejudice to none; but both the one and the other continued firm, without giving him the smallest hopes."

Ibid, p. 238.

Kreyenberg to Robethon.

It was rumoured in town, when Kreyenberg wrote this letter, that the Ministry were to propose in Parliament an invitation to the Electoral Prince.—He gives Robethon his opinion of their designs, particularly of Oxford's view in proposing to alter the act of regency.

Translation from the High Dutch.

London ¹⁶/₂₇ February, 1714.

"UPON the late change of the ministry, there was a general rumour that the Queen was to send the earl of Rivers to Hannover, to desire the Elector to send a prince of his family to reside in England, which at that time the treasurer gave out as a thing determined upon, and even told the lords Somers and Halifax, as in great confidence, that the Queen intended to offer the Elector the command of the army in Flanders, and this was told in such a manner that these lords believed it. But it was soon found that this story was only to amuse the nation, and to re-establish credit in some degree; and that the treasurer might know the disposition of the house, as in the infancy of his ministry he could not know how every individual would allow himself to be managed."

"The same rumour was spread two years ago, at the meeting of the parliament; upon which, however, I will not insist, as it appears to have been rather a direct mockery, than that the situation of affairs then required it. But now things are come to a crisis; a new parliament is chosen, and the first session, which is always a delicate matter, has not the desired effect; trade is interrupted; France is victorious over the empire, and behaves with haughtiness to her friends as well as enemies. The lord treasurer, by his haughtiness and breaches of promise, is personally hated

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hated by many people. A considerable party begin to make an outcry about the succession and other things. The bank, and consequently the public credit, is in a very bad situation; the stocks fall; the people are discontented; and lastly, the Queen is in so bad a state of health, that nobody believes she can live long.

In such circumstances, it is not to be wondered that the treasurer falls to his old shifts, and finding that the report of the duke of Kent's going to Hannover has little effect (as every body is persuaded that were the court in earnest, one would be sent of some interest in either party) he now gives out, that the Queen has given occasion to an invitation, and that secretary Bromley was not only to propose it to the lower house, but was in person to go to Hannover, to deliver the Queen's message.

What I have said above of the lord treasurer's conduct, particularly with regard to lord Rivers's embassy, must necessarily raise doubts, as to his sincerity in this,—and not to speak of the Queen's personal inclinations, when one considers the lord treasurer's behaviour, at the very time he makes such great promises, I do not see the least regard can be had to them; I must own that one here, on the spot, can judge of this better, than can be shown by a letter. I shall, however, add one or two remarks.

First, then, I must observe in general, that to make so great and sudden a change of measures, is very difficult, and requires near connexions with another set of people, which hitherto has not happened; neither is the first minister in such a situation, that he can act so cavalierly with France and the Jacobites here, who are not so contemptible a party as is generally believed, without having made up with the other party, as hath been said.

2dly, The Jacobites are more and more encouraged, and are daily placed in all the small posts, of which no lists are kept; and, as to the great employments, it is certain, that lord Stairs and the duke of Argyle have lost theirs.

3dly, The court is busy, at this moment, to get out, by petitions or otherwise, from the house of commons, all those who have distinguished themselves for the succession, and particularly an inquiry is made, in a most scandalous and inquisition-like manner, against Mr. Walpole, who has made himself formidable, and it is resolved to have him *per fas et nefas* voted out of the house.

4thly,

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4thly, There is good reason to believe, that the report of confirming the act of regency, which has been spoken of, is not without grounds, nay, that it appears to be really resolved upon; and the success of this matter is the less doubted of at court, that it appears very plausible to the Tories. To whom they set forth, that in the sealed act, as it now stands, most of the lords of the regency are Whigs, and so they must fall into the hands of their enemies, whereas, if the next successor is fixed by a new instrument, to be registered in Chancery, decency will require that, at least, a certain number of Tories should be named with them. Others say, that the nomination will be left to the Queen and parliament. Be that as it will, it is certain, that if the act of regency undergo this change, it is in fact annulled, and so the strongest wall in favour of the succession, thrown down. How all these things agree with the present offers is easy to judge.

I have endeavoured to flatter myself into a belief, that the lord treasurer acts in this matter uprightly; but can find no reasons to encourage me to such a belief. When one considers that man's humour and way of acting, they may think, that perhaps the Jacobite party grows too strong for him, and that, supposing the Queen's health re-established, to keep that party in awe, and perhaps to get something from France, he will show them he is not in so bad a situation, but that he can do without them, and for some time continue his game without being obliged to declare for the one or the other party. All this might be supposed of this minister, if one did not reflect, that the present step is of too much importance, and that he had not reason to be afraid of the proposals being really brought to a bearing. Those that think he has been obliged to this step against his will, have a better opinion of the lower house than I have, unless the state of the Queen's health is so bad, that there is no appearance of her being able to come to London; allow me to add, that the advantages that the lord treasurer will draw, or seeks to draw, from the present proposals, are these.

1st, In general to amuse the people, and to prevent the fall of credit.

2dly, To prevent some Tories coming into measures with the Whigs, and so hinder these last from making some disagreeable overtures in the beginning of the session; and

3dly,

3dly, To afford to these that pretend to be friends to the succession, yet for private interest will not break with the treasurer, an excuse for not meddling, in any thing, in favour of the succession; so that the treasurer will by this means, gain some weeks, during which time he will be able to bring his forces into order, and may then laugh at every one for the rest of the session, and undertake, with safety, to change the act of regency.

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Lord Cowper having understood that there was a writ made out, at the chancellor's office, for the hereditary prince, as duke of Cambridge, to appear in parliament, employed the clerk who gives out the writs to the peers, to enquire at the lord chancellor, whether he should bring the Electoral Prince's writ to the envoy of the Elector's court. The chancellor received him in a very angry manner, enquired who had employed him in that message, reprimanded him severely, and ordered that the writ should not be delivered out of the office, even though enquired for. The officers sent by Mr. Stanhope to the Boulonnoise and Flanders are returned, and report that they found no troops in motion there, only that nine Irish battalions and a regiment of dragoons were advanced from Lorrain, and in quarters at Douay, Valenciennes, and Hesdin, and that the officers said openly, that they had orders to be ready to march upon a minute's warning.

After I had ended this letter, I have learned from good authority, that Mr. Harley's instructions bear, to let his Electoral Highness know, that a faction of ill disposed people disturbed her Majesty's government, by raising jealousies and alarms, particularly with regard to the succession, notwithstanding the act settling the succession was in full force; that her Majesty would however, do all she could, with honour, to make his Highness easy as to that matter; but that, if to chagrin her, an invitation should be proposed to parliament, she would look upon it as a personal affront. I cannot be sure of the truth of this information, but as I had it from good hands, I thought it my duty to communicate it."

The Earl of Strafford to the Princess Sophia.

He endeavours to convince her that the Tories are her best friends.

MADAM,

Hague, Feb. 23, 1714.

"BEING returned to my post again, on this side the water, give me leave to remind your Royal Highness of your most devoted hum-

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Strafford;
and a French
translation,
vol. marked
Bothmar x.
No. 64.

1714.
February.

ble servant, and to beg the continuation of the honour of your good graces, and those of your commands, if you have any in this country. I thought Mr. Harley would have been over, by this time, and then Monsieur Lahonton would have seen the effects your Royal Highness has over me, since nothing is harder at our court to obtain, than money; though I must own, in this case, naming your name, my lord treasurer was as ready as I was to obey any command of your Royal Highness's. I could not have imagined, till I was in England, the heats and animosities there is amongst people even of the same principles; and, believe me, Madam, all the noise made about the Pretender is groundless; and the Tories are full as much in your interest, or rather more, than the Whigs, though the latter have of late got up a way of threatening the Tories with the protestant succession, as if your Royal Highness, or those of your illustrious house, who should succeed the Queen, were not to reign over the Tories, as well as the Whigs. I am satisfied that your Royal Highness knows Great Britain too well, not to know who are honest men, and who otherwise, without the distinguishing names of Whig and Tory: for I am sure you know, what is called Tory, are those which are for the church of England, which is all or almost all the clergy of England; a great majority in the parliament and nation, and almost all the landed men in the kingdom; who should be more desirous than they to secure their religion and liberty to their posterity; and you may depend upon it, Madam, they are all heartily in your interest? I need no better proofs, than that famous book of Steel's, called, The Crisis, which the Whigs cry up so much, and which I think is demonstration to your Royal Highness, that you have nothing to fear from the Tories. Are they not all sworn to your succession? Have they not all abjured the Pretender? And is there one man either in parliament, ministry, or any place of trust, that is not sworn to support your succession, and to oppose the Pretender's? Are not our laws made so strong, that it is high treason to do any thing against your succession? Can any one pretend to suppose, that all the clergy, all the men of the greatest estates in the kingdom, would at once venture soul, and body, and fortune, to be in the interest of one, who puts their religion and liberties in danger? Can any honest man pretend to say, that all these people would voluntarily engage to be damned, to be hanged, and to lose, at once, all their estates and liberty, from themselves and

and posterity? All I could wish is, that means could be found out to quiet people's minds, and that the protestant succession should not be more the cry of one party than the other; that it should be (as it is) esteemed the good of both parties and of all the kingdom. I flatter myself I have some place in your good opinion, else I durst not take the liberty I do to assure you, that I know all the present ministry is as much, or more sincerely in your interest than the last were. I had a very good opportunity to know it; for when the Queen was lately so ill, that people began to make reflection, if she should have died, and being to be, by my post, as first lord of the admiralty, one of the seven regents, or lords justices, in case of a demise, I saw so entire and so strong a resolution to adhere to the protestant succession, that I shall never be more in any doubt about it. Let me beg, Madam, that what I have writ may be kept to yourself, and that you will not show my letter, but burn it; being I only mean what I write for your own private information, being you have always used me with that goodness, I may say kindness, that I can't do too much to show my gratitude and real zeal for your interest. The Queen, by all our relations, is so perfectly recovered, that she may live many years; wherefore, I shan't be suspected of flattery, and were she in a worse state of health, I durst not have ventured to write on this topick with the freedom I have done, for fear of a false interpretation."

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The Duke of Marlborough to Robethon.

In the Duke's hand; but not signed.

He rejoices that the Dutch intend to oppose the designs of the English ministry, to bring in the Pretender.—He received his Electoral Highness's commission, and will hazard life and fortune in his service.

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Bothmar, x:
No. 147.

SIR, Feb. 26, 1714.
"I Receiv'd some time ago the favour of your letter of the 26th of January, but defer'd answering it, til Mr. Cadogan returned from the Hague with an account of the situation of things and disposition of people there, since her Majesty's illness. I am very glad to find by him, the republick takes the alarm, and begins to wake out of the lethargy it has fallen into, since the peace at Utrick. It is true, indeed, the Queen's health growing so bad, as in all probability she can never recover it, and the minister's making such open steps in favour of the Pretender,

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as to leave no doubt of their intentions to place him on the throne, has brought things so near a decision, that unless the states design to look on and see us lost, and consequently themselves, they could no longer remain inactive, or delay entering into such vigorous measures, as are absolutely necessary to save us both. The first and great mark of their present good disposition, is their secret resolution to set out, as soon as possible, a strong squadron of men of war; for which they have found a very plausible pretext, when their preparations are so far advanced, as to oblige them to own it. They have likewise, in case of her Majesty's death, agreed on the most proper means for assisting his Electoral Highness with their troops, and doing every thing that depends on them for his service, which I omit explaining, since you have been particularly informed of it by Monsieur Bothmar. I shall only add, that they have promised to go on with their sea-preparations, though her Majesty should continue to languish on for some weeks longer; for it has been shewn them, our danger would be greatest in that case, for it would give the ministers time to concert every thing with France, for bringing in the Pretender, even whilst the Queen was alive; therefore, all measures to support the succession of his Electoral Highness, would prove ineffectual, unless a fleet was ready to obstruct the Pretender's passage, and to convoy such troops as must be sent to join with the nation, in order to resist him.

Mr. Cadogan returns this week to the Hague, and intends, in a few days after, for England; the meeting of the parliament obliging him to hasten there. He hopes, before he goes, to receive the honour of his Electoral Highness's commands; and our friends in England assure themselves, such vigorous resolutions will speedily be taken, as the greatness of the danger requires. I have so often acquainted you with my thoughts on this subject, as that makes it unnecessary to say any thing more of it now. I have received the commission his Electoral Highness has been pleased to honour me with. I must beg of you to make him my most humble and sincere acknowledgements, for this new mark of favour and confidence. I shall make the best use I can of it, for his service, in the advancing of which I am always ready to hazard both life and fortune. I constantly transmit whatever I receive of consequence from England, to Monsieur Bothmar, that he may communicate it to the pensioner, at the same

same time he forwardes it to Hannover. As to what you desire to know concerning Dunkerk and the English troopes on this side, Mr. Cadogan having fully explained it in the last paper sent you by Mr. Bothmar, I forbear troubling you with repeating it. I must desire you will assure the Electoral Prince of my most humble respects, and that you will believe me, with truth, Yours."

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Extracts of Letters from Schultz and Kreyenberg, from London, to Bothmar at the Hague, and Robethon in Hannover, with letters from Bothmar to Robethon, and copies of two letters he wrote to Cadogan, March, 1714.

The Whigs offer to allow the Tories all the merit and advantages of securing the succession.—They will not make any motion in parliament.—They complain they are abandoned.—They will not hazard any thing in the cause.—Reasons for and against the coming of the Electoral Prince.—His writ of summons to the parliament.—Pensions asked for some peers.—The character and views of Whigs and Tories in general, and of several individuals among them.

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Bothmar x.
p. 247.
Ibid. p. 282.

Kreyenberg to Bothmar.

This is a copy of a letter which Kreyenberg wrote to Bothmar, as appears by another from him, dated a few days thereafter, to Robethon.

Translation.

London, March 6, N. S. 1714.

"OUR friends having, for a long time, deliberated on the measures they should take for the ensuing parliament, have at last agreed, that their best conduct will be to meddle in nothing, and to propose nothing in parliament. The reason they commonly and openly allege is, to shew lord Anglesea, Sir Thomas Hanmer, and men of that character, who have credit with the High Church party, and pretend to be our friends, that it is not from a spirit of faction they have acted till now, and they can be quiet, and do not desire forcibly to assume to themselves the glory of securing the succession, but are ready to assign to them, the Tories, all the honour and all the merit of it, and to promise to second them, at the time, and in the manner they themselves shall prescribe.

Besides they saw, as they told Kreyenberg, that all their efforts would be ineffectual, unless the Elector took some decisive step, on his side, and they were not sure but he attributed their conduct more to private than to public views. They would wait, until they heard what Mr.

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Harley did at Hannover, and what answer was given him, and they would regulate themselves accordingly. This resolution made Kreyenberg very uneasy, as he was afraid it proceeded from despair, and from an apprehension that they were blamed and abandoned by the Elector.

With regard to my lord Anglesea, I can venture to say, from my own knowledge of him, that he is rather for the succession, than for the Pretender: but, at the same time, we may depend upon it, that he will do nothing, but in certain circumstances, and that he will not break with the court, unless the Elector or the Electoral Prince is here; and that is the case of Sir Thomas Hanmer and of several others.

Lord Notingham urged Anglesea very much, to enter into measures for proposing an invitation; but he always answered, that it was not necessary, and that it could not be done with propriety, as the Electoral Prince, in quality of peer, could come over whenever he pleased, and as all the Oxfords in the universe could not hinder him."

Schutz to Robethon.

Schutz argues in this letter, as Kreyenberg argued in the preceding.

Translation.

London, ^{23 February,}
6 March, 1714.

"I Was informed, a few days ago, says he, that the Queen's ministry triumph when they are together, especially in their drunkenness, at their having, at last, engaged her Majesty to order Mr. Harley, to make it clearly known to the Elector and Electress, that the coming of any one of the Electoral Family into this country, would displease her infinitely; offering them, in other respects, all the security which they themselves would choose to ask, for further establishing the succession in their family."

From thence Schutz draws several arguments for the coming of the Electoral Prince, and then proceeds.

"You have been already told, that, of ten who are for us, nine will accommodate themselves to the times, and embrace the interests of him who will be the first on the spot, and who will undoubtedly have the best game and all the hopes of success, rather than expose themselves, by their opposition, to a civil war, which appears to them a real and an immediate evil; whereas, they flatter themselves, that the government of the

March.
Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Bothmar x.
p. 303.

the Pretender, whom they look upon as a weak prince, will not be such a great evil, as a civil war. And we want to flatter ourselves, when we imagine, that those who call themselves our friends, are such heroes, as that the love of their religion, and their attachment to us, will animate them sufficiently to expose themselves willingly to the greatest dangers, to maintain the rights of a family, which is distant from them, and which always shewed great indifference for the succession to the crown of these kingdoms."

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In another letter of the same date, he expresses great impatience to know what impressions his arguments have made at Hannover. "Although I ought to be at perfect ease, whatever turn affairs may take now, as I did not neglect to give you all the necessary and suitable advices, I own that I take the thing too much to heart, and find my situation disagreeable, to hear every day those whom you yourselves acknowledge to be your best friends, complain that you abandon them, and wantonly neglect our interests, notwithstanding their intreaties and their clear representations to you of the danger to which you are exposed; when, at the same time, I understand, that in spite of all my importunities, there is any hesitation to represent to our master, what concerns him so much to know.

Hannover
papers, vol.
marked
Bothmar x.
p. 303.

After repeating the complaints of their friends, and their resolution to do nothing in parliament, as mentioned in former letters from himself and from Kreyenberg, he writes, for the first time, about an affair which Kreyenberg had mentioned in a letter inserted above, and which made a great noise thereafter.

"Chancellor Harcourt, to whom it was proposed to send to me the writ of the duke of Cambridge, without his being able to suspect that the proposal came from me, gave a very bad reception to the person who made the motion to him, and strictly forbid his clerks to bring it to me, or to give it to those who might call for it, without an express order from him. You may judge now the reasons of this prohibition, and whether it proceeds from himself alone. The writ is in his office, in all the forms, with the great seal, and in a more authentic manner than the writ of other peers, from whence one may judge, that the princes of the blood usually had them.

I imagine you easily conceive the embarrassment I must be in, in regard to this writ. A great many, knowing that the chancellor has not sent it
to

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to me, are surpris'd I do not ask it. Now, how can I do so, having no orders from you? I own however, that this alone would not hinder me, if I could flatter myself, that, after I shall receive it and send it by express to Hannover, which I would have done if I had got it, the Electoral Prince will immediately set out for this country.

Two things, he said, hindered him from asking the writ: he was afraid that the chancellor would venture to refuse it; and that the Electoral Prince, though he got it, would not come over."

Hannover
papers, vol.
marked
Bothmar x.
p. 268.

Schutz to Bothmar.

A copy in Schrader's hand.

Translation.

London, $\frac{26 \text{ February,}}{9 \text{ March,}}$ 1714.

"THE Queen, since she has been in town, called several peers into her closet, and among others, the duke of Kent, to whom she said, that she hoped, he would always join her ministers in all the affairs that might be debated in parliament. But upon his answering, that he would be always willing to declare himself for every thing, that would be of real service to her Majesty in parliament, and for the good of his country in general, she told him, that she intended to send lord Oxford to him, that they might converse together upon that matter. He has been actually with him for two hours, speaking as ambiguously as usual. He wanted to prove he was a Whig, because it was by his means that lord Cowper was made a peer; but when it was proposed to bring over some one of the family of Lunenburg, he said, that would be to place her coffin before her Majesty's eyes; and that those who had any respect and friendship for her, could never propose a thing that was so disagreeable to her.

Those who have seen lord Anglesea and are his friends, acknowledge that he is a great deal more cool than he was before he went to Ireland, and he declines hitherto, to enter into what our friends propose to him. One may judge by lord Orkney's discourses, that he will go with the court-party, in every measure, as well as lord Lexington, whom the ministry found means to satisfy. They say very openly, that money and offices, now a-days, have charms which it is impossible to resist. All

this is a confirmation of what has been said already so often, that there will be a universal corruption here, unless great care is taken."

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Schutz, in a letter to Bothmar, dated three days after this, says, "that the Queen mentioned to the duke of Kent, the inviting over any of the house of Lunenburg, as a thing she expected he would not be for."

Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Bothmar x.
p. 276.
Ibid. No. 63.

Bothmar to Robethon.

Translation.

Hague, March 10, N. S. 1714.

"I Don't know if Monsieur de Bernstorff will choose to show my letter on the affairs of England, to our master. It contains a thing which will not displease him; which is the means of excusing himself to his friends for not sending the Electoral Prince to England. But, on the other hand, he will not be pleased, that they insist again so strongly, on pensions to some poor lords. It were to be wished his Electoral Highness would comply, in that instance, at least, with his friends, as he refuses to grant their other demands."

Bothmar, it appears, had been applied to again, by Cadogan, for the pensions. He thanks Robethon for sending him a translation of lord Strafford's last letter to the Electress, and the answer from the Electress, to be mentioned hereafter in the order of time, is in the terms which Bothmar directs.

See this
translation,
Ibid. No. 64.

Schutz to Robethon.

Translation.

London, $\frac{2}{13}$ March, 1714.

"THE lord treasurer told me, three days ago, to take care of myself, as something happened lately, of which the Elector must be informed, and that, for that purpose, he intended to dispatch a messenger to his cousin. Although I asked him several times what he meant by that, it was not possible for me to draw the smallest explanation from him, contenting himself with saying, that since Tom's departure, some change happened in affairs here."

Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Schutz fils 8.
p. 271.

Kreyenberg to Robethon.

Translation.

London, $\frac{2}{13}$ March, 1714.

"KREYENBERG having written four pages about the complaints of the Whigs, of their being abandoned, and their resolutions of doing nothing

Ibid. p. 282.

1714.
March.

nothing in parliament, and about lord Anglesea's conduct, ambition, &c. proceeds to give his opinion and advice in the following terms :

“ With regard to the Tories in general, I am very far from calling them all Jacobites ; but the misfortune is, that they suffer themselves to be led, and it is certain, they will never oppose the Pretender, at the hazard of the smallest part of their fortune. They don't mince the matter in their conversations ; although they allow that their religion and liberty would be more secure, by holding to the present establishment ; yet they flatter themselves, that by good laws, both the one and the other may be very well secured. They are not the lowest class of people who reason in this manner. It is but four or five days ago, that lord Guilford, speaking to lord Cowper, as intimate private friends, about the rumours which are current concerning the Pretender, told him sincerely, he could swear he knows nothing yet of a formed design of bringing in the Pretender, and does not believe there is any ; but I frankly acknowledge, says he, that if matters ever go any length, the greatest part of us Tories will willingly submit, while you Whigs will, perhaps, be fools enough to expose your country to a civil war, and to be laid waste by the French on the one hand, and by the Germans on the other.”

Kreyenberg writes, that many of the Whigs would act, and that some of them argued already in the same manner, and maintained, that nothing could justify a civil war if they could possibly be safe without it. They saw, that if the Pretender was once come over, it would be very easy to hinder Holland or Denmark from giving any assistance : “ and, what is still worse,” continues Kreyenberg, “ the Whigs do nothing new ; partly from the want of power, and partly from their chagrin, at seeing themselves neglected and abandoned, and it will not be long before they will file off, after the rest ; I do not mean, that they will all become Jacobites ; but one will retire to the country, another leave the kingdom perhaps, and so on with the rest.

Till now, the Whigs in general allowed themselves to be governed by Devonshire, Sunderland, Somers, Halifax, Townshend, Cowper, Oxford, and lately by Nottingham likewise, merely from the opinion they have, that these noblemen act in perfect concert with the Elector, and have great credit with his Electoral Highness : but they begin to perceive, that matters do not go on as they imagined ; and as men seldom find out

the true medium in things of this kind, they carry their reasonings farther than is just. The duke of Argyle, since he has got a little into the secret of the Whigs, appears to be greatly surpris'd, and God knows, if in the humour he is in now, he will not join the first. He dropt some words to me, the other day, which convince me that his blood boils, and that he is a man who will consult only his own interest."

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Schutz writes to Robethon, in a letter of the same date, that lord Montrose came from Scotland, on purpose to repeat to him what all the noblemen of that country, in the interest of the family, had repeated to him before, about the necessity of sending over the Electoral Prince, or doing something that would convince their friends they were not entirely abandoned.

Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Schutz fils 8.
p. 286.

Schutz to Robethon.

Ibid. p. 288.

A copy in Robethon's hand of what Schutz wrote in cyphers.

Translation.

March 21, 1714.

"**L**ORD Halifax entreated me to inform you of what he is resolved to do. He has charged those among the Whigs who have most intercourse with the Tories, to tell them, that for his share, he would not speak about the succession any more in parliament. That they, the Tories, being out of question, the majority might do with regard to it, whatever they pleased. That he renounced for ever all the advantages which might result to him, in case the succession should take place, and that they might take all the merit of it to themselves.

He made this declaration, only because he saw no other means of opening people's eyes, and he has some design of making it in parliament. According to his opinion, unless the Queen or the Pretender dies soon, you may look upon the succession as lost. The blame, he says, cannot fall upon him, since it is certain, that if you had followed, even lately, his advice, and the advice of all your friends, you would have prevented that article in the Queen's speech, by which the ministry boast they have shut the door against any of the family who would choose to come here.

Sir Thomas Hanmer, whom I saw yesterday, told me, that he did not despair yet; but it is certain, that he was duped, by lord Oxford and Mr. Bromley, in the affair of the address of the commons. Besides, lord

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Anglesea will not oppose the ministry, with whom some of his friends tell me he is reconciled. In short, they will not contribute to bring over any of the family, although they allow it is the only means of putting the succession out of all danger; and the motive of this shameful conduct is an apprehension that the Whigs may enter into employments, and all the protestations which the Whigs incessantly make to shew they renounce them, appear to them incredible, and not to be trusted."

Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Bothmar 10.
No. 67.

Bothmar to Robethon.

Translation.

Hague, March 20, N. S. 1714.

"I Wrote to-day to Mr. Cadogan two letters, by different addressees, for he wanted I should write to him in particular concerning the pensions, that he might not be obliged to communicate it to every one. I inclose to you a copy of both. I regret very much, that we have not been able to comply with the desire of our friends, in the article of pensions. It would have augmented considerably their affection for us."

Ibid.

Copy of the ostensible letter from Bothmar to Cadogan, mentioned in the preceding.

Translation.

Hague, March 20, N. S. 1714.

"HOPING that this letter will find you safely arrived, I acquit myself of my promise, to give you an account of the business of which you spoke to me here. I shall begin with the proposal of the Electoral Prince's journey to England.

The Elector, having known, long ago, that the Queen was averse from seeing any of his family at her court, hesitated always for that reason, to send the Prince, his son. However, he would have complied at length with the importunities of his friends in England, if notice had not been given to him, that Mr. Harley was charged by the Queen to intimate to him, that the sending the prince or any of the Electoral family, would disoblige her highly, and that she would oppose their coming. It is likewise easy to perceive, that her Majesty's speech to the parliament referred to that. The Elector hopes therefore, his friends will consider, that these circumstances render this journey impracticable, unless he has a mind to come to an open rupture with the Queen. You and other friends may judge, Sir, if that would be seasonable; if it would be for

the

the advantage or disadvantage of the succession; and if affairs at home and abroad are in a situation to justify such an extremity.

1714.
March.

Since it appears then, to be impracticable to bring into the kingdom, the successor, whom the laws destine to the throne, it will be the more necessary to secure the protestant succession, by removing the competitor. The Elector made instances for that purpose to the Queen, by the late baron de Grote, who gave a memorial on the subject to the lord treasurer: he will continue to do so; when Mr. Harley arrives, he will give it to him in writing; and baron de Schutz will have orders to speak in the same style at your court.

His Electoral Highness is of opinion likewise, that the regency-bill should not be changed from a pretence of amending it. He will shew Mr. Harley likewise, that he is satisfied with it, and that he wishes it may be preserved entire, which baron de Schutz had orders already to tell to the lord treasurer and to the rest of the Queen's ministers. If there is any thing else to be done, for the greater security and further establishment of the Protestant Succession, his Electoral Highness resigns himself to the opinions of his friends, who are the most competent judges for deciding concerning the utility, or necessity, as well as practicability of measures for that purpose.

The Queen's speech gives room to think, that the court intends to make things, which concern the Protestant Succession, the subject of deliberation. It is to be wished, that the result may contribute to its firmer establishment, and to be hoped, that there is no intention of making a law to forbid the Protestant Successor to come into the kingdom, during the life of the Queen. It would be injurious to him to be put thereby, in some measure, on the same footing with the Pretender.

As to the rest, Sir, you will inform our friends of the good disposition of this State in favour of the Protestant Succession, and of what they were prepared to do, in case the Queen had died, and of what the Elector himself was resolved to do. The Queen's recovery does not make them lose sight of these things. The Emperor's peace changes a little the state of affairs; but he will continue in arms for three months yet, at least, it being impossible to conclude the peace finally before that time. Endeavours will be used in the mean time to bring about an agreement between the Emperor and the States about the barrier, in order that his Imperial Majesty may have a good number of troops in the Low

1714.
March.

Countries. He always assures the Elector, that he has the affair of the Succession much at heart †, and the King of Prussia likewise gives the strongest assurances to the same purpose."

Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Bothmar 10.
No. 67.

Copy of the private letter from Bothmar to Cadogan.

Translation.

Hague, March 20, N. S. 1714.

"AFTER having written to you a letter, which our friends may see, on the three articles, of which we spoke together here, I take the liberty, according to our agreement, of writing to you in particular, this billet, on the article of pensions, especially as the answer, in that respect, is not such as I could wish; for they write to me, that the Elector does not choose at all to enter into that affair, believing that a beginning might lead him into an expence infinitely above his income, as he has not such a purse for things of that kind, as the lord treasurer. All the representations which were made to him, on the subject, could not bring him to a more favourable resolution.

My friend writes to me, that our friends in England should advance this money without the Elector's interfering, being certain that they shall be reimbursed, as soon as he or his mother shall come to the throne, or as soon as a pension, in the mean time, is settled on the successor. I imagine one must place something more than confidence in you, to make this proposal to you. I entreat you, Sir, to give, agreeably to your friendship for his Electoral Highness, the best turn you can to this denial. I am persuaded that, excepting such expences, he will do every thing that can be expected from him."

Ibid.
vol. marked
Strafford.

Extracts of letters from the Princess Sophia to the Earl of Strafford, and from the Earl of Strafford to the Princess Sophia.

March, 1714.

THE Electress, in a letter to Strafford, the 20th of March, and in another without a date, but supposed to be written about the same time, recommends to him the Protestants in the Palatinate, Piedmont, and the Cevennes, and desires him to interest the Queen in their favour.

"We have Mr. Lombard here, who goes to England to be made a doctor. He preaches to the English here, and means to give them the

† Yet he listened, two months before, to a proposal made by the Pretender to marry an arch-duchess. He even, in some measure, recommended his own sister to that prince.

communion at Easter, in the house of Monsieur Dalay, the Queen's resident. I don't believe, however, that he considers my church as schismatical. That does very well in England, where modes of worship distinguish parties, and where the church established by law should be always predominant: but in foreign countries, I imagine it is even political to approve of whatever is against the Pope."

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March.

She declares in the sequel, that she has a very high personal esteem for Strafford; that she is of no party; that she has an aversion even to the name of Whig and Tory; that she has a regard for Mr. Harley; and that there is no place where more fervent prayers are put up for the Queen's health than at Hannover.

This letter is an answer to a letter from his lordship already inserted. There is in another volume in an unknown hand, a copy of what she was directed to write to him in this letter about the odious distinctions of Whigs and Tories in England.

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Papers, vol.
marked
Bothmar 10.
No. 65.

Extract of a letter from the Earl of Strafford to the Princess Sophia. He made representations to the French and Sicilian ambassadors, in favour of the Protestants.—In concert with the States General, he called together all the Ministers of the Protestant Princes.—He writes concerning Bothmar's conduct on that occasion.

Original.
Ibid.
vol. marked
Strafford.

Hague, March 21st, 1714.

"**F**AR be it from me to pretend to complain of any minister the Elector thinks fit to employ; but, upon this occasion, I find myself obliged to take notice, lest others should think fit to insinuate complaints against me, that I think in public, and upon these occasions of conferences, to see what yet remains to be done in favour of the protestant religion. Monsieur Bothmar takes too warmly upon him to justify the Emperor and Roman Catholic princes proceedings; for even count Sinzendorf himself owned to us, that though the Emperor had that article in the treaty of Riswick imposed upon him, yet since it was once received, he would not do any thing to get it abolished; and it has but a very ill air in the world for a minister of the Elector to begin always with an insinuation in public, that the Queen had not done enough, that she had it in her power, and that she should have made France declare in positive words, that they would abolish the fourth article of the treaty of Riswick.

He

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He was answered, that if the Emperor would but declare as much on his side, as the French King had done, that article would be as good as abolished. Nay, Madam, I can assure your Royal Highness there was not a minister of one protestant prince but took up the argument against baron Bothmar. I told him, and repeated it, that the Queen had done, and would continue to use her most pressing offices, in concert with the States General, to dispose France to consent to a plain abolition of that clause, in express words, and hoped the princes of the Empire would do the same thing, on their side, with the Emperor, at least to bring his I. M. to declare as much as France had done. I told baron Bothmar, if we had really at heart the prosperity and protection of the protestant religion, we should look forwards, and not backward (only to find out insinuations of reproaches one against another); and I must, under the liberty your R. H. has allowed me, say I was extremely surprised at the distinction baron Bothmar alone affected, in naming the States before the Queen; for all the other ministers returned the princes their masters' thanks, first to the Queen, and then to the States, for the care they expressed for the interest of the protestant religion in the Empire; but M. Bothmar, which was extremely wondered at, and taken notice of by all, returned the Elector's thanks to the States General, as well as the Queen, for their care, &c. and, throughout his whole speech, never named the Queen, in preference to the States, but always said the Maritime Powers, as if the Queen and States were either equal in dignity or power. I could wish this way of explaining himself was altered; for others of the Queen's servants might think it necessary to take more notice than I shall; for most sincerely it shall be always my utmost endeavours to keep up a perfect good understanding between the Queen's court and yours, which is the only reason I venter to give this information to your R. H. who I know wishes that, on all occasions, those of your court shewed a particular deference for the Queen, as I am persuaded your R. H. has, which you have often expressed. I hope nobody has been so officious to write this to England; and assure you, Madam, I have not done it, &c."

Extracts

Extracts of letters from Schutz to Bothmar; and from Schutz, Bothmar, Kreyenberg, and Martines, to Robethon. March and April, 1714.

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March.

The subjects of their former letters, and anecdotes of the times continued.—Intelligence of the Pretender.—The quarrel of the ministry.—The succession in danger.

Schutz to Robethon.

A copy in Robethon's hand of what Schutz wrote in cyphers.

Translation.

March 23d, N. S. 1714.

"I Dare not make the proposal of which you speak to me, for finding money for pensions. You cannot imagine to yourself what prejudice this excessive parsimony does us.

I wish the Electress may say nothing to Mr. Harley, in answer to all the questions which he and his spy Murray may ask her; as I am informed that the lord treasurer reports to the Queen all that he hears of the Electress, and that they divert themselves at it."

Monsieur Martines to Robethon.

Martines was the Hessian envoy at Paris. This is a copy in Robethon's hand of what Martines wrote in cyphers.

Ibid.
vol. marked
Bothmar, 10.
No. 70.

Translation.

Paris, March 23d, N. S. 1714.

"ONE of my intimate friends, who was, about two months last Autumn, with the Chevalier de St. George, arrived here four days ago. He speaks very favourably of him. That prince spoke to him with great confidence, and did not conceal from him the good understanding between him and the Queen. He has news of her frequently from the English who come and return for that purpose. He reckons that all the Scots are undoubtedly in his interest."

His council were in doubt whether the Chevalier should land in England or in Scotland, in case of the Queen's death. He had a clergyman of the church of England with him, who officiated to the protestant servants in his house above his own apartment; and it was thought he himself would not scruple to change.

"He, the Chevalier," continues Martines, "he himself told the person in question what was said to him by a quaker, who was much spoke of some time ago, and who came from England to Bar on purpose to see him. He said to him, when he entered the room, "Good-day, James,

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March.

James, the spirit desired me to come to thee, to tell thee that thou shalt reign over us, and we all wish it. I come to tell thee that, if thou hast need of money, we will give thee amongst us from three to four millions.' The prince wanted to make him some present; but he did not choose to take any, and went back directly to England. The prince made him eat at his own table.

The protestant clergyman who is with him is brother to one of the Queen's physicians. This physician sends to his brother, from time to time, news of her Majesty's health. He says that she cannot live long."

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Bothmar 10.
No. 71.

Bothmar to Robethon.

Translation.

Hague, March 31st, N. S. 1714.

"OUR Mr. Ridpath deserves a handsome reward for his work; which appears to me to be well written, as far as I am able to judge. Perhaps the principle by which he invests the parliament with so much authority, will not please at your court. It is from it, however, we derive our right to succeed to the crown. It is certain that the lord treasurer will not reward him for this work, although he shows that, according to the principles maintained in the book of hereditary right, which he refutes, the Queen might make him King by her will. I entreat you to see if it be possible to obtain an hundred pistoles for Mr. Ridpath."

April.
Ibid.
vol. marked
Schutz fils 8.
p. 320.

Schutz to Robethon.

A copy in Robethon's hand of Schutz's letter in cyphers.

Translation.

April 3d, N. S. 1714.

"LORD Montrose, who is still here, and who, as well as several others, judge by the turn which affairs take now, that the succession will never take place without committing hostilities, proposes that a credit should be established in London, in order that, in case of need, and with the consent of the Elector, the money may be employed to maintain from 15 to 20,000 men, which our friends promise to assemble in Scotland, under the command of officers, who have been broke or reduced, with a promise not to touch that money but in the last extremity, and when his Electoral Highness himself will judge it proper. Without this it will be impossible for them to assemble that army, or to keep them together; as they are situated between the Highlands and the North of England, where there are the greatest number of Jacobites."

Schutz

Schutz to Bothmar.

A copy in Schrader's hand.

Translation.

London, ^{26 March,}
_{6 April,} 1714.

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April.

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marked
Schutz fils 8.
p. 323.

" I T was once very likely I was to have important news to send you to-day, viz. that lord Oxford was without a staff, abandoned by all the ministers, and the Queen herself, in some measure, prejudiced against him. He asked her permission to lay down his office, when, at the same time, he found some one to wait on the Queen, and tell her that if she gave him his dismissal, the whole Tory party would be ruined, and that she would fall again into the hands of the Whigs. This apprehension appeared so terrible to her, that she tried all imaginable methods of keeping him, and of reconciling him, two nights ago, with all her ministers. If he had fallen, lord Nottingham would be at the head of the treasury; as lord Anglesea would approve of him only, of all our friends.

Nothing could be more useful to our affairs, than that this reconciliation should not continue. There is reason to fear, that our enemies may prevail on the Queen to give her consent to the Pretender's coming here, in her life-time. Lord Anglesea discovered a greater inclination to declare himself openly for us, during the quarrels of the ministry. The duke of Argyle outdid himself in endeavouring to influence him, while Mr. Hill and Sir Thomas Hanmer did every thing in their power likewise. The Archbishop of York is to have a conference with lord Nottingham tomorrow, at which the duke of Argyle will be present. In short, our friends neglect nothing, and they deserve that his Electoral Highness should express his gratitude to them.

Be very attentive to the motions of the prince of Wales. I am assured he left Bar-le-Duc. Lord Oxford says, it is in order to go to Switzerland: but he said so before, without its being true."

Ibid. p. 325.

Kreyenberg wrote a long letter, of the same date, giving an account of the divisions among the ministry. The treasurer himself told several of his friends, that he would resign, and for that very reason, Kreyenberg did not believe him. He thought the cause of their dispute was, that they could not agree about the measures for bringing in the Pretender (Bolingbroke being warm and precipitate, and Oxford slow and dilatory in every

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April.

thing, hating to act openly); or that they were jealous who should have most merit with him. Pretensions to the Queen's favour could not probably be the cause of their quarrel; as they knew she could not live long. Kreyenberg adds in a postscript:

"After writing this letter, I am informed with certainty, that the Queen, at the solicitation of lady Masham, whom lord Bolingbroke found means of gaining, had consented to the dismissal of the lord treasurer; but that, the night before the last, there was a reconciliation on certain conditions. It is more than probable, that this affair will be followed with a change of measures. The lord chancellor was for Bolingbroke, and Mr. Bromley was neuter."

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marked
Schutz fils 8.
p. 331.

Schutz wrote, on the ^{30 March,}_{10 April,} that the Whigs employed lord Nottingham to tell again to Sir Thomas Hanmer and lord Anglesea, that they entreated them to concur with them in the affair of the succession, and that they would renounce all their pretensions to employments, and do any thing the Tories could ask of them. They thought a change absolutely necessary for the safety of the nation, and that the easiest and most acceptable to the Tories would be, to deprive lord Oxford of the treasurer's staff, and to make Nottingham, his brother, and Mr. Hill commissioners of the treasury. These proposals of the Whigs made no impression on the Tories. They hated lord Oxford; but they were afraid his fall would kill the Queen. "That is, in plain English," says Schutz, "if she choose the prince of Wales should come and reign here, he must be received, for fear of putting her out of humour."

"Hanmer assures me, that our acts are in no danger during this session, and he will not allow that the ministry are against us, nor for the prince of Wales."

Ibid.
vol. marked
Bothmar 10.
No. 76.

The Duke of Marlborough to Robethon.

This letter is in the duke's hand-writing; but not signed.

Suspensions of the Ministry, and professions of his own attachment.

S I R,

Antwerp, April 12th, 1714.

"I Have been so much afflicted with the accounts of my dear daughter Bridgwater's sickness and death, that I cou'd not return my thanks sooner for the favour of yours of the 26 of last month. I am glad to find that his E. H. designed to use his endeavours in making the Em-

peror and the Dutch friends, which seems to me to be of so much consequence towards a good settlement in England, that I do not see how it can be done without it, considering the power the ministers have in both houses. I suppose by this time honest Mr. Harley (according to his usual sincerity) has given his E. H. an account of the scheme for this session; but it is a puzzling difficulty to me, to reconcile so many professions to the succession in the house of Hanover with the through persecutions of all those who are known to be certainly in that interest. I desire you will please to take a proper time to make my humble acknowledgements to his E. H. for the honour he does me; and assure him that I will be very careful to give any account which may come to my knowledge for his service. The last news I had from England was of the 23d March, old stile. They write that her Majesty's inflammation in her leg spread, and it was feared would go up to her knee. I have no subject that is worth troubling you longer upon, and my mind is so much troubled with my own misfortunes, that I am very unfit to write upon any thing; and, therefore, will conclude, when I have assured you that I am ever most faithfully yours.

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Extraits of letters from Schutz to Bothmar; and from Schutz, Bothmar, and Kreyenberg, to Robethon. April, 1714.

A coalition of Whigs and Tories to support the Protestant Succession, and oppose Lord Oxford and the Pretender.—Officers dismissed, and the army new modelled.—A writ of summons demanded for the Electoral Prince.

Schutz to Bothmar.

A copy in Schrader's hand.

Translation.

London, $\frac{2}{13}$ April, 1714.

“**T**HE duke of Argyle brought about another meeting, last night, between lord Anglesea and Sir Thomas Hanmer, at which he, lord Nottingham and some others assisted. After a great deal of reasoning, these three noblemen agreed upon the following articles.

1. To live in friendship with the Whigs, and to concert with them what must be done to secure the protestant succession, and oppose the Pretender.

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2. Not

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Schutz fils 8.
P. 337.

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2. Not to support lord Oxford, but to assist one another in depriving him of his employment.

3. Not to allow the Treasury to be in the hands of one man; but to put it in commission: that our friends leave them to choose, for that purpose, as they may judge proper; all acknowledging that it was as necessary as it was prudent, to have in the Queen's council two or three persons who would be for the protestant succession, and in opposition to the Queen's ministers.

They promise to join the Whigs in entreating the Queen, by an address, to repeat her instances to the duke of Lorrain to send the Pretender out of his dominions; assuring her, that in case of a refusal, they would put her Majesty in a condition to oblige the duke by force to do what was desired of him. They will speak afterwards of Sir Patrick Lawless, and intreat the Queen to send him away, and to order the Jacobites and the Highlanders in Scotland to be disarmed."

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Schutz fils 8.
P. 339.

Kreyenberg wrote a long letter of this date, in which he acquainted his correspondent with the changes in the army. Lord Stair was obliged to sell his regiment to lord Portmore for 6000*l.* and the duke of Argyle the company of life-guards to the earl of Dundonald, an avowed Jacobite, for 10,000*l.* of which the Queen gave 3000*l.* The government of the castle of Edinburgh was to be given to a Mr. George Hamilton, an officer in the Dutch service, who was a soldier of fortune, and would not surrender it, from fears of a forfeiture, as the duke of Gordon did, after the Revolution. Colonels Sydney and Egerton, of the foot guards, brothers to the earls of Leicester and Bridgwater, had notice from Gwyn, the secretary at war, that the Queen had no further service for them, and that a thousand guineas should be paid to each of them, for their companies, which they had bought for the ordinary price of 3000*l.* Colonel Paget of the guards had the same notice; but the price was not yet fixed; and it was said that lord Windsor and general Lumley, though both Tories, would lose their regiments. "The treasurer protests, that he has no hand in these changes, and that these things are done without his knowledge, as he says to some, or against his consent, as he says to others."

"Nottingham was to have a final conference, last night, with the archbishop of York, Anglesea, and the speaker, to see what they intend

to do. He had full powers to tell them, that they had nothing to do, but to order themselves the manner in which they would choose to be supported by the Whigs; and that they might distribute offices as they had a mind, providing they would take care of three things. 1. To secure the protestant succession: 2. To re-establish the alliances broken by the ministry: 3. To preserve the commerce of the kingdom. We must wait for the issue, although there is nothing to be expected from Anglesea, and without him there is reason to believe the other two will do nothing."

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Bothmar to Robethon.

Translation.

Hague, April 14th, N. S. 1714.

"I AM always tormented for the pensions of 600*l.* to lord Fitzwalter, and of 200*l.* to lord Willoughby. We shall lose them, and perhaps others."

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vol. marked
Bothmar 10.
No. 92.

Schutz to Robethon.

A copy, in Robethon's hand, of what Schutz wrote in cyphers.

Translation.

April 17th, N. S. 1714.

"M. De Pleffen had a long conversation with the Queen, some days ago, in which she spoke to him more openly than usual, giving him to understand that, of the two parties which composed the nation, one was suspected of being inclined to bring in the Pretender, in her life time, and the other, some one of the family of Hannover; but that she would oppose both the one and the other, with all her force."

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Schutz fils 8.
P. 343.

Pleffen endeavoured to convince the Queen, that the Elector would never agree to send over any of his family, without an invitation from her Majesty and the parliament; but that it was necessary to assure him, that no attempts would be made to infringe the acts of parliament, which established his succession.

"She said, that, notwithstanding all the reiterated assurances which she had given the Elector, that she was for his succession, it seems he was not persuaded of it, nor believed that she was in his interests." Pleffen assured the Queen, that the Elector did not doubt of her Majesty's intentions; but that he justly suspected those of her ministers, and said many things to convince her, that she was bound in conscience to secure the protestant

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p. 348.

protestant religion, and to prevent their designs of bringing in a popish Pretender.

The same to the same.

A copy, in Robethon's hand, of Schutz's letter in cyphers.

Translation.

April 20th, N. S. 1714.

“**W**HAT the Queen did lately, when it was intended to present an address to her for a reward to any who should take the Pretender, leaves no room to doubt of her sentiments, with regard to that man. She set all her ministers to work, and they spoke, one after another, in opposition to it, and think they have made themselves masters of every thing, when they got a clause added, by which it is left to her Majesty to publish such a proclamation, when she shall find it proper, being very sure that will never be †. The Jacobites appear to be as well satisfied with the proceedings of that day, as the well-affected are dejected. Our new friends, the archbishop of York and the lord Anglesea, were for the clause, both of them having had a long conversation with her Majesty, probably on that subject.”

Ibid. p. 352.

Schutz to Robethon.

Translation.

London, $\frac{13}{24}$ April, 1714.

“**I** Have been honoured with your letter of the 13th inst. and with the letter of the Electress. By the advice of friends I behaved in this manner. I made up to the chancellor, yesterday, at court, when he came there, at two o'clock, to present the address of the lords, and begged of him to give me an hour after dinner; on which he answered, that he would not go out that afternoon, and therefore left to my choice, the hour at which I would choose to come.

I accordingly waited upon him after five, and told him I had orders to thank him from the Electress, for the assurance he had given me, the first time I saw him, that he had her interests so much at heart, and made other compliments of the same kind to him; to which he answered as I could wish, protesting his profound respect and duty to her Royal Highness, of which he would be happy to give proofs on all occasions.

I then told him, that the Electress ordered me to ask of him the Electoral Prince's writ, as duke of Cambridge. He changed colour upon this,

† He was mistaken. She issued a proclamation, June 23, 1714.

and

and looked down, and told me, that he would speak of it to the Queen, not daring to give it me without her orders; but added, after being silent for some time, he did not recollect that a writ was demanded of him since he was in her Majesty's service, (to this I might have easily answered, that the reason was that he never retained any) nor that any was sent beyond sea. On which I answered, that, by delivering it to me, he did not send it out of the kingdom; entreating him to give me his answer before this evening, in order that I might acquaint the Electress by this day's post, with what I had done to execute her orders. To this, he answered simply, that he intended to go to the Queen to speak to her about it: so that I wait for the result of what was deliberated in the council, which I hear was called yesterday evening, and continued sitting until after midnight. Upon leaving him, he told me, at the door of his room, that he hoped I did not think that he refused me the writ, as he wanted only to know the Queen's orders first.

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April.

As it is near 7 o'clock to night, I am going to write to him, in order to know his answer; and if I don't write to the Electress by this post, it will be a proof I have not received it."

Copy of Schutz's letter to the Lord Chancellor.

Translation.

My Lord,

"I Hope your lordship will be pleased to send me an answer concerning what I had the honour to entertain you with yesterday, that I may this evening acquaint the princess Sophia with the same by my letters. I am with great respect,

My Lord,

London, $\frac{13}{24}$ April, 1714,
in the afternoon.

Your Lordship's
most obedient humble Servant."

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Schutz fils 8.
p. 362.

Copy of the Lord Chancellor's answer.

SIR,

April 13th, O. S. 1714.

"WHEN you came to me, yesterday, and told me, that, by orders of the princess Sophia, you demanded a writ of summons for the duke of Cambridge, I let you know that I thought it my duty to acquaint her Majesty therewith.

I have accordingly laid this matter before the Queen, who was pleased to say, that, not having received the least information of this demand
from

English copy.
Ibid. p. 363.

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April.

from you, or in any other manner whatsoever from the court of Hannover, she could hardly persuade herself that you acted by direction from thence; that she, therefore, did not think fit to give me any other answer than this.

The writ for the duke of Cambridge was sealed of course, when the writs of summons to all the other peers were sealed, and lies ready to be delivered to you, whenever you call for it. I am,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

HARCOURT, C."

Schutz to Bothmar.

A copy in Schrader's hand.

Translation.

$\frac{11}{14}$ April, 1714.

"YOUR friends continue to assure me, that the coming of the Electoral prince was absolutely necessary, considering that the fears of the Pretender's coming were but too well founded. They were all delighted with the order which the Electress gave me, to demand the writ for the Electoral Prince; and before I did any thing in that affair, I asked the advice of the following persons, and they were all of the same opinion: Devonshire, Somerset, Nottingham, Argyle, Orford, Somers, Cowper, Halifax, Wharton, and Townshend.

Anglesea being in the country, I could not consult him before last night, when I saw him at Sir Thomas Hanmer's. He said, that you could not do any thing more to the purpose; and that this is the last opportunity of saving your succession; being very sure, that unless you apply a speedy remedy, it will be too late before the end of six months, as every thing will be then ruined.

Therefore, he, as well as all our other friends, conjure the Elector to send over the Prince immediately, although the writ should be refused, as his presence alone can re establish every thing yet; and as every thing will be lost after taking such a step, if we go no farther. Sir Thomas Hanmer is of the same opinion, and promised, as well as Lord Anglesea, to employ his influence with all those who depend upon him in the house of commons to make them declare themselves, assuring me he is fully convinced the court will not be in a condition to hinder them."

Schutz

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Schutz fils 8,
p. 354.

Schutz, in the remaining part of this letter, gave Bothmar the same account of what passed between him and the chancellor which he gave to Robethon.

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The Earl of Oxford to Baron Wassenae Duyvenvoorde.

Professions of attachment to the Electoral family.

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Duyvenvoorde had written to him by directions from Hannover.

Right Honourable,

$\frac{1}{2}$ April, 1714.

"THIS last post, I receiv'd the honour of your letter of the 17th of April, for which be pleased to accept of my most humble thanks.

I send this letter by an express messenger, who is going to Mr. Harley, with my letters to Hannover; and if you please, he wil carry any thing you think fit to write. But that I may answer that openness where-with you so obligingly treat me, I do, in the most solemn manner, assure you, that, next to the Queen, I am entirely and unalterably devoted to the interests of his Electoral Highness of Hannover. This is not only from the conscience of my oaths, but out of profound respect to the Elector's great virtues. I may without vanity say, that I had the greatest hand in settling the succession. I have ever preserved the same opinion; and it is owing to the declarations the Queen has so often made in their favour, that the generality of the people are come to be for that serene house.

I am sure, that lady Masham, the Queen's favourite, is entirely for their succession. I am also sure, that the Queen is so; and you may do me the justice to assure his Electoral Highness, that I am ready to give him all the proofs of my attachment to his interes, and to set in a true light the state of this country; for it wil be very unfortunate for so great a prince, to be only prince over a party, wich can never last long in England. And let me in confidence tell you, Sir, that there is but one thing can be any way of prejudice to the succession in that family, and that is the endeavour to bring them, or any of them, over without the Queen's consent. Two courts in this country have been so fatal, and the factions are so high, that it must be very mischievous both to the Queen and to that serene house, to have any such thing enterprized, that may create

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a difference between the Queen and that family: that will change the dispute to the crown and the successor; whereas now, it is between the house of Hannover and a popish Pretender.

I will add but this one word, that I will assure you, that upon any advances of kindness from the house of Hannover, I will pawn my life for it, they shall receive most essential proofs of the Queen's friendship; and I am sure, that is the best confirmation of their succession.

Be pleased to accept my most hearty thanks, and to believe me to be, with the greatest respect,

Right Honourable,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant,

OXFORD."

Schutz to Robethon.

Translation.

A copy in Schrader's hand of what Schutz wrote in cyphers; inclosing a copy of his letter to the Chancellor, and the Chancellor's answers. Urges the sending over the Electoral Prince.

London, $\frac{1}{2}$ April, 1714.

"I Received, Tuesday after midnight, or to speak more properly Wednesday morning, a letter from the chancellor, of which I inclose a copy, and also of the letter I wrote to him, Tuesday after six o'clock. You will see that they suspect me of having acted without orders; hoping perhaps, that, after they have opened such a door for us, I shall be disavowed, which I look to without any uneasiness.

"I was yesterday morning at the chancellor's, to take the writ; but he and all his clerks had gone out; so that I returned empty handed. From thence I went to the lord treasurer's, who drew me aside and asked if I had not the writ. I told him, I had not. He inquired if the chancellor had not written to me, and I acquainted him how I had missed him. He then said to me, that the Queen was very much surprised I had never said any thing to her about it; adding, that she had never been treated in that manner. I answered that my orders having been addressed to the lord chancellor, I went to him; that I was surprised he did not warn me of my mistake, if it was necessary to address myself to the Queen, which he might and should have known better than I. He appeared to be in very bad humour, and much embarrassed.

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p. 360.

Anglesea and all our friends think, that I have taken the only method of obtaining the writ; and that it is for that reason they insinuate, that the Queen complains I did not address myself to her, in which case they would have endeavoured to divert the thing, with as much warmth as they now employ to hinder the coming of the prince; and it is plain that the embassy of lord Paget has no other design, especially as he is to set out immediately. There have been, however, great rejoicings over all the city, since it was made public that I had asked the writ for the prince; and some have no doubts of his coming speedily, as others most certainly fear it. The bells were ringing for some days past, and healths drunk to his good journey.

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The report which our enemies spread every where, and which found credit with a great number, that we were very indifferent about the succession, will be considered as perfectly true, if, after having demanded the writ, the Electoral Prince does not come over immediately.

I am come again from the chancellor's; although it was but 9 o'clock in the morning, they assured me that it was an hour since he went out, which I consider as if they had a mind to amuse me, and not to give me the writ. The chancellor's letter, however, is positive.

I was this morning with Mr. Bromley, to express to him my surprise at seeing by the chancellor's letter, and by the lord treasurer's discourse to me yesterday, that the Queen thought it strange, that I did not address myself to her; repeating to him what I had said to lord Oxford, and entreating him to inform her Majesty of it, who, I hoped, would approve of these reasons, and not believe that there was any intention of failing in the respect due to her, or of doing a thing that was disagreeable."

In another letter of the same date, Schutz mentions the good effects which the demanding the writ had already produced, and urges with the greatest earnestness the sending over of the prince immediately. "The court dispatched, last night, an express to Mr. Harley, who no doubt will do all he can to intimidate our court, and particularly the Electress, with complaints of the demand. But, in the name of God, do not hesitate at any thing which he can say to you. It ought rather to determine you speedily. This is the general opinion of all your friends, who deserve,

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P. 365.

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on account of the danger to which they expose themselves, that you should not lose a moment in coming to their relief.

Lord Anglesea, who was with me for an hour yesterday, is entirely of the same opinion, and conjures the Elector to embrace this favourable opportunity of preserving his right. All those who are for him believe the coming of the Electoral Prince to be as salutary and advantageous, as those who are against the succession are frightened at his coming. These are two different motives; but they should be equally persuasive."

There is a translation in Robethon's hand of a letter to Bothmar from an unknown friend in England, repeating the very same things.

Lord Townshend to Robethon.

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Schutz fils 8.
p. 412.
Ibid. p. 357.

It is not signed. There is a French translation of it in Robethon's hand for the use of the Elector. The original was sent with the following note from an unknown hand to Robethon:

"Lord Townshend writes the inclosed to you. The dukes of Somerset, Argyle, Roxborough, Montrose, Devonshire, Kent, and Bolton, tell you the same thing, which will come to your hands by another channel.

Some one asked lord Paget, yesterday, as he congratulated him upon being named to go to Hannover, if he believed he could persuade that family to renounce the crown of England?"

His Lordship writes to Robethon in this letter, about the designs of the ministry.—The danger of the succession.—The good effects of having demanded the writ of summons for the Duke of Cambridge.—The disadvantage of not sending him after that demand.

S I R,

London, $\frac{1}{2}$ April, 1714.

English copy.

"I Am to acknowledge, with the greatest thankfulness, your letter of the 29th of March, which came safe, and has been communicated where it was proper. All you mention with regard to the peace of Rastadt, agrees entirely with our sentiments here, and the pains your court is taking towards bringing the Emperor and the States to an amicable accommodation, in relation to the Netherlands, together with the hopes you give us of success in that grand affair, is a great encouragement to all that wish well to the house of Hannover. There is one passage in yours, where you seem to think it is impossible for the Pretender to make

any

any attempt during the Queen's life. In this we are absolutely of another opinion, for reasons, as we think, so very obvious to those who observe with the least attention the present conduct here, that there is no need of entering into particulars on this head; and this being the settled notion of all your friends here, you will easily imagine, into how great a degree of despair we were all thrown by that part of your letter, where you mention the Elector's resolution of not sending the Electoral Prince without a previous invitation. For it is but a small comfort to us, to see how diligent and careful you are in taking remote precautions abroad, whilst we are convinced that the danger is so imminent here, that we shall in all probability be totally ruined before any of those supports can possibly come to our relief. But now I must congratulate with you upon Monf. le baron de Schutz's last orders for demanding the Electoral Prince's writ of summons. This I can assure you is thought by every body, both friends as well as enemies, to be the first step that your court has made, that looks as if you were in earnest about the succession. Nothing can be more effectual, if it be supported by the immediate sending the Prince, nor more seasonable than it was at this time; for the Queen had just then given a most unkind answer, to give it no worse term, to an address for the support of the succession, and when the house of lords came to consider of this answer, the effect of the Electoral Prince's having demanded his writ appeared most plainly by the behaviour of a great number of lords upon that occasion, though that news was not then publicly known. Monf. Schutz will acquaint you with the consternation our ministers were under, upon this occasion, and the fright the chancellor was in, lest it should be thought he had denied the writ. They are so sensible that this step, if it be followed by the immediate coming of the prince, will so effectually ruin their designs, and tend so directly to the securing the succession from all future danger, that you may depend upon their making use of all arts and contrivances imaginable to prevent his coming. Neither threats nor flattery will be spared. They are so intent and so bent upon prevailing with you to stop the prince, that they will not rely upon Mr. Harley's dexterity, but have determined to send to you my lord Pagett. You must, therefore, prepare to be very vigorously attacked by way of message; they see the spirit of the people here runs so high in your favour, that they have no hopes of bringing either them or parliament up to any thing, that may discourage the prince's coming.

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coming. They are, therefore, forced to turn all their views towards you, and are reduced to the miserable necessity of trying whether they can persuade your court to betray itself. I shall trouble you no farther than only to give you the unanimous opinion of all our friends upon this occasion. They are persuaded that you must be convinced by the manner in which this writ was granted, that you have opened a most unexceptionable way for the coming of the prince. It is plain, the writ would not have been granted, could they, by law, have justified the refusing of it; and the uneasiness they expressed, both when it was granted and since, shews plainly they would not have failed to have attempted something in parliament, in order to have discouraged him from coming, could they have had the least hopes of carrying it. From this we cannot think, but that you must be satisfied that the inclinations of the people here are so strongly in favour of the house of Hannover, that the prince may come, not only with great security as to his person, but also that he will be received with all the respect and honour that is due to him. But if, after you have raised these expectations through the whole kingdom to the highest degree by the step you have made, you shou'd be prevail'd upon to abandon the thoughts of sending the prince, or be persuaded even to delay it, such a proceeding will be so fatal, that no man can be answerable for the consequences of it. I cannot conclude this without doing justice to Mons. le baron Schutz, who has upon this and all other occasions behaved himself with so much zeal and prudence, that he has deservedly got the entire esteem and consideration of all, both Whigs and Tories, who are well affected to the house of Hannover."

Extracts of letters from Schutz to Robetson.

He has had an interview with Oxford.—The Queen is highly displeased at his having demanded the writ —He is forbid to appear at court.

Schutz to Robetson.

Translation.

London, $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁶₇ April, 1714.

"**THEY** have held frequent councils here, and continue to shew great dissatisfaction; the lord treasurer having told me yesterday, that he never saw the Queen in a greater passion. All the reason he alleges to me for this is, that she had no notice from me of the demand which I was to make of the writ, and although he could not deny but the chancellor prepared

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prepared and delivered writs. From whence I wanted to prove to him, that it was therefore to the chancellor I was to address myself, as he was the minister to whose department such things belonged; besides that my orders imported to go to him, and that he did not discover to me that I addressed myself improperly; yet he said, that I ought to have addressed myself to the secretary of state, or to him, who would not have failed to advise very properly in the affair; protesting, that he had no service more at heart, after the Queen's, than that of the Electoral family, and that he was vexed at what had happened, the Queen taking it as the greatest mark of contempt that could be given to her; telling me, that had it not been for this incident, her Majesty would have invited the Electoral Prince to come to pay her a visit next summer; without recollecting that he had told me, but a moment before, that she was too much afraid to see any of the Electoral family here; and that, this alone excepted, she would willingly grant every thing else that could be demanded of her.

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He heaped together several very unintelligible things in this discourse, to which I made no other answer, than that having addressed myself to the proper officer for a thing which the law determined in our favour, I could not imagine that the Queen was angry at it, nor that she would interpret wrongly a measure of that kind."

The same to the same.

A copy of what Schutz wrote in cyphers.

Translation.

London, $\frac{18}{29}$ April, 1714.

"I Cannot but repeat what I wrote to you already by the advice of all those who have our interest at heart, about the coming of the Electoral prince, &c.

The advice which was given to me by lord Oxford, and confirmed by Mr. Bromley, not to appear any more at Court, seems too violent, especially as the ministers say nothing to me, but that I should have addressed myself to Mr. Bromley, instead of demanding the writ of lord Harcourt; and without proving this by any example or argument, they say simply, that the Queen takes it as a mark of contempt, although it would have been contrary to the custom of this country, as well as to the order of the Electress, to have applied the other way.

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I acquainted our friends with every thing that happened to me, in the course of this affair. I placed the same confidence in lord Anglesea and Sir Thomas Hanmer, and they blame the conduct of the ministry, being now fully convinced that the protestant succession is in very bad hands.

Lord Anglesea, who is very well acquainted with lord Paget, gives me a bad character of him; saying, he is false and changeable. He believes, with several others, that his lordship will not go to Hannover; as the coming of the Electoral Prince must be determined before he can be ready to go."

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— $\frac{1}{2}$ April. "Sir Charles Cotterell, master of the ceremonies, came and read to me a letter from Mr. Bromley, secretary of state, in which he intimates, that the Queen commanded him to tell me not to appear any more at court, as she looks upon it as an affront I have done her, to have asked the chancellor for the writ to the duke of Cambridge, a prince of her blood; and that, for that reason, she had ordered Mr. Harley to solicit the Elector and Electress to recall me instantly. Upon which, I said to him, that in consequence of the respect I owed to, and had for her Majesty, I would not fail to obey her orders."

An original.
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Strafford.

Extraits of a letter from Lord Strafford to Sophia, Electress of Hannover.

He answers her letters.—Advise her and the Elector to disapprove of Baron Schutz's conduct, and vindicates the ministry from having any designs in favour of the Pretender.

Hague, May 4th, 1714.

—"THE reason why Mons. Dalay makes difficulty to go to the foreign churches, which other ministers before him never did, is, since the passing the bill of occasional uniformity, about three years ago, which only affects those that are in employments of trust or profit; so that my lord Morpeth, having none, did not lye under those difficulties Mr. Dalay does. I make a doubt whether that act extends out of her Majesty's dominions; but as it is a doubt, I would no more risque it than I find Dalay will; and had it not been for Mr. Cadogan, I had not minded it. But asking him, just after the act passed, to go with me to the French church, to hear a famous preacher here; he told me, he did

not know what I might do, but for him, he was not so fond of going to any church, as to venture the loss of his employments, which he had not then quitted : so I, having a chaplain of my own, have never thought it worth venturing to go to a foreign church, but have constantly the common prayers in my family, and sermons every holiday."

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"I am assured his (lord Paget) errand is, to explain matters, and set them in so true a light before you, that no artifice of a faction, or party, for private views and interest, may be able for the future to cause any inquietude between the Queen and your illustrious family. I took the liberty, at my last coming hither, to state that matter plainly to your Royal Highness, who was so good as to make me the answer I could wish, both in relation to your respect for the Queen, and your being of neither party; and yet I am sorry to find your minister in England has lately acted as if at least he was governed by the party that is against the court, because the chief amongst them have not the chief employments at court; and I am afraid his late behaviour is something repented, as being very irregular, and neglectful of that respect due to the Queen: for though by strictness of law, I believe a peer may demand his writ of the lord chancellor, though absent, yet it is never done; but the lord chancellor keeps it by him till such time as the absent peer returns and demands it himself, to sit in parliament. I know this better than any man, it having been my case under several lord chancellors, as I have been abroad ever since the first year her Majesty came to the crown, and having often had leave to take turns into England, the chancellors have always kept my writ till I came and demanded it to sit in parliament, which they immediately were obliged to send me; and so it would have been with the duke of Cambridge, whenever he should come into England to sit in parliament. Upon his demanding it, the chancellor is obliged by law to send it him immediately. This being so, what occasion had Monsr. Schutz to go, just at this juncture, and to demand it of the lord chancellor without having previously acquainted some of the Queen's ministers of state, or having first notified his intentions or orders (if he had them) to do it to the Queen, by the secretary of state, for her Majesty's approbation, which he might have been assured would not have been denied him, no more than she did her leave to lord chancellor to deliver the writ, when he asked her if he should do it? I must own to your Royal Highness, I

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am very sorry to see such things happen. Let the partys jar as they please; but let not any thing happen, by any minister of yours, that may be interpreted as if your illustrious family wanted all the confidence and consideration imaginable for the Queen; who, I find, by Mr. Secretary's letter, is herself a little startled at this way of proceeding of Monf. Schutz; and, if you will pardon the liberty I take, I believe nothing could have a better effect than your and the Elector's disapproving what Monf. Schutz has done in this matter. As I certainly wish well to the protestant succession in your family, and desire heartily the peace and tranquillity of my country, I can't but apprehend for both, if some effectual means is not immediately found out to put matters upon such a foot as to convince the world, that there is a mutual good understanding between the Queen and your Royal Highness's illustrious family; and that you act on both sides, with the just consideration and confidence you ought to have for and in one another. Your Royal Highness knows my character and opinion of partys. You know my zeal for your interest, and, therefore, I hope will excuse this liberty I take, to beg of you to consider seriously with the Elector your son upon some expedient to put matters upon a foot of reciprocal confidence in the Queen and your illustrious house. A King or Queen of England must govern by the bulk of their people, and must never be tyed to one or t'other party; which made King William, and all the Kings his predecessors, change from one to the other party, as they had the majority of the nation and parliament; and any King or Queen who would reign with a party, against the majority of the nation, would have but a most uneasy life; and God forbid I should live to see ever the Queen and her successors struggling to support different parties."

"After all the foolish and malicious outcry of the danger of the Pretender, I have asked the people here, to tell me one thing done in his favour, or one thing left undone to exclude him, and to secure your succession; nay I have desired them to let me know what was desired, or if there could be any thing more done to secure the protestant succession in your illustrious house, and if they would tell me, I would engage it should be done. And upon discoursing this matter t'other day with the pensionary, he seemed convinced of the truth of what I told him; and that there was no just grounds for this outcry about the Pretender, and
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that nothing could be of a worse consequence than the project talked of by some Whigs, of getting the Electoral Prince over, and setting him up for successor, in prejudice to your's and the Elector's right. The pensionary told me upon this, that he would go and talk roundly to that man, pointing to baron Bothmar, who was then in the Treves-chamber, when I was in this discourse with the pensionary; and that he would afterwards tell me, if there was any thing the Baron could propose to be done. He told me, after having talked to Bothmar, that all he had to oppose was, that the Pretender was suffered to continue in Lorrain. Your Royal Highness is judge whether the Queen can oblige the duke of Lorrain to send him from thence if he won't, and has engaged to France not to do it; and what we can say more to France, when they answer us, that they have punctually executed their treaty, by sending him out of France; and yet that article, in our treaty, was looked upon as a hardship on the French King; since even in the preliminaries, in 1709, they did not oblige the French King so strongly as we had done in our treaty; being all that was said in those preliminaries was, that whereas the Chevalier St. George had a mind to travel, the French King consented to it."

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Extracts of a letter from Galke, Secretary of the Embassy at London, to Robethon.

The reflections made on Baron Schutz's sudden departure.

Translation.

London, $\frac{23 \text{ April,}}{4 \text{ May,}}$ 1714.

"THE news of baron de Schutz's departure, which at length spread yesterday over all the town, have given occasion to reasonings of every kind: our friends are pleased with it, but our enemies, who, since the baron had been forbid to appear at court, had begun to take courage, do not relish it much. I know from good authority, that the lord treasurer said some days ago to one of his creatures, that he never thought that affair should have been pushed so far; and another person affirmed to me, that he said that he apprehended he would be very soon disgraced; that they wanted to oblige him to enter into the measures of those who intended to establish the Pretender; and that the Queen was more determined on that point than ever.

I have received the paquet for the baron de Schutz; but the letters which came by a secret address are not yet decyphered. I shall inform

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lord Halifax of every thing. I hope Mr. Kreyenberg will make the compliments of thanks with which the Electress charged the baron de Schutz for lord Anglesea, lord Abington, and the archbishop of York. It will be the more necessary to make them to the archbishop, because it is well known he is not yet quite firm in the good cause; and it is for this reason some friends desired me to write to you, that a letter from the Electress would confirm him much in the sentiments which he has begun to discover.

I inclose the Examiner of this day. I would not have taken the liberty of sending it to you, if lord Townsend was not of opinion that it deserved to be read at Hannover."

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Lord Townshend to Robethon.

Inclosing a paper of the Examiner, and urging to send over the Prince.

This is a French translation in Robethon's hand.

Translation.

May 4th, N. S. 1714.

"I Send you, Sir, the Examiner of this day, which makes a great noise in town, and gives great pleasure to the well-affected. The author, who succeeded Dr. Swift, is the lord treasurer's library-keeper; and none of his papers, of which three appear every week, are printed without the prime minister's knowing their contents; so that one may look upon this performance as the interpretation of his sentiments.

You will see by this piece, that the Tories are so far from exclaiming against the coming of the Electoral Prince, that they applaud it, and pretend to have the principal share in his good graces. This we will not envy them, providing they attach themselves to him as they appear resolved to do; and it is not to be doubted, but as soon as he appears, the lord treasurer will seek his protection, and both parties pay their court to him. There is no question, therefore, of sending the prince to be the head of a party, but to have the glory of uniting the two parties, who will concur together in parliament to settle a revenue of 30 or 40,000 l. sterling upon him; but for this purpose, he must come before the end of the session.

You see the Prince may come with entire security, and with the greatest pleasure imaginable, and prevent the designs of the Pretender; whereas,
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by allowing them to break out, it would be necessary to come with fleets and armies, and at an excessive expence, and be yet, after all, uncertain of the success, which is now infallible, providing the opportunity is not lost."

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The Archbishop of York to the Princess Sophia.

Professions of attachment.

Original.
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Strafford,

Madam,

London, May 4th, 1714.

"I Want words to express my deep sense of the great honour which your Royal Highness has done me, in vouchsafing to take notice of, and kindly accept my poor endeavours to serve your illustrious house; and in that, the protestant interest in general, and our own happy constitution in church and state in particular. It is so much both my duty and my interest to do all that I am able, for this end, that I should be unpardonable if I did not. I hope your Royal Highness will, every day more and more, have the satisfaction of seeing, that not only I myself, but the whole body of our clergy, are faithful and zealous, as becomes us, in this respect; and that the same good spirit is still among us, which so laudably, and, through the blessing of God, successfully opposed and got the better of the attempts of France and Popery in King James's reign.

Madam, I daily and most ardently pray to God for the health, long life, and prosperity of yourself and every branch of your illustrious family; and, particularly, that he would guard and maintain your right of succeeding to the crown of these realms, as now by law established. I am, with the most profound duty and respect, Madam, &c."

The Duke of Marlborough to Robethon.

A French translation in Robethon's hand.

His former charges against the Ministry renewed.—Reasons for sending over the Prince.

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p. 378.

Translation.

SIR,

Antwerp, May 5th, 1714.

"I Entreat you to be so good as to offer my very humble thanks to the Elector, for the share he appears to take in my affliction for the death of my daughter.

It is so evident, that the Queen's ministers are determined to place the Pretender on the throne, that it would be losing one's time to produce proofs

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proofs of it. Their greatest desire, and their only view in Mr. Harley's embassy, is to obtain some declaration from the Elector, which may impose upon the nation, and make it believe that your court is satisfied with them. If you have fallen into this snare, it will render all the efforts of your friends of no avail; but we rely upon the great prudence of his Electoral Highness.

A more proper time for demanding the writ for the Electoral Prince could not have been chosen; for you see how many of the richest and most considerable among the Tories declare for you, and acknowledge that they were deceived by the ministry, who lose so much ground in both houses, that you may depend upon it, they will take care not to call the second session of this parliament, before they have executed their design in favour of the Pretender; for otherwise they will run a risk of being prosecuted, for having betrayed their country and violated the laws; and as they cannot justify themselves in that respect, it is not to be believed, that they will expose themselves to the hazard of another session; for if they lose any more ground, however small, their ruin is certain.

Luckily, this session is to continue for two months longer, as no supplies are yet found; so that the Electoral Prince will have time enough before the end of it, to arrive and take his seat in parliament; in which case the balance will incline entirely to your side, as it begins to do already, upon the mere rumour of his coming: so that you may judge what effect his presence would produce. Accordingly our friends write to me, that, in that case, the parliament will not rise before they have settled a pension of 40,000*l.* Sterling, for a subsistence to the prince, who will have nothing to do but to make his court to the Queen, and caress the ministers, without meddling in any thing.

By this remedy the succession will be secured, without risk, without expence, and without war; and likewise it is very probable that France, seeing herself prevented in that manner, will abandon her design of assisting the Pretender.

In my humble opinion, it would be proper to use dispatch, and that the prince should set out before lord Paget arrives. This journey of the Prince, attended with the success which there is reason to expect from it, cannot fail to give the Elector new influence, and much greater consequence over all Europe; as he will secure to himself thereby the crown of

of Great Britain, which will attach the Emperor, Holland, and the court of Prussia to him, and render him the arbiter of the differences of the North. Whereas, if this opportunity is lost, (which, according to appearances, will be the last), the contrary will happen, and the influence of his Electoral Highness at other courts will suffer considerably by it, especially after the great noise which this demand of the writ for the Electoral Prince makes every where, which leaves no one room to doubt of his setting out soon: so that if he does not set out at all, your friends in England, who have exposed themselves so generously for your interests, will be absolutely ruined, and the succession in the utmost danger, which cannot fail to be productive of bad consequences to your court, in all the other courts of Europe.

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It is easy for your court to conceive of what importance it is, that the Prince should arrive while the parliament is sitting, as the reason to justify his journey is the right he has to take his seat in parliament, and the writ by which the Queen calls him to it. I hope you will send me good news.

I believe Mr. Molineux will be now at your court. I recommend him to you, as being a man of quality, who has very large possessions in Ireland, but principally as a man of parts and of merit, with whose good principles I am well acquainted. I flatter myself that he will be well received by their Highnesses. I am, &c."

"I may add further, that the Prince being but the third in the order of succession, and coming alone without troops, the Queen cannot be justly offended."

The Elector to Queen Anne.

An answer to the letter he received by Mr. Harley, accompanying the memorial which follows it.

Translation.

Madam,

Hannover, ^{27 April,}
_{6 May,} 1714.

"I Received, with the utmost gratitude, the letter of the 8th of January, which your Majesty gave in charge to Mr. Harley. Nothing could be more obliging than the assurances it contains of the continued attention which your Majesty is pleased to give to the establishment of the Protestant Succession, which is the only means of securing
the

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May.

the religion and tranquillity of your kingdoms, and than which you have nothing more at heart.

I imagined I could not make a more suitable return to such extraordinary proofs of kindness, than by delivering to Mr. Harley a memorial, which will shew to your Majesty what appears to me to be necessary in the present conjuncture, for the security of your royal person, of your kingdoms, and of the succession settled by the laws. As there are no other interests more worthy than these of the attention of a Queen, so distinguished for her piety, and for her love of her subjects, I doubt not but your Majesty will give them as much attention as I have confidence in your knowledge and goodness; being always, with great respect,

Your Majesty's most humble and most obedient servant,

GEORGE LEWIS, Elector."

A Memorial from the Electress and Elector to Queen Anne.

Desiring the Pretender's removal.—A pension for the Princess Sophia.—Leave to send a Prince of the Electoral family to Britain, and titles as Princes of the Blood to such of the protestant Princes of the family as have none.

Delivered to Mr. Harley at Hannover, the 7th May, N. S. 1714.

Translation.

"THEIR Electoral Highnesses received, with the utmost gratitude, the fresh mark of kindness which the Queen gave them, when she ordered Mr. Harley to ask them, what they wanted to be done for the greater security of the Protestant Succession established in their family, and also the obliging assurances he added to it, that her Britannic Majesty would have a pleasure in granting whatever they desired in that respect.

It is in reliance on this, that their Electoral Highnesses take the liberty of representing to her Majesty the necessity of obliging the Pretender to remove to Italy, and the danger which may result from his staying longer in Lorrain, both to her Majesty's kingdoms and to her royal person, and the protestant succession.

It is impossible to be more obliged to her Majesty than their Electoral Highnesses are, for the instances which she has been already pleased to make for the Pretender's removal. And as the present parliament, as well as the former, have shewn they are persuaded, that the security of the

the nation and of the succession is connected with it, which is likewise the opinion of their Electoral Highnesses, they entreat her Majesty to take most effectual measures for attaining such a salutary end; and the more so, the Pretender's adherents publish, with the utmost assurance, that he is preparing to make a descent in the North of Great Britain, while the kingdom is unfurnished with a fleet and troops; which is confirmed by different advices received from persons who have been lately at Bar-le-duc, and have a share of the Pretender's confidence, and who affirm that he will begin very soon to execute his enterprize, and that he depends upon a powerful foreign assistance.

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" Affairs being in such a dangerous situation, their Electoral Highnesses hope, that her Majesty will own with them, that it is necessary for the security of her royal person, and for that of her kingdoms, and of the protestant religion, to settle in Great Britain some one of the Electoral family, who would be attentive to such important concerns, and shew her Majesty, by a fidelity and an inviolable attachment to her person, how much their Electoral Highnesses are filled with respect and gratitude towards her. The time appears to be now come, when the security of their common interests cannot be found any longer but in a reciprocal confidence, and in measures taken with perfect concert; and when their Electoral Highnesses, as they do not expect the security of their rights to the succession, but from the continuance of her Majesty's goodness, are ready to contribute, on their side, as much as is in their power, to defeat the designs of those who would choose to disturb the tranquillity and felicity of her glorious reign.

" Their Electoral Highnesses likewise take the liberty of renewing the instances they made near two years ago, to her Majesty and to her ministers, for asking that such a pension and establishment should be settled by act of parliament on her Highness the Electress, as the nearest heir to the crown usually enjoyed. Their Electoral Highnesses did not choose to form any pretensions in this respect, while the nation was burdened with the expences of the war; but these expences being discontinued, and as every thing ought to be put upon a sure and solid footing by the peace, they hope, that during this very session of parliament, her Majesty will be so good as to procure them a thing which is so just, and which is but a natural consequence of all that she has done already in their favour.

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"Their Electoral Highnesses hope likewise, that her Majesty will be pleased to grant titles belonging to the princes of the blood of Great Britain, to such of the Protestant Princes of the Electoral family, as are not yet invested with them."

Done at Hannover, the 4th May, 1714.

The Seal of the
Electress.

The Seal of
the Elector.

Original.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Strafford.

Lord Anglesey to the Princess Sophia.

MADAM,

May 7, 1714.

"YOUR Royal Highness does me so great an honour in taking notice of any declaration of mine for the service of your family, which my duty obliged me, as well as my inclination ever prompted me to serve.

The same principles of loyalty and obedience, which make me a faithful, and, I hope, a good subject to her Majesty, must needs tie me down a firm and zealous servant to the Hannover succession, as the only means (whenever we shall be deprived of our good and gracious Sovereign) to repair so great a loss; and to secure and preserve to these nations our inviolable constitution in church and state.

I am, Madam, &c.

ANGLESEA."

Original.
Ibid.

Sir Thomas Hanmer to the Princess Sophia.

Thanks for her letter, and professions of attachment.

MADAM,

Without a date, but supposed 1714.

"YOUR Highness's commands have been obeyed by Mons. Schutz, who has delivered to me the letter you have been pleased to honour me with; and though I have the greatest zeal for your Highness's service, and for the interests of your family, I durst not flatter myself with deserving so particular a notice from you upon that account, because it is no more than a duty I am obliged to, and a merit, in which I hope the whole kingdom partakes with me. I am glad your Highness so well approves the endeavours which were set on foot the last parliament, for removing the Pretender farther off, and which, by the concurrence and adherence of this, I hope to see accomplished. Whatever assistance I can contribute, shall, with great application, be still continued

nued to that end; with greater, if possible, since your Highness is pleased to express yourself desirous of it, as a necessary means, in your opinion, conducing to your security. In a concern so important to us all, no care can be too great in guarding against every article and appearance of danger. Our laws and liberties, and religion, are all engaged in the preserving your right to the succession of the crown of Great Britain, and in conveying it down safe to the illustrious line, who are to derive it from you. And I hope the conviction of this is so general here, that nothing will be able to withstand those who will be united in that public cause, among whom shall always be found, Madam, &c.

THOMAS HANMER."

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Extracts of letters from Galke and Kreyenberg, to Robethon and Bothmar,

May, 1714.

Galke to Robethon.

The Queen's illness.—The necessity of sending over the Electoral Prince.—

News of the Pretender.—Anecdotes of the times.

Translation.

London, ^{27 April,}
8 May, 1714.

Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Schutz fils 8.
P. 394.

"I Have opened your packet for the Baron de Schutz, which arrived by the yesterday's post, and sent it afterwards to Kreyenberg, who will not fail to answer it, as well as that which arrived by the last post, under the secret address to Mons. de Bothmar. All our friends flatter themselves that the prince will set out on his journey as soon as Mons. de Schutz arrives at Hannover. They think this absolutely necessary, and that without it the Pretender will be here soon, and be very well received.

"I imagine his Excellency the baron de Bothmar will communicate to you the sheet full of news, which I send him this evening; and likewise Kreyenberg's letter in cyphers."

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Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Schutz fils 8.
p. 395.

Kreyenberg to Bothmar.

A copy in Schrader's hand, of Kreyenberg's letter in cyphers, mentioned in the preceding by Galke.

Translation.

May 8, N. S. 1714.

BOTH Whigs and Tories pressed Kreyenberg to represent the absolute necessity of the prince's coming over, after the step which had been taken. "The Queen," says he, "will at last reconcile herself to it, and the ministers, at least the greatest number of them, will pay their court to him. Anglesea, Abington, Orrery, and Sir Thomas Hanmer declared, without being desired, that before the end of the session, the parliament will make such a settlement for him as the Queen had when she was princess."

Kreyenberg was convinced that the Queen and ministry would agree to every thing that could be asked of them, if the prince did not come over, and would perhaps sacrifice Bolingbroke, and turn others out of the ministry: but he thought that would be done merely to amuse the Elector until the parliament rose.

"The Queen sent for the archbishop of York, and made him the greatest protestations, founded on conscience and sentiments of religion, that she was sincerely for the protestant succession. This prelate cannot reconcile all this with what he himself and every one sees. She said nothing at all of the coming of the Electoral Prince, but only of the disobliging manner in which the writ was demanded."

"It is confidently said now, and it appears very probable, that lord Oxford has carried his point with the Queen, and is become prime minister. It is believed that the affair of the writ contributed not a little to this; as his lordship insinuated, with great address, that lord Bolingbroke's violent conduct induced the Elector to take that step."

In the news which was sent this post in cyphers by Galke to Bothmar, we have the following passages.

"Mr. Johnston, who was formerly secretary of state in Scotland, told l'Hermitage, that the plan was formed for bringing in the Pretender; but that it was communicated only to four persons. He dined that day with lord Mar, who married his niece. He said that he would go in three weeks to Spa; and that, as he passed through the Hague, he

would

would discover very important secrets to Monf. de Bothmar. He added, that the coming of the Electoral Prince would remedy every thing; that even the ministers, at least some of them, would pay court to him; and that there was no other remedy for saving the nation and the succession, but that it must be applied without delay, and before the end of the parliament."

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"They give out at court, that it is not the affair of the writ, but the manner of asking it, which displeased the Queen; and for that reason they affect to shew a thousand civilities to Kreyenberg, who has been two following times invited to dine with the L—d T——r, who is more than ever in credit with the Queen, and appears disposed to attach himself to the prince, as soon as he appears, in order to gain him her Majesty's good graces, and to overturn Bolingbroke."

Galke to Robethon.

Translation.

London, 30 April, 1714.
11 May,

Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Schutz fils 8,
p. 402.

"THE Queen's conversation with the archbishop of York, of which Kreyenberg will have informed you, begins to make great noise. It is confirmed now, that the Lord Treasurer is more in favour with the Queen than ever he was. Bolingbroke is enraged at this, and it is not doubted but he will take his measures upon it in a manner suitable to his humour.

"L'Hermitage told me to-day, that lord Portmore employs all imaginable persuasions to inspire the duke of Ormond, who is more firm than ever in the interests of the Pretender, with more favourable sentiments towards the succession; but that he has not been able yet, to make great progress, his Grace being constantly beset by three women, who are lady Ogletorp* and two others, who will overturn to-morrow what he hath built to-day."

The same to the same.

Ibid. p. 425.

A copy in Schrader's hand.

This letter, and several others, written about this time by Galke and Kreyenberg, mention that the Queen had relapsed, and was in a very dangerous situation.

* He means Lady Oglethorpe.

Translation.

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May.

Translation.

London, $\frac{7}{18}$ May, 1714.

“IT appears that all hopes of reclaiming the duke of Ormond are lost, and that those who attempted it, find that he is more attached than ever to the interests of the prince of Wales. He voted, eight days ago, for the Roman Catholics, when the cause of whom I spoke” (the right of the protestant heir to succeed in preference to the Roman Catholic) “was decided in the house of lords. Lord North, on that occasion, even spoke in favour of the popish successor.”

Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Schutz fils 8.
p. 421.

Kreyenberg to Robethon.

A copy in Robethon's hand of what Kreyenberg wrote in cyphers. He gave, from the duke of Somerset, a particular account of the Queen's indisposition, and communicated the representations made to him by Whigs and Tories, of the absolute necessity of sending over the Electoral prince.

May 18, N. S. 1714.

“SEveral letters from Scotland mention the same thing with that which the Electress received from the man who was at Barleduc, and the Jacobites of that country give out, that the Pretender will be there before the end of May. It is certain that a Scotsman, Mackintosh of Bolam, (probably Borlum) came lately from Barleduc, and brought to Scotland a great number of commissions from the Pretender. My lord Brodalbin, a declared Jacobite, sets out for Scotland to-morrow.”

Ibid. p. 419.

Mr. Cadogan to Bothmar.

A translation in Schrader's hand.

Reasons for sending over the Electoral Prince.

Translation.

S I R,

London, $\frac{7}{18}$ May, 1714.

“IF I did myself the honour of writing to you so seldom since I have been here, it was to save you the repetition of the same news which you received from the baron de Schutz and Monsr. Kreyenberg; but now, when every thing is at stake, and when our safety, and the security of the succession depend entirely upon the journey of the Electoral Prince, I consider it is my duty to represent to you, in the strongest manner I am able, that if his Highness's journey is put off, the succession is inevitably lost.

“One

"One may say, that the whole nation expects the prince now with the utmost impatience, and that there is such a general disposition to receive him well, that the ministers will be obliged to treat his Highness with the respect which is due to him. But if the opportunity is lost, this inclination may cool; they will think themselves neglected, and will be capable, perhaps, of going from one extreme into another.

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May.

"Undoubtedly the reasons for the prince's journey become every day more strong; you know them, Sir, better than any man; therefore I shall only say, that all the Tories, excepting such as are entirely devoted to the ministers, wish for the Prince's arrival with as much earnestness as the Whigs; and there is reason to fear, that if the resolution of sending him is changed, our new allies, lord Anglesea, the archbishop of York, and the speaker of the house of commons, with their friends, will leave us soon: for they declare publickly enough, that the succession cannot be secured but by the presence of the prince; and they insinuated, that if he does not come, they will be obliged to take other measures.

"You would see by the Gazettes, that the stocks rose very high since the Prince's journey was spoke of; an undoubted sign of the good disposition of the nation; and, I think, I may assure you, that his presence here will give us immediately a majority in both houses. The Tories do not conceal their sentiments in this respect, and they say publickly, that they only wait to see the Prince for declaring against the ministers.

"The lord treasurer and lord Bolingbroke are more exasperated than ever against one another. The lord treasurer found means of reconciling himself with lady Masham, and boasts that he will very soon turn out lord Bolingbroke, and the lord chancellor; and the treasurer's friends begin, by private rumours, to charge these two noblemen with the design of bringing in the Pretender. In a word, this is a fine opportunity for bringing over the Prince; and the ministers being come to an open rupture with one another, the parliament and the people are impatient to see him arrive, and the partisans of the Pretender cannot disguise their apprehensions of this journey, which they consider as a mortal blow to all their designs."

Baron.

1714.
May.
A copy in
Schrader's
hand, vol.
marked
Bothmar x.
No. 89.

Baron de Wassenaeer Duvenvoerde to the Earl of Oxford.

Translation.

My Lord,

May 18, 1714.

" I Did myself the honour of writing to you the 4th instant, that I would communicate, without delay, to the court of Hannover, the letter which you was so good as to write to me the 25th of April. I have done so; and I have had the pleasure to understand, that the assurances of your good intentions and of your attachment to the interests of the illustrious family, gave great joy at that court, and that they desire to live in perfect confidence with you.

With regard to the Electoral Prince's journey; I am charged to tell you, my lord, that when the Queen gave the prince the patent of duke of Cambridge, and regulated the rank of the Protestant princes of the family, as princes of the blood, by the act of precedency, which was carried to them two years ago, by Mr. Harley, that court imagined these were real favours, of which they might make use when the opportunity offered, and that the Electoral Prince, when he made use of his writ of summons, only made use of what was his right, and that, if he went to England, it would be with an intention to continue inviolably attached to the Queen and to her ministers, and to your lordship in particular; wherein her Britannic Majesty would find her own safety and that of her kingdoms against the attempts of the Pretender, who would not dare, in that case, to think of an invasion. Besides that, the King of France would have this reason to allege for dispensing himself from assisting him, that there would be no means of doing it, as the family of Hannover was beforehand with him: so that nothing appears more conformed to the interest of the Queen and the nation, than the sending over the prince, which is evident, as the Jacobites fear it, as a mortal blow to their hopes.

I hope, my lord, that you will have no difficulty of conceiving the Elector's views, and I pray God, with all my heart, that the measures taken to secure the Protestant Succession to the crown of Great Britain may succeed, persuaded as I am, that the preservation of our holy religion and the safety of Europe depend upon it. Your lordship is in a situation which enables you to procure so great a benefit, by uniting, still more clearly, the Queen with the family of Hannover. In the name of
God,

God, my lord, employ your influence and your prudence to promote this salutary end. You will gain the blessing of heaven, and the applause of all honest men.

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May.

If you think that I can be serviceable to you in any thing, you will do me a favour and a pleasure by employing me. I shall always shew that I have nothing more at heart, than the establishment of the Protestant Succession, and the union of the two nations; and on all occasions, I shall give you marks of the zeal and respect with which I have the honour to be, my lord, &c.

Baron de WASSENAER DUVENVOERDE."

"*Extract of a letter from Sir Richard Onslow, who was once speaker to the house of commons.*"

Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Schutz fils 8.
p. 426.

Reasons for sending the Prince.

A translation from the English in Robethon's hand.

Translation.

May 22, N. S. 1714.

"**W**E live here in the hope of seeing the Electoral prince arrive, and of seeing him introduced to parliament, by virtue of the writ which was given; and this expectation is so strong, that a disappointment will discourage entirely his friends and encourage his enemies.

I can assure you, it is the general opinion of people of the first consequence and the well affected to the succession, (who are the majority of the kingdom) that nothing can contribute more to render the Queen's reign happy and safe, and at the same time secure the succession, as it is established by the laws in favour of the family of Hannover, than the presence of the duke of Cambridge among us, that being the surest means to curb the great and continued efforts of those who act for the Pretender, and give themselves out to be a very powerful party, with a view of gaining over many to their faction at home, and of encouraging France to send them the Pretender with French troops. Upon that assistance their greatest expectations are founded. You may judge then at Hannover, of what importance it is to prevent such an event, by sending over the prince. I expect from you, with the utmost impatience, the good news of his departure."

1714.
May.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Schutz fils 8.
P. 431.

An unknown friend in England to Monsieur de Bothmar.

The same subject continued.

It is a translation from the English in Robethon's hand.

Translation.

May 25, N. S. 1714.

“**T**HE Pretender's faction acknowledge that if the prince comes over, their system's over-turned, and they invent lyes of every kind, to destroy all hopes of the prince's coming, producing letters from Hannover, which bear that Monsieur de Schutz has been disavowed and very ill received, and that it is certain the Elector will not send the prince to England.

Mr. Bromley, secretary of state, in particular, spoke in this manner, which has thrown the Pretender's faction into transports of joy, and the friends of Hannover, both Whigs and Tories, into the utmost despair. I have heard several of them, and among others, the duke of Argyle exclaim, if the Elector abandons us in this manner, and refuses to embrace an opportunity so favourable, so easy, and so conformed to our laws, sacrificing us, and abandoning us to the rage of our enemies, after all that we have done for him, we have no further recourse, but to go to the other extremity, and invite the Pretender to come over on tolerable terms, and without a French army.

I entreat your Excellency to communicate this to his Electoral Highness. Consider what advantage the Pretender's friends will draw from it, and if, your friends being refused and disgusted, it will not be very easy for your enemies to carry any bill they please in parliament, for infringing the acts of the succession, which they have attempted before now several times, but without success. The boldness of these people goes so far, that Sir John Packington, in a club of more than 80 Tories, proposed that the parliament should order the black box to be opened; so they call the sealed instruments of the Electress, appointing a regency in case of the Queen's death; but the affair was dropped.

This and some things still worse, will be brought now again upon the carpet, if the prince does not come, for then your enemies will reassume courage; and seeing that your court shews no resentment of the affront done to your Minister, they will imagine, as you put up with every thing, that every thing is allowable to them.

The

The pardon which the Queen granted to Doctor Bedford, author of the book on Hereditary Right, is the greatest affront which her Majesty could offer to the Electoral family. I don't know if these things are understood at your court, or if attention is paid to them.

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May.

They continue to dismiss all the officers, civil and military, who presume to shew any attachment to the Hannoverian succession; and yet they give out, that the Queen's ministers assure your court that they have the greatest zeal and attachment to them. It would be very curious if they could succeed to persuade you of this.

My conclusion from all this is, that if the prince does not come over, the succession is lost. The delaying his journey has had already the bad effects I apprehended from it, having given time to the ministers to contrive new intrigues, and give life and courage to their party, which was half extinct, and which laughs now at your friends every where, and asks them, Where is then your duke of Cambridge? And where is your succession? Is it not more than a month since the writ was demanded? A proper resolution on the part of his Electoral Highness would make them change their language soon.

Cadogan to Bothmar.

A copy in Schrader's hand.

The same subject continued.—The Queen's illness.—The quarrels of the ministry.—Oxford makes advances to the Whigs.

Translation.

London, $\frac{1}{2}$ May, 1714.

“THE inexpressible impatience which every one shows here, for news of the Electoral Prince's departure, induces me to take the liberty of embracing every safe opportunity which offers, of repeating to you, that every thing is irreparably lost if the resolution of sending him is changed or delayed; for the earnest desire of seeing him here, having become so universal, and augmenting every day, his coming is so absolutely necessary, that I fear a longer delay may produce very disagreeable effects.

As to the Queen, she continues much indisposed: the St. Anthony's fire [*Perispele*] which broke out in her leg and thigh, has considerably diminished the violence of her fever; but it is believed, on the other hand, that a mortification may follow. She sleeps little and eats nothing, and she is in such dreadful anxiety, that her mind suffers no less than her body.

Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Schutz fils 8.
P. 435.

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The quarrels between the treasurer and Bolingbroke are greater than ever. It is true, their common friends reconcile them for a day or two, but they quarrel more violently afterwards. The partisans of both the one and the other give out, that their leader possesses all the favour and confidence of the Queen; but it is impossible to write any thing positively on this subject, this scene at court having lately changed as frequently as the wind. The fact is, that these two ministers exert themselves very openly, to ruin one another, and as this division among the leaders reigns also among their followers, it is very certain, that if the Electoral Prince comes over, both of them will be very soon overturned; to which I may add, that at bottom, the treasurer would not be sorry that the Electoral Prince were here, although he is obliged to declare and to publish the contrary, for fear of losing entirely the Queen, who cannot hear the prince's journey spoke of without putting herself in a passion, and the more so, that she perceives the nation desires it with ardour.

What I write to you of the real sentiments of the treasurer, concerning this affair, comes from his brother the auditor, who told it to general Erle, from whom I had it. The treasurer has likewise commanded several secret negotiations with the Whigs, since his credit has begun to decline at court; and they have answered, that in case he will consent to the coming of the Electoral Prince, and exert himself seriously to secure the succession, they will not only forget the past, but they will endeavour to support him and to maintain him in his authority and in his office.

I imagine, Sir, that it is impossible to act in a more disinterested manner than the Whigs do; and I am almost persuaded, that the presence of the Electoral Prince will determine the treasurer to adopt that plan.

I shall expect, with great impatience to hear from you, and you may write by the usual conveyance in the cypher which you gave me. I make no use of it in this letter, because I send it by a lady who will deliver it safely. The house of commons adjourned till Thursday. I am, &c."

The letters which Queen Anne wrote to the princess Sophia and to the duke of Cambridge, when the writ of summons was demanded for him,

him, and a letter which the earl of Oxford wrote to the duke, dissuading him from coming over, were made public at the time and are in every one's hands. Her Majesty's letter to the Elector, which was suppressed at the time, was as follows.

1714.
May.

Queen Anne to the Elector of Hannover.

Translation.

Communicated to the Editor.

May $\frac{1}{2}$ 1714.

" **A**S the rumour increases, that my cousin, the Electoral Prince, has resolved to come over to settle, in my life time, in my dominions I do not choose to delay a moment to write to you about this, and to communicate to you my sentiments, upon a subject of this importance.

I then freely own to you, that I cannot imagine, that a prince who possesses the knowledge and penetration of your Electoral Highness, can ever contribute to such an attempt; and that I believe you are too just to allow, that any infringement shall be made on my sovereignty which you would not choose should be made on your own. I am firmly persuaded, that you would not suffer the smallest diminution of your authority: I am no less delicate, in that respect; and I am determined to oppose a project so contrary to my royal authority, however fatal the consequences may be.

Your Electoral Highness is too just to refuse to bear me witness, that I gave, on all occasions, proofs of my desire that your family should succeed to my crowns; which I always recommend to my people, as the most solid support of their religion and their laws. I employ all my attentions, that nothing should efface those impressions from the hearts of my subjects: but it is not possible to derogate from the dignity and prerogatives of the prince who wears the crown, without making a dangerous breach on the rights of the successors; therefore, I doubt not, but with your usual wisdom, you will prevent the taking such a step; and that you will give me an opportunity of renewing to you, assurances of the most sincere friendship with which I am, &c.

Intelligence concerning the Pretender, communicated to Baron de Bothmar.

Translation.

Luneville, June 1, 1714.

" **T**HE chevalier de St. George was resolved to continue the use of the waters of Plombiere for 10 or 12 days longer; but a report spread

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No. 107.

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spread here, that the Electoral Prince of Hannover had embarked, and as the chevalier de St. George came back to this place yesterday, some ascribe this change to that news. Others say, that the waters are not proper for his disorder of his stomach and his breast, and that this is the reason of his sudden departure. He will return Monday to Bar."

Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Schutz fils 8.
P. 457.

This extract of a letter from Luneville, and also the copy of the following letter is in Schrader's hand.

Translation.

Luneville, June 5, 1714.

"IT is likely that the chevalier de St. George is preparing for some great design which is kept very private. It was believed that he would drink the waters of Plombiere for three weeks, as is customary, and that he would come afterwards, to pass 15 days at Luneville; but he changed his measures: he did not continue to drink the waters, which he drank only for 10 days, and came back to Luneville Saturday last. He sets out to-morrow very early for Bar; lord Galmoy went before him, and set out this morning. Lord Talmo, who came lately from France, is with him, and some say, that the duke of Berwick is incognito in this neighbourhood.

The chevalier appears pensive: that, indeed, is his ordinary humour. Mr. Floyd, who has been these five days at the court of his Royal Highness, told a mistress he has here, that when he leaves her now, he will take his leave of her, perhaps, for the last time. In short, it is certain, that every thing here seems sufficiently to announce preparations for a journey; it is said likewise, in private, that the chevalier has had letters that the Queen is very ill.

I have done every thing I could to discover something of his designs. I supped last night with several of his attendants, thinking to learn something; but they avoid to explain themselves. They only say, that the chevalier did not find himself the better of drinking the waters, that he would go now to repose himself for some time, at Bar, until he goes, in the beginning of next month, to the Prince de Vaudemont's, at Commerci, where their Royal Highnesses will come likewise. They say, they do not know yet, if they will remain in this country or not; that they will follow the destiny of the chevalier; and that it is not known yet what it shall be."

Extracts

Extracts of a letter from Kreyenberg to Bothmar.

The Prince's coming to England.

London, $\frac{25 \text{ May,}}{5 \text{ June,}}$ 1714.

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marked
Schutz fils 8.
p. 448.

"YOUR letters leave me in an uncertainty whether the Electoral Prince will come or not. Here they begin to believe the last. I made no use of the reason which you give me, why the Elector has not come to a determination, that is to say, the issue of the Queen's sickness, as they would say, it is only a pretence. The Queen's dangerous situation, they would say, ought to determine you so much the sooner. In short, I do not know what to say to all this, and I don't believe you expect from me that I should foretell what may be the consequence. We must wait a few days to see more clearly.

All I can say at present is, that our friends are much dejected and discouraged. Some of them, as Sir Thomas Hanmer and others of his party, intimate, that as this affair has spun out so long, and as the court has had time to recollect itself and concert its measures, it would be more proper, in such a state of things, to wait for the next session of parliament, and to see, in the mean time, what can be done. I own I cannot agree with them in this, and all our other friends likewise, as Nottingham, Townshend, Sunderland, Halifax, &c. continue in their old opinion. But they all in general think, that if the Elector does not choose to send the Electoral Prince, it would have been proper and will be proper still to declare so, in order that the Elector on the one hand, may take advantage of it at this court, and that our friends on the other, may consider of something else, and of the conduct they are to follow, to keep up the spirits of their party."

Letters from the Elector to Queen Anne, June 1714.

An answer to the letters her Majesty wrote when the writ of summons was demanded for the Electoral Prince.

The Elector to Queen Anne.

Translation.

MADAM, Herrenhausen, June 11 N. S. 1714.

"I Received the letter of the $\frac{1}{3}$ of May, with which your Majesty was pleased to honour me; but having had the misfortune, two days after

Original
communica-
ed to the
Editor.

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after receiving it, to lose the Electress, my mother, by a sudden death, which filled me with affliction, and which I will not fail to notify to your Majesty, in a manner suitable to the respect I owe you ; I find myself obliged by the grief I justly feel, to delay, for some days, to answer the contents of your Majesty's letter. I entreat your Majesty to be persuaded of the attention and earnestness which I shall always employ to cultivate the honour of your good graces, and of the respect with which I am, &c.

GEORGE LEWIS, Elector."

Original
communi-
cated to the
Editor.*The same to the same.*

Translation.

MADAM,

Hannover, June 15, 1714.

"I Received the letter with which your Majesty honoured me, of the 30th of the last month ; the contents of which both surprised and gave me uneasiness. I had flattered myself I had given your Majesty the most convincing proofs of my respect for your royal person, and of my gratitude for your kindness. Your Majesty cannot be ignorant, that I always relied with the utmost confidence upon the wisdom of your government, without taking the smallest concern in factions, (far from being capable of encouraging them), and that I always wished, your authority and your royal prerogatives might be maintained in all their lustre ; no one after your Majesty having more interest therein than I and my family.

It is so essential to me to cultivate the honour of your good graces, that it is natural to imagine the presence of one of the princes of my family in your kingdoms, could never have any other design than to confirm a good understanding between the two courts, and to render to your Majesty all possible services. If your Majesty will be so good as to take the trouble of looking to the memorial which I ordered to be delivered to Mr. Harley ; you will see there with what sincerity I desire to concert with your Majesty whatever may be further necessary to confirm the succession established by the laws. I entreat your Majesty to pay to it the attention which such important interests deserve, and to be persuaded that nothing shall ever be capable of altering the respect with which I am, &c."

The

*The Electoral Prince to Queen Anne.**The same subject continued.*

Translation.

MADAM,

Hannover, June 15, 1714.

"IT is with great grief I observed, by the letter of the 30th of May, with which your Majesty honoured me, that endeavours have been used to give suspicions of me to your Majesty, and to represent me as capable of exciting troubles and encouraging factions in your kingdoms. As these are designs, of which I would never forgive myself even the very idea, I should ardently wish to be within reach, to be able to undeceive your Majesty, and to be more nearly known to you. I am persuaded, that my conduct would very soon engage your Majesty to do me justice, and to grant me the honour of your good graces, which I shall always court with the utmost earnestness, being, with greatest respect, &c."

Extracts of letters from Galke and Bothmar to Robethon.

New instruments of regency asked in case of the Queen's death.—Bothmar is ordered to go to England.

Galke to Robethon.

Translation.

London, $\frac{4}{5}$ June, 1714.

"OUR friends desired me to insist, that new instruments of regency should be sent over, without loss of time. That may be of consequence, if the Queen should happen to die in the mean time. New credentials for the resident should be sent over with them. Sir Peter King sent word to me this evening, to wait of him to-morrow morning, that he might give me information about these things."

Bothmar to Robethon.

Translation.

Hague, June 16, 1714.

"I Received your letter of the 12th, with a rescript of his Electoral Highness of the same date, by which he acquaints me with his resolution of sending me to England. He does me a great deal of honour, especially as you tell me, he took this resolution of his own accord. I wish I may be able to succeed in that commission according to my own

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ed to the
Editor.Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Schutz fils 108
p. 459.Ibid.
vol. marked
Bothmar 10.
No. 108.

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desires; but I own to you, that I cannot promise myself much in that respect, in the present state of things in that country. It will be a troublesome and vexatious post. I shall, however, do every thing in my power to conduct myself agreeably to the intentions of his Electoral Highness. I presume he will not leave me there long, and that he will preserve me my post here, especially as it is not known what turn affairs may take in that country, or that I can remain there as long as we would choose.

I am sorry that you are to have the earl of Clarendon and his Jacobitish secretary:

1st, Because he is a selfish and presumptuous fool, and a fool to such a degree, that being appointed governor by the Queen in the Indies [he was governor of Pennsylvania], he thought that it was necessary for him, in order to represent her Majesty, to dress himself as a woman, which he actually did.

2dly, Because the changing lord Paget for this fool Clarendon, having been brought about without lord Oxford's knowledge, shows that Bolingbroke has acquired a superiority, as Kreyenberg writes.

Oxford employed Kreyenberg to make me great compliments in return to those which I made to him by his cousin and by Drummond, assuring me, that he will cultivate a sincere and true friendship with me, if I choose to return it. This is likewise a proof to me that he finds himself falling. I shall make the most obliging answers to him, and will endeavour to make use of him, without giving my confidence to a man so double; perhaps we may draw some advantage from him, even though the other should turn him out."

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Bothmar, 10.
No. 111.

The Duke of Marlborough to Robethon.

In the same strain with his former letters, with compliments of condolence on the death of the Electress.

Original in the duke's hand and signed.

June 18, 1714.

"**T**HOU' I would not trouble you with letters when I can tell you nothing that you don't know, I can't satisfy myself without desiring that you will do me the favour to present my humble duty to his Electoral Highness, and assure him, that I shall always be very sorry for any thing that is a trouble or a loss to his family; and that you wou'd please

please to assure the Electoral Prince and Princeſſe of the ſame: but the age of the Electoreſs being ſo great, it cou'd not be expected that ſhe cou'd continue long. I have been wiſhing ſome time to hear how you part'd with Mr. Harley, and whether there was any hopes of the Electoral Prince going into England, which I find all the conſiderable men of both ſides ſo earneſtly deſired, that they expreſs a great deal of trouble at the diſapoyntment; this is what my correſpondance write, the 29, O. S. of May, and one thing more, which I think is deverting, that Mr. Auditor Harley gives into theſe complaints, and ſay'd, that if the Electoral Prince had immediately follow'd the demanding of the writte, it had, by this time, put an end to the Jacobite miniſters and party; how ſincere this is in my lord Treafurer brother, I believe you may be able to judg of as well as any body, by what he has written to your court: but this artifice and a great many others of the ſame kind, ſhew, that hee thinks it of uſe to continue deluding people with ſuch tricks, and pretending that he is for the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hannover, tho' ſince he had the power, he never made one ſtep that was not directly againſt it. Pray be pleaſed to take an opportunity of acquainting his Electoral Highneſſe, that my beſt friends think my being in England may be of much more uſe to the ſervice than my continuing abroad, upon which I deſign to return as ſoon as the parliament is up; and being very deſirous of receiving the Elector's commands, I have already written to Monſieur Bothmar to meet me at Mordick, which may eaſily be done without being known to any body. I ſhall not leave this place till the beginning of the next month. I am with much truth and eſteem, Sir,

Your moſt faithfull, &c.

MARLBOROUGH."

Queen Anne to the Elector.

Translation.

Brother and Couſin,

Kenſington, June 19, 1714.

"MY experience of the earl of Clarendon's capacity determined me to ſend him to your court, in quality of my envoy extraordinary, and I gave him in charge to declare to you the ſentiments of my heart, concerning every thing which regards your intereſts and thoſe of your Electoral family. I am perſuaded that you will ſoon diſcover his lordſhip's merit, and that you will find him in all reſpects well qualified to maintain the friendſhip which I hope will always ſubſiſt between us. Accord-

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ingly, I have nothing to say, but to entreat you to open your mind to him, and to receive the assurances which he will give you from me, of the sincerity with which I am, Brother and cousin,

Your affectionate sister and cousin,
ANNE R."

Mr. Bromley to the Earl of Clarendon.

My Lord, Whitehall, June 22, 1714.

"**T**HE Queen coveting nothing so much, as that you may be able to conciliate a firm and entire friendship between her Majesty and the house of Hannover; I am commanded to acquaint your lordship, that when you speak to the Elector upon her Majesty's good disposition, you are to let him understand, she hopes it will meet with suitable returns.

Your lordship will endeavor to satisfy the Elector, the Queen has no intention but to secure the succession to her crowns, as by law established, in the house of Hannover, and is ready to do every thing that may contribute to that end, consistent with the safe and quiet possession of them during her own time.

Her Majesty having been very sincere in the public declarations she has made, and in the assurances she has frequently given in favour of this succession; she expects from the Elector, he will speak freely on this subject; and particularly, if he thinks he has reason to suspect designs are carrying on to disappoint it, that he will declare what foundation he has for such suspicion. And your lordship will assure him, he may depend, that no person shall be continued in her Majesty's service, he has reasonable ground to imagine has other views; and if that can be made appear, her Majesty will not fail to make examples of such persons.

Upon your lordship's arrival at Hannover, you will learn what resolution that court has taken about the Electoral Prince (the duke of Cambridge) coming hither, the demanding the writ for his setting in parliament having given an expectation it was soon intended. Your lordship will find such resolution is either taken or suspended; or a resolution taken, that he will not come over without her Majesty's consent and invitation.

If the resolution for his coming is taken or suspended, your lordship will represent to the Elector, the great uneasiness his coming hither, at this time,

time, will give to the Queen; how unseasonable it is, and that it may endanger the succession itself.

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It must make the Queen uneasy, as it will be thought to confirm a jealousy, maliciously and industriously spread, of her Majesty's want of sincerity and good inclination to the succession; and, as it will be understood to gratify those who desire, [and there is cause to believe, have solicited his coming over, in opposition to her Majesty; it is unseasonable, because of the divisions among us, which his presence, at this juncture, will rather foment and increase, than compose and quiet. And it may endanger the succession, as it will certainly cool the zeal of many now well-affected to it, who, from their duty and regard for the Queen will be disgusted with every thing that shall have the appearance of a contemptuous treatment of her Majesty; and who will apprehend such a step to be a declaration of the faction, and entering into the heats and extravagances of a party, for whom they have so strong an aversion, that they dread nothing more, than their returning again into power.

But if the resolution is taken, that the duke of Cambridge shall not come without the Queen's consent and invitation, your lordship will let the Elector know, that this deference and respect to her Majesty will lay such an obligation on her, as will entitle him to all the good effects he can expect from it.

Upon the whole, your lordship will observe to the Elector, that a good use may be made of this accident, of this attempt to bring over the duke of Cambridge, in opposition to her Majesty, since the regards he shall shew to her Majesty, on this occasion, must necessarily create such a friendship and good correspondence between her Majesty and him, as must be very serviceable to their mutual interests. I am, with all possible respect, my lord, &c.

W. BROMLEY.

Bothmar to Roberton.

Translation.

Hague, June 26th, 1714.

" I Received, last night, your letter of the 22d, with a rescript from his Electoral Highness concerning the answer which Mr. de Duvenvoerde should make to the lord treasurer, of which I shall speak to him to-morrow*.

* There is probably a mistake in the date of Duvenvoerde's letter, which is inserted above.

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Bothmar, x.
No. 114.

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Lord Middleton's journey to Vienna does not please me. I hope, however, it is not to treat of the Pretender's marriage with an arch-dutcheſs, which was ſpoke of ſome time ago."

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Papers,
vol. marked
Schutz filis 8.
p. 163.

Galke to Robethon.

Translation.

London, $\frac{18}{29}$ June, 1714.

"I Am aſſured from very good authority, that Bolingbroke having heard that Oxford ſaid of him, that he could prove he was a Jacobite, told one of his friends that he had proofs in his hands to convict the other of being in the intereſts of the Pretender. Shrewſbury, who was in ſuſpence till then, whether he ſhould be of Bolingbroke or Oxford's party, begins to declare for the firſt. Oxford's diſgrace is believed certain, if he does not find means of appeaſing the Queen, before the end of the ſeſſion.

I am juſt now told, that lord Clarendon ſaid this morning, that he was going to Kenſington to take leave of the Queen; and that he would ſet out to-morrow."

Ibid. p. 169.

The ſame to the ſame.

Translation.

London, $\frac{22 \text{ June,}}{3 \text{ July,}}$ 1714.

THE Elector's friends in England expected impatiently the arrival of baron Bothmar, to change the inſtruments appointing a regency in caſe of the Queen's death.

"They are alarmed here by letters which came from France ſome days ago, and bear that the Pretender continues with the utmoſt diligence to prepare himſelf for ſome expedition; and that it will be againſt Scotland or Ireland; and that he has actually reviewed his troops; and that veſſels are prepared privately in different ports of France. They appear to be ſo much the more alarmed, that men, who enliſted recruits for the Pretender's ſervice, have been arreſted here, and in different places in the country."

Ibid. p. 481.

The ſame to the ſame.

Translation.

London, $\frac{25 \text{ June,}}{6 \text{ July,}}$ 1714.

"WHAT paſſed yeſterday in the two houſes of parliament gave a very ſenſible joy to all thoſe who wiſh well to the proteſtant ſucceſſion; and I doubt not but it will have the ſame effect in Hannover. I

am assured from very good authority, that the affair regarding the Queen's proclamation (which is inclosed), and what happened in parliament in consequence of it †, was concerted between Oxford and Shrewsbury, of whom the first begins to re-unite with our friends. It was observed yesterday, that those who were of Oxford's party, as Anglesea and Hanmer, joined the Whigs; and that Bolingbroke's party alone were against the resolution which was taken.

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Matters begin to be in a situation which gives our friends reason to hope for great advantages to the protestant succession. They flatter themselves especially that they will be in a condition to overturn Bolingbroke. They have concerted two ways for that purpose; the one by the Queen, and the other by the parliament. With regard to the first, it happens that Oxford, Shrewsbury, Dartmouth, Pawlet, and the bishop of London, who are all of the cabinet council, are already gained; and that there remains on the other side but Bolingbroke, Buckingham, Ormond, Harcourt, and Bromley. Besides, the house of peers is to day on the state of the nation, and particularly on the article which regards the treaty with Spain. It is from that quarter they want to attack Bolingbroke, and they flatter themselves that he will fall."

Kreyenberg to Robethon.

Translation.

London, $\frac{25 \text{ June,}}{6 \text{ July,}}$ 1714.

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Papers,
vol. marked
Schutz fils. 8.
p. 48z.

"I Am come from dining at Mr. Thomas Harley's with lord Harley, lord Duplin, the lord treasurer's son-in-law, lord Mansel, and Mr. Edward Harley; the last conversed with me for a long time about the history of the resolution of the house of commons, concerning the 100,000 l. He made a thousand protestations to me of the good intentions of his brother, and wanted to give me to understand, that I would see yet further proofs of them, before the end of the parliament. I believe now, it is God's will undoubtedly, that we should have the succession. I doubt not but the quarrels of the ministers will be still productive

† He means the Queen's proclamation, offering a reward for apprehending the Pretender, and the address of the lords on the 24th of June, O. S. thanking her Majesty for her proclamation, and desiring her to renew her instances for removing the Pretender from Lorrain, and to issue another proclamation against papists and nonjurors, and offering a reward for apprehending those who enlisted men for the Pretender.

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of great things. We see now more than ever, how much the ministry would be capable of doing, if they were united. I believe, that there is nothing but they would accomplish otherwise in the circumstances in which we are now.

Lord Oxford told me, the day before yesterday, as he spoke to me of Lord Clarendon's departure, that he knew very well his lordship would not speak well of him at Hannover: a certain sign that it is Bolingbroke who sent him.

The baron de Bothmar is arrived. He called upon me, but did not find me. I am going to him this moment."

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Bothmar, 10.
No. 120.

There is a letter from Bothmar himself to Robethon of this date acquainting him of his arrival. When he came away from Holland, he left in the hands of Klinggraf, who seems to have acted as Resident from the Elector at the Hague, a letter from his Highness to the States, demanding their guarantee of the succession according to the terms of the Barrier treaty in case of the demise of the Queen. He passed by Lord Clarendon in the Thames, and received a great many visits and compliments that very evening.

The Duke of Marlborough to Robethon.

Ibid. No. 123.

Original in the Duke's hand, but not signed.

Antwerp, July 9th, 1714.

SIR,

"I know not by what accident, but yours of the 22d of the last month came to me but the day before yesterday. Mr. Molineux went from hence last Friday, and embarked the next day at Ostend, with a faire wind for England. My last letters were very full of hopes, that some thing considerable for the protestant succession may yet be done, before the parliament parts; so that I flatter myself that the arrival of Mons. Bothmar may be of great use, the parliament being likely to set sometime longer than was expect'd. I shall not leave this place till about the end of this month. I followed your directions in acquainting Mr. M. as to the number of the troupes. They are all well inclin'd, except the two battalions of Orkney. I am ever with truth,

Yours."

Extracts

Extracts of several letters from Bothmar to Robethon, from his arrival in London in the end of June to the death of the Queen, 1st of August, O. S. 1714.

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The Quarrels of the ministry.--The character and conduct of the Earl of Oxford. Of Lord Bolingbroke.--The Duke of Marlborough is expected in England.--Conjectures on the motives of his journey.--Suspensions of his corresponding with the Pretender.--The Queen's sickness and death.

Bothmar to Robethon.

London, $\frac{29 \text{ June,}}{10 \text{ July,}}$ 1714.

HE had paid several visits, and found none of the ministers at home but the lord treasurer and Mr. Bromley.—“ I am just returned from an audience of the Queen. She answered me with a very gracious manner. I find her paler than formerly, but in other respects she looks well, and seems to be in health, excepting that she cannot walk, nor stand up.

I was told here, that it is not lord Middleton himself, but his son, who went to Vienna; and it must be certainly for a different purpose from travelling, as he conceals himself there in a convent.”

— $\frac{6}{17}$ July.—Bromley spoke to Bothmar of the publication of the Queen's letters to the Electress and to the Electoral Prince. It was suspected by some that Bothmar published them, but he convinced them that he did not. Those who were for the Prince's coming over, were angry at the publication of the letters, as it might produce bad effects among the people, who would see by it, that the Queen had so much aversion from a prince of the succession. The ministry continued to be on bad terms.

Ibid. No. 128.

— $\frac{9}{20}$ July.—“ It is true the treasurer receives me very well; but the question is, if he is sincere, and if he will still have power to serve us. He deceived the Whigs, and perhaps himself. It is thought he has patched up matters with Bolingbroke. I shall write to you about this by a secret address.”

Ibid.

The letter, which Bothmar promised to send by a secret address, was written in cyphers; the copy of it which follows, is in Robethon's hand.

“ It was believed that the examination of the treaty of commerce with Spain would have given an opportunity of making Bolingbroke fall, if

Ibid.

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the treasurer, with his friends, had joined those who wanted to overturn his antagonist. He had promised it by his brother, through whom assurances had been given him, that on that condition, they would support him against Bolingbroke. But it seems they dared not attack the latter directly, seeing themselves uncertain of the treasurer and of his friends, while Bolingbroke endeavoured to gain lord Anglesea, Lord Abington, and some others to his side. At last they contented themselves with attacking only his friend Arthur More; so that lord Bolingbroke will maintain himself in his post, and may be able to turn out the treasurer by his credit with the Queen. The fall of the treasurer appears to be very near, according to the opinion of his own friends. Some of those who would have assisted him to bring down his rival, say now, according to the maxim which prevails much here, that he does not deserve to be assisted, as he does not choose to assist himself.

The reasons of his conduct in this situation of affairs are perhaps,
1. His own humour, which does not allow him to keep himself entirely to one side. 2. The hopes of maintaining himself still in the Queen's good graces, by the same means, by which he introduced himself into her favour. 3. The hopes of entering again into favour, by degrees, although he should now lose his employment, providing he does not declare openly against the court party. 4. That he is engaged so deeply in certain projects with lord Bolingbroke, that he dares not attack him openly, for fear of being involved in his ruin; probably, all these reasons contribute to influence his conduct.

He seems, however, to reckon upon the good graces of the Elector, and to be inclined to pay attention to them, which Bolingbroke thinks incompatible with the service of the Queen; from which one might conclude what are his intentions, although they were not otherwise known. We may be sure he will proceed rapidly, if the direction of affairs falls into his hands. It is said now, that he wants to continue secretary of state; but that Bromley will be turned out, and Sir William Wyndham put in his place. That the treasury will be put in commission. That lord Anglesea will be the first commissioner of it, and have alone the vice-treasurership of Ireland, which he shared till now with lord Rochester; and that Shrewsbury will continue lord lieutenant of Ireland, from whence they would infer that he will abandon the treasurer to

unite himself with Bolingbroke, although others do not believe this on account of the irreconcilable difference in their tempers."

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—July $\frac{13}{24}$.—The letter in Bothmar's hand of this date contains nothing material; but the copy in Robethon's hand, of what Bothmar wrote to him in cyphers, contains the following particulars about the quarrel of the ministry.

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papers, vol.
marked
Bothmar x.
No. 128.

"It is thought that a reconciliation is made by the mediation of their friends; but that Bolingbroke has always most credit with the Queen. They say, that not only the favourite but the dutchess of Shrewsbury is secretly for him, by the persuasions of her daughter, who is married to Sir William Wyndham.

These two ministers have been for a long time on bad terms, from the opposition of their tempers and manners. But what gave occasion to complete their diffidence of one another and their disunion, is a project which had been formed, of dividing in 16 shares the profits which the Queen was to have from the trade to the South-sea, of which five were designed for the treasurer, five for Bolingbroke, four for lady Masham, and two for Arthur More. The treasurer having had his reasons for refusing the share destined for him, was suspected on that account, and at last became odious to the other sharers. He afterwards furnished their enemies with means of discovering this mystery, which gave them occasion to examine the treaty of commerce without producing the effect which they promised themselves from it, as the treasurer did not furnish them with the assistance they expected from him, and as the prorogation of the parliament put an end too soon to the deliberations on that affair.

The Queen's answer to the address of the lords, at which they are so much offended, is ascribed to Bolingbroke. Lord Anglesea is particularly offended, having been the author of the address, to which the Queen gave that answer, and if her Majesty had not interrupted the debates by her presence, matters, according to all appearances, would have been pushed very far in the animosity of all the house of peers against Bolingbroke and against her Majesty's answer. His lordship, they affirm, will be prosecuted vigorously in the next session; but as he apprehends this himself, it is feared he will bring over the Pretender before that time, to

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save himself and to finish his grand scheme, from which he expects the completion of the fortune which his ambition promises him.

They ascribe to him likewise the Queen's speech; others believe it was composed by the chancellor Harcourt. It displeases people here in many passages; they are persuaded that the last article reflects on the Protestant Succession, and on the intention of having one of our princes in this country."

Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Bothmar, 10.
No. 128.

—July $\frac{16}{27}$.—Bothmar having mentioned the quarrels of the ministry adds: "It is surprising, that the duke of Marlborough comes over at such a crisis, and does not rather wait until it is seen which of the two competitors will carry it with the Queen; lord Sunderland himself does not comprehend this. I am told he will be the day after to-morrow at Ostend, in order to embark there for this country. Cadogan has been for eight or ten days in the country. He is expected back this evening. He said when he went away, that the duke of Marlborough would wait for him at Antwerp. The impetuosity of the dutchess has probably precipitated this journey."

There is a copy in Robethon's hand, of what Bothmar wrote, by this post, in cyphers. He says the reconciliation of the ministry could not be durable. Their quarrels continued, and he found it very difficult to speak with them. His friends dissuaded him from pressing them to an alliance with the Emperor and the King of Prussia for quaranteeing the succession, lest they should afterwards think that the parliament demanded it of the Queen, at the instigation of the Elector. His friends likewise advised him not to ask, at this time, English titles for the prince of the Electoral family, as that might be delayed without any inconveniency until the next session of parliament.

"Lord Halifax," continues Bothmar, "thinks that the Elector should have the title of prince of Wales, and that very little time is necessary to prepare the way for that. They are surprised that the duke of Marlborough is in a hurry to come here at this juncture. If he adheres to his old friends, he will run a risk with the ministry; and if he wants to please the latter, he will be abandoned by the former, without gaining much upon the court. It is thought that the treasurer has led him into this step, by the means of Cadogan; and that, at length, he will find himself shifted off, as his old friends were, to whom the treasurer had promised likewise

likewise by Cadogan, to second them in the affair of the Spanish commerce, of which promise he acquitted himself in the manner I wrote to you by former posts."

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August.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Bothmar x.
No. 128.

— July $\frac{20}{31}$. — "I see by what you tell me of the King of Sweden, that his return from Turkey will not be so soon. It seems to me, that his minister here flatters himself with a real assistance from this court. I don't see, however, that things are yet disposed for that. It is said he has hopes from Bolingbroke, and wishes the Pretender were here already."

— $\frac{23 \text{ July,}}{3 \text{ August,}}$ — "We are still in expectations here of a change in the ministry. There are some who believe that if the duke of Ormond resigns his employments, the duke of Marlborough will have the command of the army; but I think there are many reasons for believing, that neither the one nor the other will happen. I imagine your Ker of Kerland will embarrass you. Send him away speedily with a medal, *Serve well the best.*" Ibid. No. 130.

— $\frac{27 \text{ July,}}{7 \text{ August,}}$ — "The duke of Marlborough is not arrived yet. It is probable he wants to remain beyond the sea, until he knows that there is a change in the ministry. It is certain that the treasurer will resign his employment. I imagine I can write to you this very evening, that he has actually done so. It was said to-day, that Mr. Boyle was to be first commissioner of the treasury, and Mr. Bridges one of his colleagues; but that neither of them would accept." Ibid. No. 132.

— $\frac{30 \text{ July,}}{10 \text{ August,}}$ — "I am very curious to know if there is any foundation for what I write in my postscript to his Electoral Highness, of a good understanding between the duke of Marlborough and the Pretender. His Highness himself can give a great deal of light in this affair, as I am assured, that the lord treasurer showed him, by his cousin, the originals of the letters between the duke and the Pretender. This correspondence appears to me to be altogether incredible, it being inconsistent with all I ever saw or heard of the duke. I refer myself to what I wrote about it to his Electoral Highness, and to Mr. de Bernsdorf, entreating you to inform me in what manner they consider this affair. I don't recollect it was to you or to his Electoral Highness himself, that I gave an account of the communication of a letter, by an unknown person, to the duke of Marlborough," Ibid.

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Marlborough, of which I speak in the same postscript; perhaps, that the person who wrote to him that letter, has also forged an answer to it. That letter consists in great reasoning on the weak state of the Protestant Succession, and on the advantages which the duke might find in embracing the part of the Pretender without running any risk.

I imagine they begin to reason much in the same manner at Vienna, believing that our party is much weaker here, than it is in reality, and that we will weaken it by our indifference, and that on that account, they ought not to offend our competitor, by too much opposition to him, who can the more easily mount the throne here, that we are indifferent about it. I write that it would be proper to undeceive the court of Vienna of this mistaken opinion."

"P. S. This instant, at half an hour after nine, the duke of Grafton coming from Kensington, tells me, that all the physicians can do to make the Queen throw up two vomits of antimony, produces no effect either up or down, and that they believe she will not live out the night. I have so much company in the house, that I find it difficult to write to you."

Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked Miscellaneous.
d'Etat.
No. 4. No. 7.

In another letter to Robethon of this date, he acquaints him, that there was a change in the ministry, that Oxford and Buckingham had resigned, and that the Queen was dangerously ill.

Ibid.
vol. marked
Bothmar 10.
No. 132.

— ^{31 July,}
_{11 August,} — "I write to you but these two lines. You will know every thing by my dispatches to his Electoral Highness, and by Mr. Craggs who brings them to you. The Queen is at the last extremity, and, according to all appearances, another express will soon follow with the news of her death, and of the proclamation of his Electoral Highness. Every thing goes on very well for him here."

Ibid.

— August ¹/₁₂. — "I shall send only these two lines to you by Mr. Galke. He will tell you, that the Queen died this morning, and that our master was proclaimed without any difficulty. I wish we may have him soon here."

Communicated to the
Editor.

Mr. Secretary Bromley to the Earl of Clarendon.

My Lord,

Whitehall, July 27, 1714.

"I Have read your lordship's letter of the 27th instant, N. S. to her Majesty, who is pleased to hear you have reason given you to expect you shall find the Elector in a good disposition.

Nothing

Nothing certainly can more contribute to their mutual interests, than a perfect good understanding between her Majesty and his Electoral Highness; and as your lordship is a very proper, so I hope you will be an happy instrument for settling the friendship upon a firm and lasting foundation. The way to obtain it can never be by such a conduct as her Majesty has, at this time, too much cause to complain of; and which, I am directed particularly to mention to your lordship.

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There has been printed here, as your lordship will see by the inclosed, the letters her Majesty writ, on the 19th of May last, to the late Electress Dowager and to the Electoral Prince. The copies can only have been obtained from Hannover; and, therefore, it is her Majesty's pleasure, that you take notice of it to the Elector, and let him know, that she is concerned to meet with such treatment, which she thinks she has not deserved.

I am directed to acquaint your lordship, that the Queen has removed my lord treasurer, which you are to take notice of to the Elector; and, at the same time, to let him know, that this domestic incident shall make no alteration, with respect to public affairs. The Treasury will be put into commission.

When your audiences are over, your lordship will be pleased to give me a full account of your reception, that I may lay it before the Queen, who desires to know all the particulars relating to it. I am glad your lordship has had a good journey to Hannover, and hope your success there will be very prosperous. I am, with all possible respect, &c.

W. BROMLEY."

"P. S. Poor lord Weymouth is like to be dead this night."

Extracts of Letters from Bothmar and Kreyenberg to Robethon and Bernsdorff. August, 1714.

The King was proclaimed.—Affairs in general were favourable to his Majesty.—Several noblemen recommend themselves and their friends for offices and employments.

—August 3d, O. S. **B**OTHMAR writes to Robethon, that the face of affairs was now changed: they began to wear a more favourable appearance, and would go on according to their most ardent

Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked Misc.
cell. d'Etat.
No. 4.
No. 8.

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ardent wishes, providing the king came over soon. His presence would prevent any disturbances, even in Scotland, where they were apprehended. He sent the King a letter from the duke of Shrewsbury, who wanted to be chamberlain, and would resign his place in the Treasury and the lord lieutenancy of Ireland, which Bothmar proposed first should be given to the duke of Ormond, when the duke of Marlborough got the command of the army. But he thought afterwards, it would be better to place the duke of Ormond at the head of the prince of Wales's household, as being fitter for a court than for any other employment, and to make Sunderland lord lieutenant, and Stanhope commander in chief in Ireland. Ormond could not subsist without his pension. Sunderland shewed always, and continued to shew more attachment to the King than any other.

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Papers, vol.
marked Mif.
cel. d'Etat,
No. 1.

—August 6th, O. S. Bothmar, in a letter to Baron Bernsdorff of this date, mentions Mr. Steel's services to the family of Hannover, and recommends Dr. Hill for the bishoprick of Ely, the duke of St. Albans to be captain of the band of gentlemen pensioners, lord Halifax to be first lord of the Treasury, Mr. Boyle and Mr. Walpole to be his colleagues, and lord Orford to be first lord of the Admiralty, in the room of lord Strafford, "who knew nothing about the business. The duke of Marlborough came to town yesterday, amidst the acclamations of the people, as if he had gained another battle at Hochstet. He will be of great service, if the Pretender makes any attempt. He is not pleased, that he is not of the regency, and that there is any man but the King higher than him in this country."

Bothmar recommended to allow Shrewsbury to retire, to satisfy Marlborough and Sunderland, to provide for Stanhope and Cadogan, and then to think of doing something for lord Somers.

Ibid. No. 9.

Kreyenberg wrote to Robethon, in a letter of this date, that the King had been proclaimed very quietly over all England, and that they expected to hear he had been proclaimed in the same manner in Scotland and in Ireland: that it was thought the Jacobites would not stir, unless they were assisted by France; and that the French ambassador declared his master was determined to observe the Treaty of Utrecht.

Ibid. No. 1]

August 10th, O. S. Bothmar, in a letter to Baron Bernsdorff of this date, acquaints him, that things go on very quietly in England. The
King

King has been proclaimed very quietly at Edinburgh, and probably will be so likewise in Ireland, where some propose to send general Stanhope, while others think he will be made more useful in the English parliament. He recommends to deprive lord North and Gray of the government of Portsmouth, and to give it to general Erle, and to make this change before the King's arrival. He hopes the house of commons will grant the King for life the same civil list they gave the Queen, and that the ensuing parliament will augment it on account of the Prince's family. He forwards a letter to the King, from lord Manchester, who had been ambassador in France and at Venice, and secretary of state at home, and now begs only to be made a gentleman of the King's bed-chamber; a favour which Bothmar recommends to grant to him; but he proposes that no answer should be given to his lady, who wants to be one of the Princess's maids of honour. He recommends brigadiers Honnywood and Dormer to be made grooms of the bed-chamber; the last having been recommended by the duke of Marlborough. He thinks it will be sufficient now to give general promises to such as ask favours, and to fulfil them when the King has formed his plan. "He may then turn out in general all the late Queen's court and council."

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He writes to Robethon, of the same date, that a great change had happened, by the King's accession to the throne of these kingdoms; and that things go on very favourably for his Majesty. It is reported that they are arming and preparing transports in France. This is not probable; but preparations are made to guard against it, and 15 ships will be soon ready. It is surprising that Mr. Prior sends no intelligence of these things from France, and that he writes in cyphers things which he might very safely write plain. Some members of the regency suspect that letters are concealed from them.

Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked Mis-
cell. d'Etat.
No. 10.

Bothmar to Bernsdorff.

August 13th, O. S.

THE archbishop of York and Sir Thomas Hanmer recommended Dr. Hill to Bothmar for the bishoprick of Ely; but lord Townshend told him it would be proper to give it at the recommendation of the good old archbishop of Canterbury.—Mr. Cadogan told him, that lord Sunderland wanted to be secretary of State: in case the King chooses to gratify him, Bothmar proposes that Townshend should be provided in

Ibid. No. 1,

1714.
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another place. Lord Wharton and several other noblemen proposed to him to recommend colonel Tirel to the King for one of the grooms of his Majesty's bed-chamber. Bishop Burnet recommends his own son; but Bothmar thinks it would be better to give him some employment in the law. Mr. Santyan wants to be a commissioner of the customs in England, and Ridpath desires to be made one in Scotland.

The Prince cannot take the title of Prince of Wales, until the King creates him. The duke of Bolton recommends his brother-in-law, Mr. Crofts, to be a groom of the bed-chamber. Lord Winchester's eldest son asked the same favour for himself. He is well made, but irregular in his conduct, and on that account is on bad terms with his father. Lord Hertford, the duke of Somerset's eldest son, wants to be a groom of the bed-chamber to the King or to the Prince. Townshend and other friends recommend lord Lincoln for such a place. Lord recommends himself. Bothmar thinks the King should give such a place to lord Dorset, to recompense him for his journey, and make lord Orford first lord of the Admiralty, "before lord Strafford applies to be continued; and likewise to recall that man soon from the Hague; that will please the Dutch and a great many here. He is not only hated, but likewise despised by his countrymen, as a vain man, who has not the smallest pretensions to be so."

The duke of Buckingham requested, that his dutchess might be made a maid of honour to the princess. "She is handsome, and appears to me fit for such a place; but she could not obtain it from the late Queen, although she was her natural sister. I don't know if it was for that reason she did not choose to have her so nearher, but preferred rather to give her a pension." The duke of Grafton, whose mother had married the Speaker, Sir Thomas Hanmer, desired likewise to be of the King's bed-chamber. Bothmar gives him a high character, and recommends him.

The

The present state of the Peerage of England, in relation to the Succession after the Queen's death, recommended by a club of gentlemen conversant in both parties †.

1714.
August.

For the Family of Hannover.

Duke of Somerset,	Lord Townshend,
Devonshire,	Abergaveny,
* Ormond,	Ferrers,
Grafton,	Fitzwater,
St. Albans,	Wharton,
* Shrewsbury,	Paget,
Bolton,	Grey,
Bedford,	Lovelace,
* Newcastle,	Pawlet,
Schomberg,	Maynard,
Earl of Carlisle,	Mohun,
Derby,	Ragby,
Huntington,	Byron,
Suffolk,	Colpepper,
Dorset,	Lucas,
Bridgwater,	Rockingham,
Leicester,	Barclay,
Manchester,	Cornwallis,
Rivers,	Aselstein,
Peterborough,	Ashburnham,
Stamford,	Somers,
Kingston,	Halifax,
Sunderland,	Leimpster,
Essex,	* Haverham,
Burlington,	Chisbury,
Shaftesbury,	Barnard,
Sussex,	Hervey.
Radnor,	
Berkley,	Uncertain.
Portland,	Duke of Northumberland,
Montague,	* Leeds,
Holdernefs,	Earl of Jersey,
Farrington,	Sandwich,
Scarborough,	* Winchelsea,
Bradford,	Warrington,
Romney,	Lord Longueville,
Oxford,	De-la-war,
Pembroke,	Brook,
Coventry,	* Guilford.

For the St. Germain's Family.

Duke of Buckingham,
Richmond,
Earl of Lindsey,
Exeter,
Northampton,
Denbigh,
Thanet,
Chesterfield,
Scarfdale,
Clarendon,
Aylesbury,
Anglesea,
Lichfield,
Yarmouth,
Rocheſter,
Nottingham,
Abington,
Plymouth,
Derwentwater, papist,
Lord Montacute, papist,
Falconbridge, papist,
Weymouth,
Hatton,
Chandois,
Petre, papist,
Arundel, papist,
Longdale, papist,
Weddrington, papist,
Esſſrig,
Dartmouth,
Grenville,
Guernsey,
Dover, papist.

† This account seems to have been sent to Hannover several years before the succession of George the First to the throne. Those marked thus * on the side of the family of Hannover, were secretly in the interest of the Pretender. Those that are marked doubtful seem to have been most inclined to Jacobitism, though neither they nor many of the rest would run any risk for either of the rivals for the crown.

1714.
August.
Communicated to the
Editor.

Mr. Prior to Lord Bolingbroke.

My Lord,

Paris, August 17th, N. S. 1714.

“WE remain still in the sad incertitude, or rather mortal apprehensions of what has happened; nor express nor news having arrived here, since last I writ to your lordship. This court, and the King particularly, seem under very sensible concern, in this melancholy conjuncture. Upon the best inquiry, I cannot find that any thing is acting for the Pretender. An express is gone to Lorraine from his mother, to acquaint him with the present case of the Queen of Great Britain, as signified by D’Herville’s express to this court*.

At the distance I am from you, and the light in which I see matters from hence, you will easily judge, my Lord, how much I am astonished at what has passed within these three weeks at London. What may pass there, in three weeks more, God above only knows. It is in such extraordinary conjunctures, that one either requires or needs one’s friends. Whilst you continue to act, as you have hitherto done, for the safety and honour of your country, I will abandon you and life at the same time. Adieu, my Lord. God bless you. Send me your instructions, and believe that I will always execute them with zeal and truth; and that I am ever and inviolably, my lord, &c.

M. PRIOR.”

Extracts of letters from Schrader and Klingraff to Robethon. August, 1714.

The Sentiments of the Dutch on his Majesty’s accession.

Schrader to Robethon.

Hague, 16 and 18 August.

“THE States are overjoyed at his Majesty’s accession, and are preparing a fleet to escort him. The Pensionary and his friends cannot conceal their joy. Nordwyk and his adherents weep, and endeavour now to persuade the world that they were always for the succession.

* The two last sentences in this paragraph are in cypher.

Klingraff

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Klingraff to Robethon.

Hague, 16 and 18 August.

"**H**E congratulates him upon their master's accession, and acquaints him, that at the Pensionary's desire, he had delivered his Majesty's letter, and a memorial to the States, containing a requisition of their guarantee of the succession, which they granted very cheerfully. Lord Strafford has received no notice of the Queen's death as yet. He is extremely mortified, but no one pities him. They all wish, in this place, that he may be recalled, and that lord Townshend may come back again."

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August.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked Mis-
cell. d'Etat.
No. 14.

Extracts of a letter from Mr. Craggs to Robethon.

His opinion of the Tories.—Recommends a change in offices.

Ibid. No. 307

Translation.

London, August 17th, 1714.

"**I** Easily observe here, that those who are called the Tory-party have very good intelligence from your court, and that you recommend strongly a proper conduct to them. Three months ago they treated us as seditious on account of the zeal we shewed for the succession, at a time when we believed it to be in danger: since they see it confirmed, they dispute to be for us. However, they had the indiscretion to shew themselves Saturday last, more than they intended, by their opposition to the act for putting a price on the head of the Pretender. I can assure your Excellency I do not say so from a spirit of party. I shall be the first to rejoice to see that the King may succeed in annihilating parties, and in employing, without distinction, those who are the best affected and the most capable. But I own I distrust such a sudden change, and cannot help remarking to you, that a great change in offices is necessary, in order to be able to say, that you are not governed by a party: for as they are now given, they are in the hands of the most violent of a party, of whom the most moderate had left them.

I ask your Excellency's pardon for the liberty I take. If what I have the honour to write to you does not appear to you to be reasonable, you will have only the trouble of reading it. I own, that after what I observed at Hannover with what I see here, I am persuaded the minister who attends you, directs the conduct which I see a certain set of men follow, and which,

though

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though it appears ridiculous to those who saw them behave in such a different manner, so short a time before, may deceive for some time those who did not see that."

Mr. Craggs adds, that lord Orford did not think it was for his Majesty's interest to publish his patent.

Communi-
cated to the
Editor.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Secretary Bromley.

Hannover, August 17th, N. S. 1714.

HE acknowledges the receipt of his letter of the 31st July, O. S. with the news of the Queen's death. It was the first, he tells him, of his letters "that was not welcome; as the news it contained was the only misfortune he had to fear in this world. It would have had its full effect upon him," he said, "if God had not blest him with constancy enough to consider, that not being there upon his own account, he was not his own master; and must, till he is discharged, make his own misfortunes yield to the service of his country. He owns it a very hard task, upon this occasion; and therefore hopes, if he fails in any part of his duty, that allowance will be made; since it is certain it shall not be wilfully."

Communi-
cated to the
Editor.

The Earl of Strafford to Monsieur Robethon.

Hague, August 10th, 1714.

"AFTER so great a loss," he tells him, "as he has had, by the death of the Queen, nothing could comfort him like the honour of the King's gracious letter; and he hopes he may repay the loss he has of the Queen, as she did that he had of his late master King William." He has the happiness, in the midst of his grief, that they both died content with his faithfulness and services. He offers his service to the Prince and Princess by that minister; and desires him to tell them that he should be proud to be honoured with commands of either.

The same to the Earl of Clarendon.

Hague, August 23d, 1714.

Communi-
cated to the
Editor.

HE sends a letter to the King, to let him know both France and Spain are ready to acknowledge him; and that his Majesty will find those who

who made the peace not so much his enemies as some would make him believe.

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Lord Marlborough's triumph shews what he drives at, and he vies in popularity with the King.

Schrader to Robethon.

Hague, August 21st.

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Papers, vol.
marked Mis-
cell. d'Etat.
No. 13.

THE Marquis de Torcy asked Buys, the Dutch ambassador at Paris, if his masters intended to interfere in the succession, and said they had better not. The French Ambassador at the Hague did not congratulate lord Strafford. "He," Strafford, "is become as smooth as a glove; he caresses me now: he shewed me immediately the letter which his Majesty wrote him: he entreated me to write that he offers his house to the King. I am persuaded it will be agreeable neither to the States nor to the people, that his Majesty should lodge with him, as they do not judge him worthy of the honour of receiving so great a Monarch."

There are several letters written by Schrader and Klingraff to Robethon in the course of this and the following month, mentioning several particulars about the King's journey; the manner in which the Dutch were to receive him; the preparations made to lodge him at Baron Bothmar's at the Hague; and the arrival of the English fleet to convey him.

The earl of Stair wrote a letter to Robethon, dated from London the 24th of this month, thanking him for having designed him for the command of the troops in Scotland.

Ibid. vol.
marked Stair.
No. 1.

Lord Halifax to Robethon.

SIR,

August 24th, 1714.

Original.
Ibid. vol.
marked Mis-
cell. d'Etat.
No. 4, 31.

"I AM very much obliged to you for the honour of your letter of the 26th, and I assure you I shall always desire the strictest friendship and correspondence with you, who have been so useful and serviceable to our master, and who have such just and true notions of our affairs. 'Tis a great pleasure to me to hear Monsieur Bernsdorff will attend the King. His credit with the King, his prudence and great abilities will be of singular advantage to the nation. I beg you will present my most humble service

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service to him, and assure him of all the respect I can pay him; and if I can give him any light into the nature of our affairs, or the characters of men, that may be useful to his Majesty, I shall be very free to communicate them to so faithful a minister. I was mightily pleased with the King's letter to the lords justices; it was so clearly and so judiciously writ as gave universal satisfaction. I wish, while the King is at the Hague, he would concert measures with the States to secure the navigation of the Baltic. We find the reputation and interest of England lost and sacrificed in all parts of the world; the Spaniards, the Algerines, and several other nations insult us in the Streights; the Danes and Swedes in the North; and if Providence had not, in this juncture, called the King to the throne, our trade had been every where destroyed: if, therefore, his Majesty can retrieve our sinking commerce, he will gain the hearts of all his people. The Dutch were quite wearied out with the double-dealing and tricks of this court about their barrier: if the King, by his good offices, could adjust that between the Emperor and the States, it would be a great glory and happiness to his Majesty; they being the most useful allies, both to the King and these nations. I did not doubt that the King would approve what we had done to put a stop to the league which was framing against the Emperor in Italy; and I thought nothing could be more agreeable to the King than the making a strict union between him and the court of Vienna. The affair of Portugal is fully set out in our letter to his Majesty; and I will trouble you no further, but to assure you that I am your most, &c.

HALIFAX."

Extracts of letters from Kreyenberg and Bothmar to Robethon, and from Robethon to Baron Gortz. August 1714.

Kreyenberg to Robethon.

London, August 27th, 1714.

"**T**HE parliament being dissolved, the King will not be troubled with it on his arrival, and will have time to take his measures before he calls another." Kreyenberg perceived clearly, that it depended entirely on the King to regulate the civil list as he chose. Gaultier, who was the Pretender's agent, and in whom the Jacobites placed more confidence than in Iberville, was recalled.

Bothmar

Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked Misc.
cell. d'Etat.
No. 2.

Bothmar writes to Robethon, in a letter of the same date, that he will take care that the King's trunks, about which Robethon appeared to be very anxious, shall not be examined by the officers of the custom-house: that people in general will be surprised to see lady Bristol among the Princess's attendants; a lady who made her husband's fortune by her influence with lord Bolingbroke: and that Baron Bernsdorff might lodge at St. James's, but Baron Gortz and others must have furnished houses in the neighbourhood.

1714.
August.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked Mis-
cell. d'Etat.
No. 3.

Bothmar to Baron Gortz.

Ibid. No. 42.

London, August 27th, 1714.

“ I Entreat you not to think of putting the expence of your tables, or any other expence for the court which you bring along with you, upon the civil list here: that would be directly contrary to the laws which exclude strangers from offices and emoluments in this country. Such a pretension would exasperate; and so far from giving any room to hope for a mitigation of that law hereafter, would suggest to them to make it still more severe, when they saw that we pretended to elude it, as France eludes treaties.

If the King pays out of his finances at Hannover all the court which he brings from thence, it will be of infinite advantage to him, in gaining the opinions and affections of the nation. It will show his disinterestedness, his generosity, his rectitude and regularity in every thing. The very proposal of charging that expence upon the civil list, would not only deprive him of that advantage, and give a quite opposite idea of him, but would likewise create great difficulties with the ensuing parliament about the augmentation of the civil list, which, without such an unreasonable proposal, there is room to hope for, as also for a mitigation of the law I have just now mentioned.

Besides this, we may depend upon it, that this pretension of maintaining our Hannoverian court in this country, at the expence of England, would not be admitted; and, instead of ascribing them to the King's generosity, that he is at that expence out of his Electoral revenues, they would ascribe it entirely to the refusal he met with here. As you yourself answer the arguments drawn from the customs of the court of France, I have nothing further to say to you about them. You will easily conceive,

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August.

that you would not be welcome to the English, with the offer of a French example for their imitation. I flatter myself you will find my reasonings so solid, that this proposal shall never be mentioned again."

Hannover
papers, vol.
marked Misc.
cell d'Etat.
No. 3.

Bothmar to Robethon.

August 31.

BOthmar delivered to the regency the King's message about Bolingbroke: he wishes his place may be given to lord Townshend, though Sunderland asks it. "Lord Bolingbroke makes up Mr. Prior's dispatch, which may very well happen to be the last. He said formerly, that he would never serve the Elector: he did not believe then, that the time would ever be when he would be taken at his word." Bothmar inclosed a letter from lord Mar, and another from lord Bolingbroke, to the King. Bolingbroke wrote about his dismissal, for the regency had deprived him of the seals. He desired to speak to Bothmar the next day, and probably on the same subject.

Ibid.

Sept. 3d.—Bolingbroke had been with Bothmar. He attributed his disgrace to the insinuations of Oxford, whom he suspects of having misrepresented him to the King. Oxford endeavours to persuade the world that, by his influence with his Majesty, Bolingbroke was turned out, in order to create a belief that he will have still the giving away of employments. He hates lord Nottingham, and, to prevent his being president of the council, he advises the duke of Devonshire to apply for that place, in order thereby to keep lord Powlet in his office of master of the household; and what is still more entertaining, he says that, unless this plan is adopted, he will be obliged to make Powlet president of the council.

The British envoys and residents at foreign courts, wrote several letters to Robethon, during the course of this and of the preceding month.

Ibid. No. 19. Mr. Jeffries, from Adrianople, sends intelligence of the King of Sweden's behaviour at Bender, and of his resentment against the treaty between

Ibid. No. 21. Hannover and Denmark. Mr. Whitworth, from Francfort, congratulates his Majesty on his accession, and asks his commands at the diet of

Ibid. p. 17. the Empire. Mr. Pultney writes from Copenhagen, that upon receiving secretary Bromley's orders, he had notified the Queen's death to the King of Denmark, and professes the strongest attachment to his Majesty.

Ibid. No. 25. Mr. Prior writes from Paris, that he had made the King's compliments

to the duke of Orleans; and that he, and the whole French nation, rejoiced at his Majesty's accession; and he himself professes great attachment to him. There are four letters, during these two months, from lord Strafford, with insignificant attempts to keep up the credit, which he found he was losing daily. The earl of Albemarle wrote three letters, during the same period, about the King's journey from Hannover to Holland.

1714.
August.

Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked Mi-
cell. d'Etat
No. 18.

Lord Bolingbroke to the Bishop of Rochester.

My Lord,

1714.

Communi-
cated to the
Editor.

"**T**O be removed, was neither matter of surprise nor of concern to me. But the manner of my removal shocked me for at least two minutes.

It is not fit that I should be in town without waiting on the King when he arrives; and it is less proper that I should wait on him, after what has passed, till, by my friends, some *eclaircissement* has been had with him. I have writ to the King, and I have spoke with Monsieur Bothmar; and both, I hope, in a way becoming me. On Sunday morning I go home, from whence I shall return, as I receive advices from hence.

The satisfaction and the advantage of conversing with your lordship are so great, that I shall certainly make use of the opportunity of seeing you, which you are so kind as to afford me. About eight to-morrow, in the evening, I will not fail to be at the Deanry.

I cannot conclude this letter without assuring you, that I am not in the least intimidated from any consideration of the Whig malice and power. But the grief of my soul is this, I see plainly that the Tory party is gone. Those who broke from us formerly, continue still to act and speak on the same principles, and with the same passions. Numbers are still left, and those numbers will be increased by such as have not their expectations answered. But, where are the men of business, that will live and draw together? You, my lord, know my thoughts, as well as you know your own. Nothing shall tempt or fright me from the pursuit of what I know is right for the church and nation. But the measures of the pursuit must, I fear, be altered. Till to-morrow, my lord, adieu. I am now, then, and ever, your most faithful obliged servant,

BOLINGBROKE."

1714.
September.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Miscell.
d'Etat. 4.
No. 32.

Mr. Addison to Mons. de Robethon.

Original.

St. James's, Sept. 4, 1714.

S I R,

“ I HAVE been obliged to so close an attendance on the lords justices, and have had so very little time at my own disposal, during my absence from their Excellencies, that I could not do myself the honour, before now, to assure you of my respects, and to beg the continuance of that friendship which you formerly honoured me with at Hannover. I cannot but extremely rejoice at the occasion which will give me an opportunity of waiting on you in England, where you will find a whole nation in the highest joy, and thoroughly sensible of the great blessings which they promise themselves from his Majesty's accession to the throne. I take the liberty to send you, inclosed, a poem written on this occasion, by one of our most eminent hands, which is indeed a master-piece in its kind; and though very short, has touched upon all the topics that are most popular among us. I have likewise transmitted to you a copy of the preamble to the prince of Wales's patent, which was a very grateful task imposed on me by the lords justices. Their Excellencies have ordered that the lords and others who meet his Majesty be out of mourning that day, as also their coaches; but all servants, except those of the city magistrates, to be in mourning. The shortness of the time, which would not be sufficient for the making of new liveries, occasioned this last order. The removal of the lord Bolingbroke has put a seasonable check to an interest that was making in many places for members in the next parliament, and was very much relished by the people, who ascribed to him in a great measure the decay of trade and public credit. You will do me a very great honour, if you can find terms submissive enough to make the humble offers of my duty acceptable to his Majesty. May God Almighty preserve his person, and continue him for many years the blessing of these kingdoms!

I am, with great esteem and respect,

S I R,

Your most obedient, and most humble servant,

J. ADDISON.”

Extracts

*Extracts of several letters to Robethon.**Bothmar to Robethon.*

London, Sept. 7, 1714.

HE proposes a change of ministry. Marlborough and Orford to be put at the head of the military departments. The lord chancellor Harcourt to be dismissed. Lord Stair to be employed in Scotland. The duke of Argyle would choose to go.

1714.
September.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked Mis-
cell. d'Etat.
No. 6.

— Sept. 10.—The duke of Shrewsbury feigns to be sick. Bothmar will explain the reasons to Robethon when they meet.

Ibid.

— Sept. 11.—The King is arrived at the Hague. Bothmar alarmed the regency, by telling them that, perhaps, the King might land at Harwich, which would disconcert their plans, and disappoint the people, who had assembled to receive his Majesty at Greenwich. He desires Robethon to soften the expressions in their letter to the King, when he translates it.

Ibid.

It appears from these letters, and from a letter written by Cadogan to Robethon of the last date, that a commission was early sent over to the duke of Marlborough, appointing him commander in chief of the forces; but that it was left in Bothmar's hands, and not to be opened before his Majesty's arrival, but in case of necessity. Mr. Craggs writes to him, of the same date, that it was not his fault that the patent was not given to the duke of Marlborough; for he found, when he arrived from Hannover, that Bernsdorff, in the P. S. of a letter to Bothmar, had forbidden him to give it, but in case of necessity.

Ibid. No. 26.

Ibid. No. 28.

Mr. Addison to Robethon.

SIR,

St. James's, Sept. 11, 1714.

"THough I am not without hopes of seeing you in England, before this letter comes to your hands, I cannot defer returning you my thanks for the honour of yours of the 17th, N. S. which I received this morning. I beg leave to send you the enclosed ceremonial for the King's entry, published by the earl of Suffolk, deputy earl Marishal, and regulated by the lords justices and privy council. The attorney general is preparing a proclamation, reciting the rewards set on the Pretender by the

Original.
Ibid. No. 27.

1714.
September.

the late Queen and parliament, with the security for the payment, as established by a clause of an act passed since his Majesty's accession to the throne. As such a proclamation is very requisite, so, perhaps, it may come with a good grace from the regents, before his Majesty's arrival. It will, I believe, be fixed up in all the market towns, especially among the Highlands in Scotland, where there have been some meetings; but, by the care of the regents, of no consequence.

I am, with great esteem and respect,

S I R,

Your most obedient, and most humble servant,

J. ADDISON."

"This letter will be delivered to you by Mr. Greenwood, who will acquaint you how highly sensible I am of the honour of your friendship."

Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked Mis-
cell. d'Etat.
No. 34, 37,
and 39.
Ibid. No. 46,
47, 50, 51.

The correspondence, during the remaining part of this year, regards principally the affairs of the continent, and the princely of Wales's journey to England. Mr. Jeffries's letters to Robethon, secretary Bromley, and lord Townshend, from Adrianople, Vienna, and Stralsund, contain an account of the King of Sweden's negotiations at the Porte, and his return to his own dominions. He travelled, in a fortnight's time, upwards of 200 German miles, and arrived in Stralsund before his subjects could hear of his departure. His legs were swelled so much, that the surgeons were obliged to cut his boots. Jeffries notified to him his Majesty's accession, which he received in a very gracious manner.

Ibid. No. 33,
40, and 43.

There are several letters from Schleinitz, the Russian resident at the Hague, to Bernsdorff and Robethon, about the King of Sweden's return, and the affairs of the north, and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel's intrigues with France in favour of Sweden. Schleinitz complied with Berndorff's desire in proposing to baron Heems, the Imperial envoy at the Hague, that the Emperor, the King of Great Britain, and the States General, should declare to the King of Sweden upon his return, that they were resolved to keep the peace of the North.

Ibid. No. 41,
45, 48, 52,
and 56.

Duvenvoerde wrote several letters to Robethon, before the end of this year. He gives a very high character, in one of them, of the princely of Wales,

Wales, the late Queen Caroline. Strafford, Albemarle, and Nortwyke opposed his going as ambassador to England. Strafford was detested at the Hague: he absented himself, and no body knew where he went. He came back, after an absence of fifteen days. Duvenvoerde was at last appointed ambassador from the States to England, and he proposed to set out on his embassy in the beginning of January, 1715. He gives a tedious account, in these letters, of the negotiations about the barrier and the fort of Mardyke.

1714.
September.

A P P E N D I X

1714.
September.

A P P E N D I X.

THE Editor has thought proper to annex to this volume an Appendix, containing a short review of such papers, in Nairne's collection, as were not deemed sufficiently important to be inserted. He has also subjoined some account of papers collected by Carte, relating to the affairs of this kingdom before the Restoration, in the year 1660. There are many letters, correspondences, memorials, and anecdotes concerning the reign of George the First, still in the Editor's hands. These he designed to have printed; but he finds that this volume has already swelled to a size that precludes him, at present, from executing his purpose. They shall, however, be soon given to the public. In this Appendix the order of time is not observed, as in the preceding collection. The papers omitted are marked as the volumes presented themselves to the Editor's hands.

Life of James II. Written by himself.

KING James the Second was born, on the fourteenth of October, 1633, about twelve at night. He went out of London, with his father, the Queen, and the princess Mary, to Dover. He was sent back to St. James's; prince Charles only going to York. About Easter, the marquis of Hertford was ordered to bring the duke to him. The marquis had received an order from the parliament not to carry the duke of York out of town; yet he did. He went with the Palsgrave, and other lords and gentlemen, to Hull; the King intending to follow the next day. Sir L. Dyves came, the next day before dinner, and told the governor, that the King would dine with him. They were on a platform, by the water-side. The governor turned pale. He desired the duke and company to retire to their lodgings. The gates were shut and the garrison put in arms. The King came; and, seeing the gates shut, asked to speak with the governor, who excused himself from letting him enter, as trusted by the parliament. The King gave reasons, in vain. The governor had received advertisement from York, from William Murray*, one of the King's bed-chamber, as a friend, advising him not to let in the King; who was resolved, if master of the town, to secure him and cut off his head. Nothing was more false, yet it had effect on Hotham.

Bundle of
loose papers.

The King then desired, that his son and the rest might come out to him. They were, accordingly, sent out, one after another. He then went back to Beverly

* He was, afterwards, created earl of Dysert.

and York. In Hull, there was a magazine of arms and amunition, for above twenty thousand men, and a train suitable. The King could not arm a hundred men. Had he not sent Sir L. Dyves before, he might, perhaps, have been admitted, and would then be master of the town, which was affectionate to him; and the gentry attending were too numerous for Hotham to resist. The soldiers of the garrison all threw down their arms, being called upon, by some of the King's train without, to do so; nor did they take them up again, till their officers, with their swords in hand, forced them. Some vigorous, bold men, that went with the duke of York, should have been trusted with the design, with an order on the rest to obey the duke. For it was in their power, several times after Hotham ordered the gates to be shut, to have secured him, or knocked him on the head: Either would have done the work. Hotham came into the duke's room without any officer with him, where he had before confined the duke; yet none seized the opportunity. Sir L. Dyves and William Murray, groom of the duke of York's bed-chamber, were the only ones for such a step; and were resolved to kill him. But they were confined, before they could do it, and a guard put upon them; yet they were let out with the rest.

The King wanted money and arms. The Queen sent captain J. Strahan, with arms and amunition and officers in the Providence, from Holland; else, the King could not have formed an army. Captain Strahan brought them into the Humber, where least expected; so run a-ground at a place appointed. He went from Brill to the Humber. The signal was not answered. He was forced to anchor, when the tide was spent. The parliament ship of fifty-four guns came down from Hull and anchored, with another from Grimsby, near him. They ordered him aboard. But, commanding one of the King's Ships, he refused. He waited till afloat, and then stood towards Hull, till near high-water. He passed over a sand, then but twelve feet water; and, when past it, ran a-ground. The parliament's ships drawing more water, were not able to follow. The Providence drew but eleven feet and a half water. He got into the other channel, by bearing up with all his sails. The parliament's ships, trying to follow, stuck fast. Strahan landed at Powle, some miles below Hull, on the same side of the Humber; and ran his ships ashore; so that it served for a battery to defend itself, whilst the arms were landed, and the seamen and officers were intrenched; so that Hull garrison durst not attack them. A convoy was sent from York. The King would not let the ship be burnt, after the guns were taken out and carried to York. The seamen were made gunners.

1642.
Oct. 23.

Essex's men were posted in the vale near Keynton. The King marched down the hill to fight them. Ruthen, who had served as major general under the King of Sweden, and the earl of Brentford, being ordered to draw up the army, Lindsay took

took it ill, and said he would serve as colonel; and put himself at the head of his regiment of foot posted against Essex. The King's army was above four thousand horse and eight thousand foot. The rebels were three thousand stronger in foot; but had not many more horse, and few cannon. It was three *p. m.* before the King's army were embattled; when they marched slowly, but with great resolution; receiving the rebels shot, till they came to push of the pike. Both sides retiring, as if by mutual consent, back a few paces, struck down their colours and stood firm, till both drew off, when it began to grow dark. The enemy's left wing fled, as soon as charged. They were pursued, without falling on the foot. The enemy's foot made the King's retire to their cannon; which, playing with success, stopt them. Prince Rupert could not stop his horse from pursuing, or make them charge the foot. Lord Willoughby's gallant behaviour over his father's * body, who lay with his thigh broke by a musket-shot, and carried him to be dressed. But he was taken, by some straggling horse, who came in the way. Sir Edmund Verney was killed and his standard taken. But it was recovered, by the means of Sir James Smith. Both armies retired to their former posts; and the King sent, early next morning, five hundred horse, which brought off his own cannon, and six of the enemy's. Sir Faithful Fortescue had given notice of his intention, some days before. There were not full one thousand, on both sides, slain; as the parson, who buried and counted them, said. Lord Aubigny and lieutenant-colonel Monro were among the number. The earl of Lindsey died of his wounds at Warwick. About sixty standards were taken from the rebels. The King marched to Edgert and Banbury, taking the castle; and so to Oxford. But it was of fatal consequence, that he did not march to London; which, in the fright, would not have cost him a stroke.

Ruthen, the day after the battle, desired the King to send him, with most of the horse and three thousand foot to London, where he would get before Essex, seize Westminster, drive away the rebel part of the parliament, and maintain it, till the King came up with the rest of the army. But this was opposed, by the advice of many of the council. They were afraid that the King should return by conquest; and said so openly. They persuaded the King to advance so slowly to London, that Essex got there before him; and the parliament, ready before to fly, took heart. All the King's old foot were lost in the siege of Gloucester and battle of Newbury.

* The earl of Lindsey, who died, soon after, of his wounds at Warwick. He was an officer of experience. He served with great reputation, under Maurice and Henry, princes of Orange.

1648.
April 20.

The duke of York might have escaped from Oxford, if Sir George Ratcliff, his governor, would have suffered it, without a positive order from the King. He was carried to London, where the duke of Gloucester and the princess Elizabeth had been left, when the King went to the North. The earl of Northumberland was made his governor. All respect was used to him. George Howard, brother to the earl of Suffolk, and colonel Joseph Bampfild* contrived his escape; the first carrying all the messages between the duke and Bampfild, which was all he had to do.

All things being prepared, the duke of York supped, at the usual hour, about seven, with his brother and sister, and after supper all played at hide and seek, with the rest of the young people of the house; having played at it constantly every night for above a fortnight before. The duke used to hide himself in a place where they could not find him, for half an hour or more; and then he would come out to them. To prevent suspicion of his being gone, when he really was, the duke lockt up a little dog, that used to follow him, into his sister's chamber, to prevent his coming after him, slipt down the back stairs, went into the innermost garden, and so into the Park, out of a back door of the said garden, of which he had a key, where Bampfild staid for him; having a footman with a cloak, which the duke put on, with a peruke he had ready, and went through Spring-Gardens, where one Mr. Trip staid with a hackney-coach, which carried them to Salisbury-house. Here the duke and Bampfild went out of the coach, as if going in there; and Trip went with the coach into the city, and kept it as long as he could, at the end of the town. But as soon as the coach was gone, they took boat and landed on the same side of the river, close to the bridge, and went to one Loo's, a surgeon, where they found Mrs. Murray, who had women's cloaths ready for him to put on. He was drest presently, and went with Bampfild to Lion-key, where there staid a four-oared barge for them. They went in it down the river; the tyde serving them.

But they no sooner entered the barge than the master suspected something; Bampfild having told him to be there with his barge, and he should bring a friend with him, not saying it should be a woman. He thought something more was in it, and was so frightened, that, as they went down, he did nothing but talked with them, how impossible it was for them to pass by the Block-house at Gravesend, without being discovered; and that they had no other way to get on board the ship that staid for them at the Hope, but to land at Gravesend, and get a pair of oars to carry them down. When they debated the distance, and shewed him the hazard of getting a boat to carry them to the ship, he objected, the light of the moon. He was soon satisfied fully, that his woman was some disguised body of great quality. For, peeping through a cranny of the door of the barge, where they then had a candle burning, he saw the duke put his leg upon the table and

* His real name was Bamford; an Irishman.

pluck up his stockings, in so indecent a manner, as made him conclude what he had before suspected. This confounded him so, as he told them afterwards, that he hardly knew what he did or said; which they perceiving, thought it best to tell him the truth and trust him, knowing him to be an honest man. So the duke told him who he was, and assured him, that he would take care to provide for him; and, if it was not safe to return to London, to carry him to Holland. The man's mind was now settled. He resolved to pass by the Block-house, without going ashore; and, when they came near the town, he put out the light; let the barge drive down with the tide; passed undiscovered by the Block-house, and got to the ship, a Dutch pink of seventy tons, lying for them, at the upper end of the Hope. She had been cleared at Gravesend, where Sir Nicholas Armourer, colonel Mayard, Richard Johnson, three gentlemen, with each a servant, expected them, whom Bampffield had trusted and sent before, that, by their help, he might master the vessel, if need.

They set sail, at break of day, with a fair wind, and anchored early next morning, before Flushing, where they staid, expecting the tide to carry them up to Middleburg. The master, with two of his four hands, went ashore with the boat to Flushing, intending to be back, by the time the water was high enough to go to Middleburg. But before he came back, Owen, master of the barge, who came along with the duke, came down, in a great fright to the small cabin, telling them that a parliament frigate was coming in to look for them, and would be with them presently; and that they must get their anchor on board and sail for Middleburg. He was positive it was a frigate. The two seamen would not get up anchor till the master came back. But they were forced by the gentlemen and servants to do it; though they said there was not water for it, and the ship would be lost. The ship proved only a merchantman. The vessel struck twice or thrice. But the master coming on board, and the tide serving, they got to Middleburg, before the tide was spent. The duke landed in women's cloaths, staid all night, went next morning to Dordrecht; and sent Bampffield, next day, to the Hague, to acquaint his sister and the prince of Orange of his arrival, and to desire cloaths. He was missed, in an hour's time, at St. James's. When he was not found, on search, notice was given to Whitehall and general Fairfax.

Rising in Kent.—Rainsborough commanded a squadron in the Downs of one second rate, three or four fourth, one fifth, and three or four sixth rates, and some ketches; the Constant-Reformation, Convertin, Antelope, Swallow, Satisfaction, Hind, Roebuck, Pelican, Constant-Warwick. These, on notice of the three castles being surprized and seized, by the insurgents, declared for the King. Rainsborough seeing that they of Deal had been instrumental in it, went on board a ketch to go nearer to the shore, the better to see what was doing there, and thence sent orders to his ship to get under sail, and stand as near as they could to the shore,

May, 1648.

shore, in order to batter the town. Accordingly, they worked to get their anchors on board; and in doing which, in the *Constant-Reformation*, Rainsborough's ship, and heaving out the capstern, one of the boatswain's mates, Robert Lindale, thought it the proper time to execute the resolution, which he had taken some time before, of doing something to serve the King. Having opened himself to three more common seamen, whom he had found to be of his principles, he proposed, as all Kent had declared for the King, to get some of the ships to do so. They, now, as heaving the capstern, began to grumble at the orders received; saying, they had no reason to batter Deal, which was full of their wives, children, and relations, to destroy it and them. This working on the men, they ventured further to say, that it would be better to join with them for the King. On crying, one and all, for the King, Lindale told them, he believed that the lieutenant and some other officers of the ship would be against it, and they must immediately possess the gun-room and arm themselves; and then they might seize their officers and those that would not join them. They did so; secured their officers, telling them they would declare for the King; and, as they would not comply, they put them in the hold, till they let them go ashore, and such as had a mind to go with them. The officers were forced to submit. This done, he got under sail, and, passing along the broad-side of the next ship, told them what they had done, and bid them seize their officers, in like manner, else they would sink them; and thus, from ship to ship, till every one had declared for the King.

Rainsborough, seeing his ship had got under sail, and yet not come up to him, as he ordered, but speaking to one another, went to them with his ketch, and asked his own ship what they were doing. They told him, he must not put his foot in it, they having declared for the King; but would send him his servants and some of his officers. They did so; and, on his beginning to talk with them to return to obedience, bid him hold his tongue or they would fire on him. So he went away in his ketch up the river to acquaint the parliament. The other ships turned out all their commanders, then came ashore to tell the Kent gentry what they had done; and to desire some that were seamen to come on board and command them, as Sir William Palmer, captain Bargrave, captain Foy, and others did, and put in other officers. Before they got out of the Downs, the earl of Warwick came down in a ketch from the parliament, to get them to return to their duty, and desired to come on board of them. They sent to know first what his business was. He offered pardon, redress of grievances, if they would declare for the parliament. Their answer was, they valued not the promises of parliament: that they had declared for the King, and would be loyal. The earl shewed a letter, by which he had been invited down by some. All these were sent to him. He desired one of the ships, for his better accommodation, to carry him up the river; promising, on his honour, to send it back. They let him have the *Nicomachus*, a sixth rate, but he did not keep his word.

They

They then went to Holland, where the duke of York was, to receive the prince's commands, and arrived at Helveotfluys. The duke went and staid on board with them, till the prince came by sea from France. He took the command and sailed for the Downs; leaving the duke in Holland, and having first discharged Bampfild, an unquiet, intriguing head, from his brother's service. His tampering with the seamen, and driving on a presbyterian interest, so offended the duke, that he would never take him again into his service, whatever application was made. Yet he supplied him with what he was able, in his condition, till the Restoration.

The prince, about the end of summer, came with the fleet to Helveotfluys. The earl of Warwick, with the parliament-fleet, followed to the same port. The Dutch would suffer no hostilities; and Warwick returned. Prince Rupert, who was made commander of the King's ships went with prince Maurice to Ireland, Portugal, the Streights, and the West Indies, where prince Maurice and some ships were lost. Prince Rupert returned to Europe, in 1653, and landed at Nantz. The duke of York went to Paris, a few days before his father's murder. The King came thither, in his way to Ireland, where nothing considerable remained in the rebels hands, but Dublin. But he staid all the summer at St. Germain, or in Jersey, till the end of September, where he landed on the twenty-sixth of September, and received an account of the rout near Rathmines. All thoughts of Ireland were laid aside; and the two ships sent by the prince of Orange to transport him, were sent back to Holland. Addresses were made there from Scotland, by one Windram, an honest gentleman. The King resolved to return to Holland to treat with the Scots. The Queen-mother met him at Beauvois. After some days stay, he proceeded to Holland. He agreed with the Scots commissioners, and went to Scotland. The duke of York staid at Jersey, till the September of 1650. He went to Paris, by the King's orders, on the seventeenth. But he left it on the fourth of October, and came to Brussels on the thirteenth of the same month, where he staid till the middle of December. The prince of Orange died of the small pox on the sixth of November; and the princess was delivered of a son on the fourteenth, eight days after his death.

He went to the Hague, and staid till the twelfth of January, 1651, when the English ambassador was there received; and then went to Breda. But, some days after, he returned to the Hague. In June he was ordered, by the King, to return to Paris, and follow the Queen-mother's advice. He arrived there in the end of June. The King landed about the middle of October, at Fescamp in Normandie; and coming to Paris, cardinal de Retz brought him a vast sum of money in his coach, which the King would not receive, not knowing when he should be able to pay it. The cardinal shewed himself very affectionate to him. He proposed his marriage with the duke of Orleans's daughter. The King visited

her often. But she grew cool; being put in the head of marrying the King of France, and that the Queen-mother would be forced to consent to it. So the match was broke off. Mademoiselle, only daughter of the duke of Longueville, by his first wife, sister of the cardinal Soissons, was, at the same time, proposed for the duke of York; the greatest match, next to Mademoiselle, in France. But the court of France would not consent. The duke went a volunteer in the campaign of 1652.

In the Scotch
College.

June 8th.
1648.

Charles II. when prince, sends Sir J. Berkley from St. Germain's to attend the duke of York in lord Byron's absence.

July 28th.

Captain P. was in the Downs. He came thither from Yarmouth Road; and expected Battin hourly, with the fleet from Brest, where he had gone two days before his arrival.

Aug. 14th.

The Queen desired the duke of York to be advised by Sir J. Berkley, who had her's and the chief president's confidence.

Oct. 24th.

George Howard had assisted the duke of York in his escape from England; and had been promised, by the Queen, the post of master of the horse to the duke of York. But William Crofts having been sworn into it, Howard was made gentleman of the bedchamber, with a pension.

1649.
April 1st.

Charles the Second would, pursuant to his father's desire, have put the duke of York in the admiral's place, as soon as the great seal was ready, on the twenty-fifth of May.

June 16th.

Breda.—He sent lord Byron to acquaint the Queen-mother with the way he intended to take for Ireland, and to ask his brother's company.

1651.
May 20th.

The Queen-mother invited the duke of York back to France; the Queen of France desiring he might be sent for, and assuring him of twelve thousand crowns pension, for his subsistence.

The King to the Duke of York.

Cologne, Nov. 10th, 1654.

“The news I have received from Paris, of the endeavours used to change my brother Harry's religion, troubles me so much, that if I have any thing to answer to any of your letters, you must excuse me if I omit it this post. All that I can say, at this time is, that I conjure you, as you love the memory of your father, and if you have any care for yourself, or kindness for me, to hinder, all that lies in your power, all such practices, without any consideration of any person whatever. I have written very home, both to the Queen and my brother, about it; and I expect that you should second it, as I have said to them, with all the arguments

arguments you can. For neither you nor I were ever so much concerned, in all respects, as we are in this. I am able to say no more at this time, but that I am yours *."

Cologne, Nov. 10th.

"I have commanded this bearer, my lord of Ormonde, to speak with you at large, concerning my brother Harry. Therefore, I desire you to give him credit, in all that he shall say to you from me, and to do all that he shall desire you. In the mean time, I have nothing more to add to this, but to conjure you to behave yourself as you ought to do, in a thing that concerns both you and me so much. I am yours."

Cologne, Jan. 19th, 1655.

Count de Brienne had notified to lord Jermyn, that French affairs suffered by the retreat of King Charles's ships into the French ports. King Charles sends the duke of York directions, without which the French governors would have had orders not to suffer them to enter the ports, to order the captains, that had the King's or the duke of York's commissions, not to retire thither, but rather to the north of Scotland, where they might do service.

The King bids the duke of York be ready to come to him, expecting every hour to hear out of England, that there is something adoining. Jan. 26th.

He invites the duke to Holland; and to pass by Cologne, if France made peace with Cromwell. May 25th.

Cologne.—King Charles had particular assurances of the good dispositions of Spain to his service; and he desired the duke of York to be ready to come to him, when he should call for him. 1656.
Feb. 15th.

Brussels.—King Charles was treating there, in private, with Spanish ministers, He desired the duke of York not to take any employment in the field that year. April 8th.

Bruges.—He desires to know how the duke's stay at Paris comes to be allowed of. 28th.

The duke of York sent Charles Berkeley to the King, to learn his resolutions about him and his own business. May 3d.

Bruges.—The King was not ready to send his final resolution. 5th.

Bruges.—The King complained that the duke of York engaged to serve the campaign in France. The friends that advised it, consulted only the duke's humour, without regard for the consequences to King Charles, who could make no other 19th.

* The duke of York, it ought to be remarked, was, now, as vehement a Protestant, as James the Second was afterwards as violent a Roman Catholic. He did not begin to be staggered in his faith till after the Restoration.

judgment of their extraordinary civility, in offering him what is unfit for him to accept; and who had made such a difficulty to grant it, when it was a reasonable thing in him to desire it. All public reasons made all he consulted think it very unfit for the duke of York to serve again, as he had done; and private ones rendered it still more unfit. So he desired him to put it quite out of his mind. That must convince him, with his own desires, to be ready to come to him. The duke of Ormonde was executing at Brussels.

May 26th.

The duke of York excuses his serving in France; not seeing ought likely to be done, by Spain or in England. Cromwell had consented to his stay in France; but opposed his serving in Flanders. Mazarine had augmented his pension, and ordered the payment of his arrears.

July 21st.

Bruges.—King Charles had received the ratification of the treaty with Spain, as fully as he could wish. He did not doubt but effects would follow very quickly. He desires the duke of York to prepare for a journey; being confident they should have something to do soon; especially since the great work of Valenciennes was over. Few of the Marshal la Torcey's men escaped.

Aug. 11th.

He desires the duke to consult with him about particulars. August 18th, Condé taken.

25th.

He desires him to make all the haste he can, without staying to pay debts.

1657.
Jan. 6th.

The King had wrote yesterday, by the duke of Ormonde; and in one conjures the duke of York not to proceed in the course he was going; which if he did, he would be the ruin of Charles the Second, of the duke of York, and of their whole family. He conjures him, by the memory of their father, and all the commands he gave the duke of York; and if he had any duty for him to come to him immediately.

12th.

Paris.—The Queen-mother invites the duke of York to return thither; and the Queen of France and the cardinal would welcome him.

22d.

Bruges.—The King, by the duke of Ormonde, pressed the duke of York to come back. He assured him nobody should behave undutifully to him.

Feb. 9th.

Bruges.—The King, by a letter from the duke of York, brought by H. Jermin, was assured of the duke's coming to him.

23d.

Paris.—The Queen-mother advises the duke of York to stand firm for Sir J. Berkeley.

March 1st.]

Paris.---She was surprized, that Sir J. Berkeley was not returned with him; and imagines it a loss to his reputation. She desires him not to serve against France.

1659.
July 19th.

The King's instructions to the duke, empowering him to pardon all but regicides.

Aug. 27th.

The Queen-mother tells the duke, that Turenne would go to Amiens, to have a private conference with him there, at Abbeville or Montreuil, as he passed.

Turenne's

Turenne's proposal was rejected. He was master of no port. Irish troops could not be sent from Flanders to France to embark. But Charles, Dillon, and Thomas Howard were ready to come with their regiments. Sept. 8th.

The King, at Rochelle, going to Spain, had sent Ormonde to the cardinal. 24th.

Fontarabie.---Had received all imaginable demonstration of Don Louis's kindness to him, at his reception. He had broke his business to him, and was confident of success, if it only depended on him. 31st.

Peace signed. Nov. 9.

The King was at Colombè, in his way to Brussels. Dec. 7.

"List of the commissioned officers of the forces in Ireland, in the service of King James the Second, after the Revolution." D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 1.

There were seven regiments of horse, seven of dragoons, forty-four of infantry, and five independent companies.

"Commissions and orders for the King's army in Ireland, from May the eighteenth, to the twenty-first June, and some in August, 1689." 7.

The beginning of a copy-book of daily orders. It contains nothing material.

"Memorial concerning the deanery of Christ Church in Dublin, and his Majesty's right to nominate the dean." 8.

Christ Church in Dublin was a convent of regular canons. King Henry VIII. by letters patent under the Great Seal of Ireland, erected it into a corporation of dean and chapter, reserving to himself the right of nomination to the deanery. This right was exercised by him and by Queen Mary: therefore, "his Majesty conceives it is his right to name to his Holiness a fit clergyman to be dean of Christ Church."

"Letter of Mr. Tempest to his brother, urging motives to adhere to King James. Dublin, 29th March, 1689." 13.

It appears that the brother had espoused the interest of King William. Mr. Tempest repeats to him the arguments so frequently used by the Non-jurors, and by the abettors of passive obedience, and of the indefeasible right of Kings. He vindicates Tyrconnel's conduct, and James's government in Ireland; and seems to think that he must, in the end, triumph over his rival.

"Mareschal Schomberg to" (Kirk), "the commander of the fleet before Derry. Whitehall, July 3d, 1689." 28.

Orders to relieve Derry, and promises of a reinforcement.

"Memoire des choses que le Roy de la Grande Bretagne manque en Irelande." 35.

An account of the musquets, swords, powder, ball, &c. which James demanded from Lewis XIV. when he sent lord Dover to France. *Tres necessaires* is marked in his own hand, on the margin of several articles in this memorial; and he is sometimes more particular, as follows.

Tres necessaires.

Tres necessaire.

Ou de monstrier la maniere de la faire, en cas qu'on n'en peut pas envoyer. Pour eplanir les chemins depuis le port ou les troupes François meterent pied à terre, et les quartiers qui leur seront assignés.

Des musquets 4000.

De la mesche.

Des gens qui sachtent faire de la mesche.

Des outils pour remuer la terre, et raccommoder les chemins, par ou l'on passera quand on sera arrivé en Irelande.

James's genius extended to the minutiae of business. An article which had been forgot, is marked in his hand at the end of this memorial. *De la toile pour faire des chemises aux soldats 100,000 aulnes pour le moins.*

This list is followed by other two.

"Memoire de ce que sa Majesté souhaite luy estre envoyé incessamment par sa Majesté Tres Chrestienne; et memoire de ce que le Roy croit necessaire luy estre envoyé par sa Majesté Tres Chrestienne, pour son dessein en Angleterre."

D. N. vol. i.
fol. No. 50.

"Establishment in Scotland, as to civil and military employments, 1690."

This paper is indorsed "For the Queen." It contains the names of persons in office.

51. *"Order of sequestration of loyalists estates in Scotland, 1690."*

A copy of the order of council in Scotland, for sequestrating the estates of those who were then in rebellion against their Majesties.

52. *"A list of the forces in the prince of Orange's service in Scotland."*

93. *"Copy of the King's letter to Sir William Ashurst, lord mayor of the city of London, to be communicated to the court of aldermen and common council of the same city."*

94. James intended this letter by way of declaration, upon his landing in England,
95. in 1692. It is followed by a preamble to a declaration, and by a draught of a declaration, at length.

105. *"Heads of a capitulation to be made with his Most Christian Majesty, as well for the forces belonging to the King of Great Britain, now expected from Ireland, as also for the troops sent from thence into France, in the year 1690; and for all other his subjects, who now are, or shall be hereafter employed in the French service. December, 1692."*

They were to serve in one body, under the command of James, and of such general officers as he should appoint. All the officers were to receive their commissions from him, and the troops were to be subject only to such rules and discipline

of

of war as he should appoint. He was to have a secretary at war, a judge-advocate general, a provost marshal general, and a chaplain general, with six priests, two able physicians, and six surgeons, all with suitable appointments. The pay of officers and soldiers was stipulated; and the last article of the capitulation was in the following terms: "That the King of Great Britain be at liberty, at any time hereafter, to bring all or such part of the said forces, as he shall think fit, into any of his Majesty's dominions, or elsewhere, as he shall judge necessary or convenient."

"*Memoire touchant des moyens pour avoir des recrues d'Irlande, 1693.*"

D. N. vol. i.
fol. No. 108.

An agent was to be established at Dublin, who was to have agents to act according to his directions in the several counties. They were to enlist recruits, and to facilitate their escape from Ireland. Irish officers were to be established on the frontiers of Flanders; and two Louis d'Ors were to be given to every soldier that they could engage to desert from the allied army.

"Pope Innocent the Eleventh's faculties to Roman Catholic bishops in England," (original) "December 16, 1693."

113.

"Pope Clement the Eleventh to Lewis XIV." (copy) "October 4, 1761."

114.

Compliments of condolence on the death of the late King James the Second, and thanks for acknowledging his son.

"List of the commissions required by, and to be sent to colonel Parker by Standish. February, 1692."

115.

"Names of the officers of six regiments of horse, and three of dragoons."

116.

"Copies of earl Middleton's letters to England, when earl Melford parted from St. Germain, June and July, 1693."

121.

They contain nothing material. They are only the beginning of Middleton's correspondence with his friends in England, on Melford's resignation. He signs them "J. Dorrell." The names of those to whom he wrote are, Jackson, Mrs. Harbert, South, Jonson. Nairne enters the dates of letters he wrote at the same time to Ferguson, Berry, Sackfield, &c.

"Traduction de la relation que le Sieur Wall a donnè en écrit à sa Majesté Britannique, signée de sa main, à St. Germain en Laye, le 11e Septembre 1695."

126.

Wall was employed as a spy by the English ministry, but he was secretly in correspondence with the court of St. Germain. A great part of this account is wanting.

"Reflections on the state of England. October 15th, 1695."

127.

Tedious, insipid and superficial.

"A letter from Amsterdam to a friend in London, 1695."

131.

It

It gives an account of a conversation supposed to have passed between some English merchants at a tavern meeting in Amsterdam. It is in Nairne's hand; and was probably written by Caryll, as it is marked Mr. C. on the top. Some feeble attempts to be witty; and such reasonings as the advocates of passive obedience have often employed.

D. N. vol. i.
fol. No. 134.

"A copy of Mr. Charnock's letter, written to a friend after his condemnation."

The contents of this letter are well known.

135.

"Memoire présenté au Roy de la Grande Bretagne par le sieur Fontaine au nom de plusieurs des fidels sujets de sa Majesté en Angleterre. A St. Germain en Laye ce 23 Avril, 1695."

A proposal to purchase bullion in England to be coined into light specie in France, and then returned to England without any risque or expence to James, who was to have 20 *per cent.* upon all the silver, and 5 *per cent.* upon all the guineas coined in this manner. They were to begin with a capital of 30,000 *l.* sterling; but they expected to raise it to 50,000 *l.* in a few months; and they hoped that James's profits would amount to 100,000 *l.* sterling a-year. They were to coin the bullion into the money of the two last reigns. They promised to make it of weight sufficient to secure its circulation; and with a mark known only to those who were in the secret, and by which James might distinguish it after his restoration, when he could call in this light coin, and indemnify those who might suffer by it. The whole plan appears to have been well-concerted; and would have soon drained England of a great deal of its specie.

146.

"Copie de la lettre du prince de Conti au cardinal Radoski. 30 Juillet, 1697."

148.

"A faithful account of King James's expedition, together with some reflections thereupon, by an English gentleman in Amsterdam, to his friend in London."

Dry speculative reasonings on the state of Europe in general, and of England and Holland in particular. Dull and unimportant. The expedition mentioned is James's expedition to Calais, 1696.

149, 150,
151, 152.

"James the Third's discharge to his mother, as executrix of his father's will. —The beginning of James the Second's last will and testament, dated September 8, 1701.—Rough draught of the King's will, in 1698-9.—Brouillon de la traduction du testament du Roy Jaques II."

Copies in Nairne's hand. They are of no consequence.

154.

"Preambles to patents of creation;" viz. of the following peers created by King William, Normanby, Bradford, Romney, Caermathen, Newcastle, and Devonshire.

155.

Resolution des Seigneurs Etats de Frise, touchant Holstein Plawen, servant de replique sur la reponce de LL. HH. PP."

"Reflections

"Reflections on the coins and monies of England, by Sir Philip Meadows, D. N. vol. i. with a supplement to the memorial delivered the twelfth of November, 1695;" fol. No. 156. marked on the back "Doctor Davenant's memorial."

"April 2d, 1696. Copy of a letter from the honourable colonel Bernard Howard, of Norfolk, to King William, sent in a letter to the lord Portland, to be given the 3d of this instant April, 1696."

158.

This copy is in Nairne's hand; but signed, "a true copy, examined by me, B. Howard of Norfolk." After the above title on the back, the following note, in Nairne's hand, is likewise signed by Howard: "April 29th, 1696, memorandum: the lord Portland told the lord Chesterfield, that the King and his lordship had read this letter; and that his Majesty gave it to the duke of Shrewsbury, and I cannot get an answer to it."

Colonel Howard appears to have been a bigotted Roman Catholic, and a weak, though perhaps honest, enthusiast in his own system of religion and politics.

N A I R N E ' S P A P E R S , D . N . V O L . I I . F O L I O .

"Sundry letters from Sir Toby Bourke, during his embassy at Madrid, from June 19th, 1705, to December 27th, 1706, to lord Caryll, secretary of state." D. N. vol. ii. fol. N. 14.

In one of the quarto volumes of Mr. Nairne's papers, there are "sundry letters from Sir Toby Bourke, envoy extraordinary from the King of England to Spain; beginning with one from Paris, before his setting out, the 17th of May, 1705, and continued from Madrid, &c. to the 19th of October, 1706."

Sir Toby was a vain, heavy, and prolix correspondent. He wrote upwards of sixty long letters to lord Caryll, during the above period; containing nothing but compliments from their Catholic Majesties to the Queen at St. Germain, and her son, with assurances of their attachment and friendship; the opposition which had been made to Sir Toby's being received in a public character at Madrid, with the difficulties of settling his rank; and a confused account of the military operations in Spain.

"List of the English and Dutch fleet before Gibraltar, or laying in the Bay, as communicated to the Spanish government by John Fitzgerald."

15.

"Mr. Power's draught of a patent for Mr. David Nairne to be Clerk of the council, with a copy of ditto for Mr. Blaithwaite's being in that post in England, under Queen Anne. June, 1706."

16.

Two letters from Sir Toby Bourke to lord Caryll, one in May, 1709, and the other in September, 1710; containing military news from Spain.

17, 18.

"Memorial about raising a regiment for lord Clermont, in Flanders."

19.

A proposal to form a regiment for him of deserters from the British troops.

"Memorial

D. N. vol. ii.
fol. No. 20.

" Memorial about Scotch ships trading to France."

It is demanding peculiar privileges and exemptions for the Scottish nation, in order to keep up a correspondence between it and the court of St. Germain.

24. " Copy of a letter sent to Queen Anne, November 9th, 1708."

Methodistical nonsense, written by a woman, and sent to the Queen upon the death of the prince of Denmark.

31. Letters from count Mahony, from the Spanish army, in 1710 and 1711, to the earl of Middleton; containing an uninteresting account of military operations.

40. " Relation de l'affaire de Denain."

Differs in nothing from the received accounts.

41. " Two letters to the King," (the chevalier de St. George) " from the marshal de Villars, from the camp at Spyre, the 7th and 10th of June, 1713;" giving news of his operations.

46. " List of general officers in Scotland, 1716."

53. " Paper in French and English, about a legacy left by Sir William Godolphin, to the colleges, at St. Omers and Liege."

54. " Brouillon du placet de major-general Buchan au Roi pour avoir un regiment Ecoffois au service de S. M. Cath. en Flanders."

55. " Colonel Rateray's memorial, or petition to the Queen, for a pension to his wife, &c."

59. " Copy of a deed to John Caryll."

A conveyance " of a free-farm rent of 20*l. per annum*, issuing out of the parsonage of Horseham, in the county of Suffex," to lord Caryll's second son, by one of his relations.

60. " Memoire à M. de Chamillard touchant les fils de milord Middleton."

Lord Clermont and his brother, sons to the earl of Middleton, were taken on board the Salisbury in the year 1708. They were now (1709) prisoners in London; and, in the absence of their father, who had followed his master to Flanders, the Queen applied to M. de Chamillard to claim them as French officers.

63. " Raifons, que M. Johnston à donné de sa conversion à la Foi Catholique."

Quibbles, which have been repeated times innumerable.

66, 67, 68. " Warrant for erecting seignor Andrea Virgilio Davia, senator of Boulogna, earl of Almond, viscount Moneydie, lord Davia, and a peer of Scotland, with the copy of his patent. April 9th, 1698."

Seignora Donna Victoria Davia Montecuculi, his wife, had attended the Queen from her infancy, and shared in all her good and bad fortunes.

" Draft

"Draft of a bill for licence to the duke of Berwick to be naturalized in France, 1703." D. N. vol. ii. fol No. 69.

"Memoire et placet de Madame Dunkeld epouse de milord Dunkeld, 1705." 77.

A petition to M. de Chamillard, for a pension to lord Dunkeld's widow.

The remaining numbers of this volume, *i. e.* from No. 78. to No. 148. contain either printed papers, or petitions and memorials from the needy dependents of the court of St. Germain, with some other private business, equally insignificant.

D. N. VOL. I. QUARTO.

"A Latin paper, concerning the oaths to the P. of O." D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 7.

It is addressed to Roman Catholics, and suited to their prejudices.

"A memorandum about bishops regulating the missions."—A memorial concerning the college of St. Isidore at Rome;—and the state of the Irish students in that college." 8, 9. 13.

Trifling particulars concerning the Roman Catholics and clergy of Ireland. 10, 17.

"The archbishop of Mechline's confirmation of the statutes of the Benedictine Nuns at Brussels, 1612; and the Pope's bull to the Nuns of Ghent, 1658." 29.

"Copy of the King's warrant, appointing Dr. Betham preceptor, and Dr. Ingleton under-preceptor to the prince of Wales, in 1695." 32.

"A list of all those who lodge in the castle at St. Germain." 34.

A letter from colonel Macauliffe, about raising a regiment in Spain, 1709.—Complaint from the captains in Macauliffe's regiment; both addressed to lord Middleton. 37, 38.

"Mr. Dicconfon's declaration, that the rents in the hotel de Ville, (at Paris) in his name, in 1708, belonged to the King." 44.

The sum was 63,275 livres, which he had placed there at the desire of the late Queen.

"Authenticated copies of two letters wrote to the grand master of Malta; one by King Charles the Second, in 1678, the other by Queen Anne, in 1713." 45.

"King's power to the honourable James Murray, to open letters during his absence from Rome, in 1719; and to solemnize his nuptials with the princess Sobieski." 47.

"Doctor Wood's relation of the princess's case annalized." 58.

Doctor Wood's defence of his treatment of the princess, during her illness, is here examined and censured through nine and twenty pages. This is followed by

observations on his state of the case to some French physicians, and on their answers.

D. N. vol. i.
4to. No. 59,
75.

Printed papers.

D. N. VOL. II. QUARTO.

D. N. vol. ii.
4to. No. 3.

“Counsellor Robert Power’s opinion about the licence the duke of Berwick wanted of the King, to be naturalized in France, sent to lord Caryll, the King and Queen’s principal secretary of state; with a draft of a warrant from the King, to make abovesaid Power his counsel at law in Ireland. Jan. 18th, 1704.”

4. “Draft of licence to the duke of Berwick, to be naturalized in France. Jan. 29th, 1704.”

13, 14.

Papers which passed between the earl of Melfort and M. de Legny, director-general of the commerce of France, about passports for six Scotch ships, in February, 1692.

22.

“A rough sketch and orders, about complaints and calumnies against the King’s servants.” This order was probably obtained through the influence of the earl of Melfort, who had become very disagreeable to many of James’s friends in England. There is a paper in his own hand, after he had retired from St. Germain, entitled, *Memoire justificatif du comte de Melfort, 17 Mai, 1694*. This paper consists of twenty-four pages. Melfort begins with observing that he had been in great favour with Charles, and with James; and that neither the changing his religion, nor his rising so high in office, had procured him any enemies, “before the prince of Orange’s arrival, which he had always foretold, without being believed: but that he had drawn upon himself hatred, and many enemies, for the following reasons, viz. for having advised the King to accept of the assistance of France, to send the prince of Wales into a place of safety, and to seize the most considerable of his enemies before the prince of Orange’s arrival.”

23.

When the earl of Sunderland was dismissed, King James’s business with the court of France was committed to Melfort. He says he persuaded his master to accept of the assistance of France; and having, by his orders, made the proposals to Barillon, he received, for answer, that there were no troops now on the coast of France, nor vessels to transport them. This gave great offence to the English, particularly to the earl of Middleton, one of the secretaries of state. Melfort was in danger of being assassinated; such were the prejudices of the people against the French. He was obliged to retire to France, and had their Majesties orders to meet the prince of Wales at Dieppe, where the prince would have landed, if he had been sent, according to their Majesties orders, from Portsmouth. Upon James’s arrival at St. Germain, Melfort was made secretary of state for England; and, against his will, was obliged to attend his Majesty to Ireland. He dreaded

lord

lord Tyrconnel's temper and pride. He claims great merit to himself, for having saved that kingdom, by his invention of copper currency, and from his other services and fatigues. He left Ireland, and exposed himself to be suspected of having been in disgrace with his master; until it was seen, that he was employed to execute a particular commission at Rome. But still he says, Sir Theophilus Oglethorp and his lady, who is very intriguing and cunning, continued to do him ill offices. They thought it impossible that he should pardon them; and therefore, they retained their malice against him.

Melfort was recalled from Rome, where he acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the French ministry, to act again as secretary of state. He carried on the correspondence with England. James's friends increased. The King of France was induced to attempt an invasion, and communicated his intentions to Melfort alone. James, from thenceforward, never called to his council five Roman Catholic servants, with whom he used to consult while Melfort was at Rome. This step, which Melfort opposed, in vain, created him many enemies.

While Melfort was absent, Montgomery, whose father and grandfather were great enemies to the crown of Scotland, proposed to the King and to the Queen, by his emissaries, and particularly by one Jones, to seize the government. The papers, which concern this affair, were delivered up to the ministry, though Montgomery and Jones maintained the contrary; as Melfort had foretold from Rome, from his knowledge of the men who were to conduct it. Montgomery, on account of his hatred to the prince of Orange, having gained credit with two or three of the King's friends, began again to make proposals to the King, and to give him information of some men of quality who were in his interest. As these men, in whose name Montgomery had advanced several things, were for the prince of Orange and Whigs at bottom, the King had reason to distrust him, and ask an explanation. Jones was sent over by Montgomery; and, when he arrived at St. Germain's, instead of shewing who these men of quality were, the King saw that he had nothing to expect from Montgomery; and the correspondence was interrupted until Melfort returned from Rome, except some letters which Montgomery wrote from time to time to Strafford, soliciting money. A person who was so attached to the King, that he suffered the torture with great firmness, without making any discovery, was sent, in the mean time, by one of the King's loyal subjects from Scotland, to inform him, that Montgomery had declared, at the table of the marquis of Montrose, who is the King's great enemy, that he also would be his enemy to his death.

The correspondence was interrupted. Jones, at the instance of the King's friends in England, was thrown into the Bastille. Abbé Renaudot complained, that Melfort received few letters from England, and furnished him with no materials for his Gazette. He went to see Jones in the Bastille. Jones promised to renew

the correspondence, and, by Renaudot's means, was allowed to make his escape. When he arrived in England, he blamed Melfort for his imprisonment.

Melfort, in the remaining part of this long memorial, enlarges upon the prejudice done to him, by the misrepresentations of Montgomery and Jones in England; the intrigues of Abbé Renaudot in France; his own difference of opinion with the Marquis de Croissy, about the terms of a letter, proposed to be written by James to the two houses of parliament; and with the earl of Middleton, about the concessions to be promised in declarations to be addressed to his subjects in general.

D. N. vol. ii.
4to.
No. 29—37.

“ Mr. Sheridan's account, at his return from Germany, Nov. 1695.”

A whimsical proposal to unite several princes in a confederacy against what some chose to call the Protestant League, contained in a discourse held by J. A. T. T. N. at C. probably Cologne.

30. “ Lettre de Mons. le Comte Savenberg à M^{lle}. Clement, du 6 Sept^{bre}. 1695.”

These appear to be feigned names; and the letter is unintelligible, there being no key to the cant names used in it.

39. “ Translation of the Dutch answer to the King's manifesto,” i. e. of an answer, published in Holland, not only to James's manifesto, but likewise to *memoire sommaire contenant les raisons qui doivent obliger les princes confederes catholiques, de contribuer au retablissement de sa majesté Britannique*. And to *memoire sommaire qui doivent obliger les princes, et les etats protestans, de contribuer au retablissement de S. M. B.*

45. A draught, in Nairne's hand, of an attestation, by John lord Carryl, baron of Dunforde, concerning the late King James the Second's Will.

56. “ Project d'une descente, avec la liste des rades, &c. les plus commodes pour un débarquement.” It is addressed to the court of France, and in the same strain with the other papers, which are published, on this subject.

57. “ Paper concerning father Cosmo Clark, a sort of *factotum* to Russel at Rome, and pretending a commission from the King.” A loose paper, in the earl of Perth's hand, and probably a part of one of the letters he wrote, during his embassy at Rome. It is in the following terms: “ I suppose you have heard of the great doings here, with the *principe Inglese*, as they call him (Russel). Here he passes for duke of Bedford. The cardinals and ambassadors themselves make court to him. His defects are supplied by father Cosmo Clark, who is every thing to him, except his divine; which office is supplied by a parson. But the father is interpreter, *maestro di camera*, major domo; and I pray God he be not somewhat besides. To speak freely, but with secrecy, there are great abuses in this matter; this father pretending to every body, by way of secret, that he has a sort of commission from the King to treat with the English nobility, who may come hither; and says, that the King has, by Mr. Carryl, writ to this lord, and given him the title of marquis of Tavistock. Whether all this be real or supposed, is not the question:

question : that is not my business, &c. But it seems very improper, that one who has no better guard upon his tongue, should be trusted in affairs of consequence ; one whose glory and vanity would make him not only boast of what is, but invent what is not : of the which I'll give you a considerable instance. At Torre de Specchi, very lately, he gave himself out for a person of a great family, and related to the King. (By the by, he is grandson to a taylor, and his father was a contemptible advocate.) By this lie, he got a considerable present of Agnus Deis, finely wrought and set into cases, from a nun of the house of Massimi. Mrs. White told me, this enquiring into his birth being asked by the said nun if what he said was true. His keeping company with Protestants does not pass, without giving great scandal : and, if he has any such commission, as pretended, he makes no other use of it, but to satisfy his worldly satisfactions and appetites ; which his habit would not allow him to do, without this pretext of the royal countenance, he says he has. If you would be informed of him, ask ———, who had, from an eye-witness, an account of his atheistical wickedness. Monseigneur Caprara and the two Rectors are too much imposed upon by him. I have no quarrel at him, and only tell you this to prevent scandal to religion and disservice to his Majesty, &c."

" An anonymous letter about Mr. Pigott, his conversation at a tavern near the palace at Paris ; intimating as if he was a spy. Paris, 29th June, 1696." D.N. vol. iii. 4to. No. 63.

" Intelligence from Lawrence Dupuy, from Brest, 19th June, 1694." News of Talmash's attempt against that place. 64.

" Verses on various subjects." 65.

The Laureats of the court of St. Germain's appear to have been bad poets. The following anecdote is found in a loose piece of paper, before one of their birth-day odes. " In Lincoln's church-yard there is an inscription on a tomb-stone, thus : Here lieth the body of Mitchel Honeywood, D. D. who was grand-child, and one of the three hundred and sixty-seven persons that Mary the wife of Robert Honeywood did see, before she died, lawfully descended from her, *i. e.* sixteen of her own body, one hundred and fourteen grand-children, two hundred and twenty-eight of the third generation, and nine of the fourth."

" A note of the Queen's charities ;" that is, of the money she distributed to the Irish bishops and monks, and to the English, Scottish and Irish seminaries and convents abroad. 66.

" A note of the King's Sickness." A bouletine of James's sufferings in his last illness. 67.

" Copy of the King's certificate of nobility, to Nicholas Geraldin, 1691 : Ditto of the bishop of Ossory's, 1677 ; and of the duke of Ormond's, 1679." 68.

" Copy of the Nuncio of Madrid's complaint of Sir Toby Bourke's not visiting him, 15th July, 1705." 73.

Sundry letters from Sir Toby Bourke, &c.

D. N. vol. iii.
4to. No. 1.

"THE dutchefs of Tyrconnel's letters to Mr. Nairne, &c."

This article contains several letters from lady Tyrconnel and others, to Mr. Nairne, Abbé Innes, &c. Many of them are on private business, viz. the management of her ladyship's jointure, &c. The intrigues of the times are mentioned in others: but these letters are allegorical; and there is no key to the cant-names. Some of them were written from Brussels; and it appears that her ladyship, while she was in Flanders, had frequent access to her brother-in-law, the duke of Marlborough, and assisted to carry on the correspondence between that nobleman and the court of St. Germans.

2. "Three letters from Sir Toby Bourke, envoy extraordinary to Spain, January, 1708."

Unimportant, as usual.

4. "Copie du certificat de M. de Pontchartrain touchant les prisonniers faits à la descente de Camarets, le 6 Juin, 1708; et un autre du duc de Berwick touchant les prisonniers en Cevennes, le 4 Juin, 1708."

7. "Ordre de la marche de l'armée partant du camp D'Aguy pour aller sur l'armée des ennemis."

10. "Two letiers to L. Middleton, by J. S. about the King's leaving the camp in August and Sept. 1710."

"1st, You know friends in England, who would be glad the King were out of the camp. 2dly, His indisposition, not so naturally to be recovered where he is, at any other time, might justify his return. 3dly, Villars himself leaves the camp. This last article is as big-bellied as the Dutch countess. I am quite confounded at the prodigious swiftness of affairs in England. Pray God they do not ravish you, before you have time to squeak out."

11. "Letter to L. Middleton from Barklay, about the King of France's pension to him. Yssudun en Berry, 22d Arpil, 1710."

12. "A letter from John Maxwell to L. Middleton, about a pension he was allowed by the late K. James II. from Madrid, 9th March, 1710."

13. "Ditto from M. Bromfield, about her pension, Paris, 12th March, 1710."

14. "Ditto from Jⁿ. Orme, Dinan in Bretagne, to borrow some money of lady Middleton, February, 1710."

15. "Letter from ——— Browne, Sens en Bourgoyne, to lord Middleton, about some intelligence he had had from England; with copy of the letter he had received from Portsmouth, 20th July, 1710."

16. "Letter from one M. Cook, recommending a Mr. Ward to his charity, Versailles, 21st July, 1710."

" D. Boyd to lord Middleton, about his and companion's confinement, for some misdemeanour about the castle of St. Germain's." D. N. vol iii. 4to. No. 20.

" A father Johnson to the Queen, about a spy; and extract of a letter from one father Kennedy, London, May, 1710." 21.

" L. Middleton's letter to cardinal Noailles, about his lordship's daughter, Mrs. Gifford, wanting to marry without his consent, and the cardinal Noailles's answer, February 20th, 1710." 22.

" Three letters from count Mahony, in Spain, to lord and lady Middleton; with an account of the King of Spain's affection, &c. to the King of England, June, 1710." 24.

" Two letters from a Richard Barry to lord Middleton, from Bayonne, 17th and 20th Sept, 1710." 25.

An account of affairs in Spain.

" Account of a political conversation between a Roman Catholic and a Whig, upon the Hannover succession, in a letter I dated as from Leyden, 7th August, 1712, and sent some copies of it into England; one particularly to Mr. St. Amand *." 28.

The letter is signed Jo. Newman. Middleton and Caryll amused themselves frequently with writing a *jeu d'esprit* of this kind, which was probably well received by their friends, but could make very little impression on such as differed from them in political opinions.

VOL. IV. QUARTO.

THIS volume consists almost entirely of original letters concerning the intrigues of the courts of St. Germain's and Barleduc, during the years 1712 and 1713. It consists of 77 numbers; and almost every one of these numbers contains several letters. But extracts have been made from them all, as they occurred in the order of time; consequently there is no occasion to take any notice of them here.

Lettres et Memoires du Cardinal Gualterio. 2 Vols. 4to.

THESE two volumes contain Gualterio's correspondence and negotiations during the years 1716, 1717, 1718, and 1719. They are almost all in Italian, and consist of memorials to the Pope, letters to Nairne, and a few to the Chevalier de St. George himself. The cardinal was the Chevalier's agent at Rome. The subjects of his letters and memorials are the severity of the oaths of allegiance on the English Roman Catholics—An application to the Pope for a dispensation to take them—Lord Peterborough's arrest at Bologna—Secret negotiations about

* *i. e.* The Duke Marlborough's friend Berry.

the Chevalier's marriage—Negociations with the court of Spain, and an offer of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, providing that court placed the Chevalier on the British throne—Difficulties attending the Chevalier's marriage and place of abode—Coldness of the court of Rome—Various negociations and correspondences.

Gualterio's letters are mostly in cyphers, but the cant-names are easily explained. Neither his letters nor his memorials are of much importance; and accordingly few extracts have been made from them.

VOLUMES VII. VIII. and IX. QUARTO.

THE first of these volumes is "a copy-book of the earl of Middleton's letters begun at St. Germain, 19th April, 1693, to 28th March, 1695." The second is, "Entrys of some letters of the earl of Middleton's, most of them writt by M. from the 14th June, 1713, to the 13 Juillet, 1712, with some letters of 1700." And the third is, "Entries of some letters writt to England to Abram and Berry, &c. from 1709 to 1713; some by earl Middleton, and most by N." (Nairne.)

These letters throw considerable light on the intrigues of the times, and every thing has been extracted from them, that was any ways connected with the general history, or with the private conduct and characters of individuals. They are mostly allegorical and in cyphers, and are often without a key: but every thing of importance in them hath been explained by a careful attention to trace the chain of the correspondence, and an unwearied application in comparing them with one another, and in discovering the views, connexions, &c. of the several persons concerned. Access to the letters, to which these volumes contain answers, would have greatly abridged this labour, but perhaps have brought but few important facts to light.

The late Mr. Thomas Carte was a great collector of anecdotes. From one 8vo. and three 4to. volumes of his memorandum-books, and a bundle of loose papers, such of them have been inserted in the preceding volumes as were supported by collateral evidence, and connected with the history of the period to which Mr. Nairne's papers extend. But as many of the papers collected by him in a large folio volume, marked A. L. were not comprehended within this period, it is necessary to give a more particular account of them. He himself made some use of them to the year 1654, where his history ends. It will be sufficient to give a list of those to which he has not referred, and a short account of their contents, where they are of any importance.

A. L. folio.
page 44.

" Letter of King Charles I. to the president (Henry marquis of Worcester) and council of Wales, 24th July, 1631."

" Letter

"Letter of J. de Sacrabosco to the marquis of Worcester, with news, foreign and domestic, July 4th, 1683." A. L. folio. page 45.

"Letter of Sir George Cartwright to the King (Charles II.) 9th Feb. 1649." 48.

Enumerates his own services and the services of his family to the late King, and makes a demand of 8000 pistoles, which he had laid out to supply the island of Jersey, &c.

Saumaïse [Salmafius] to the King. Leyden, June 8th, 1649. 50.

He agrees to publish *defensio regis*, &c.

Instructions to Sir William Boswell to oppose Walter Strickland, the parliament's agent in Holland. St. Germain, September 4th, 1649. 52.

Lord Byron's proceedings in Cheshire, from the 20th of February to the middle of September, 1648. 56.

"An account of my proceedings since my coming into Cheshire, and of what happened in those parts, from February 20th, 1648, till the middle of September following." This account is very particular and was never published: but all the important facts are well known.

"Sir John Cockrane's relation of the particulars that lately occurred in his negotiations since his coming to Hamburg." The state of the town, disposition of the magistrates, and an uninteresting account of his own reception, disappointments, &c. 74.

"Sir William Boswell to secretary Long; with a memorial concerning Strickland and Mac Doual, and the papers in p. 82, 83, and 86. Hague, October 12th, 1649." William Mac Doual was one of the deputies from the province of Groningen, and had a considerable estate in Groningen and Frisland. Boswell petitioned the States to refuse an audience to Strickland. 80.

Answer of the provinces of Guilderland, Utrecht, Frisland, &c. to a protest of Holland, on their not admitting Strickland. September 30th, 1649. 82.

Protest of Holland, exhibited the 4th September. 83.

Sir William Boswell's memorial against Strickland, and order thereon. October 1st, 1649. 84.

Walter Strickland's memorial, desiring an audience. (Copy.) 86.

King Charles the Second's declaration about Wales. Jersey, October 31, 1649. 89.

Sir Robert Stuart to the King. Delft, November 4th, 1649. An account of affairs in Ireland. 92.

Lord Colpepper to lord Jermyn, at the Louvre at Paris. Hague, Nov. 9th, 1649. Sent by Mr. Windram, commissioner from the Scots to the King. His opinion of the treaty with that nation. 95.

A. L. folio.
page 96.

Sir William Boswell to Mr. secretary Long at Jerfey. Hague, Nov. 30th, 1649. "Many able and active Presbyterians have showed me their desires of tempering the demands of Scotland; and for better effects thereof, hope that the King will not give unto Wyndram any final or sudden answer."

99. Sir Richard Brown to lord Jermyn. Private business.

101. Sir John Berkley to Mr. secretary Long. Louvre, Dec. 7th, 1649. Scottish affairs.

103. Sir William Boswell's memorial to the States. Dec. 18th, 1649. Desiring that no English merchants, settled in the territories of the States, should be obliged to sign the engagement proposed by the parliament.

104. A list of such Merchants in Rotterdam, as subscribed and refused to subscribe the new engagement.

124. Mr. Mac Donald's memorial to the King. Affairs of Scotland.

125. A memorial for the marquis of Newcastle. He mentions proposals to be made to the princes of the Empire, and proposes to be employed, as ambassador to the King of Denmark.

126. "Rough draught of instructions (in Sir Robert Long's hand) to the lord viscount Bellamont, as ambassador extraordinary to the Emperors of Persia and Morocco."

127. Letter, by way of memorial, from one Hogia Padre to the Sultana of Persia, for collecting duties, &c. at Ormis, for the benefit of the King of England, and preventing the parliament's agents from taking them.

129. Answer of the Grand Duke of Tuscany to Mr. Thomas Killegrew's memorial, Jan. 10th, 1650.

130. Sir John Berkley to Mr. secretary Long. Paris, Sept. 11th, 1649.

—"The Queen hath not been in good humour of late, speaking with more earnestness than heretofore, of her going to remain in the Carmelites §. The great want she is in for want of money to sustain her household hath somewhat disposed her M. thereunto. She hath been, this two last days, in debate about the reducing and regulating her family, and hath not made any considerable alteration. Though her Majesty expressed, in her last to his Majesty, her opinion for his going into Ireland; yet she is a little troubled to find his Majesty hath taken his resolution to go thither before it came to him. Mr. Montague hath been heer this four days, and returns to Pontoize to-morrow. He is very much with the Queen, and I believe we shall be able to know what her Majesty intends, before she goes into the *Carmelites* convent, which will be five days hence, to remain there for ten days.

§ Sir John certainly meant the Carmeliteesses.

I sent,

I sent, as soon as I came thither, my lord duke of Buckingham's commission into Flanders, as judging it the safest conveyance. His Grace is expected here the next week. I think I did not inform you, in my last, that my lord duke Hamilton hath written to a confident friend of his heer, that, by no means, his Majesty ought not to acknowledge the parliament of Scotland, but in a full conclusion with them, in which case there can be little sayd for the contrary; only, I am still of opinion, that Windram is not to have a refusal; but that his Majesty should send his answer into Scotland, by deputies of his own, instructed as amply towards their satisfaction as will stand with a good conscience, voyd of scruples, and without doing any prejudice, either to his hopes of Montrose or to his present possession in Ireland; and, since the Scots have, in a manner, appeared for the crown Swedeland, methinks it should be of no ill consequence, that his deputies, in case of disagreement in the treaty, should provoke them to a decision, by an arbitration of that crown. But I am not ignorant how unlikely any such proposition is to take effect, without the expedient you know of; without which I must and do despayre of it. I shall endeavour it still to the utmost of my power. My most humble service to my lord Wilmot, and am yours,

J. B."

M. de Marfys to secretary Long. Nov. 10th, 1649.

He was translating King Charles the First's works.

A. L. folio,
page 132.

Lord Colpepper to Mr. secretary Long. Anchuisen, January 11, 1650.

137.

The following paragraph of this letter is in cyphers. "The Emperor of Russia hath, you know, banished all English trade, and the merchants are making up their packs as fast as they can. But before they go, I intend to demand of the Emperor of Muscow the custom unpaid for the English goods, since they submitted to the new authority in England; and if the Emperor will comply with the King's desire in any thing, it will more probably be in this demand, which is so notoriously grounded on his Majesty's right, and which will not cost the said Emperor any thing out of his own purse. This shall not slacken my endeavours in the rest (literally in my instructions) but shall only be a reserve.---The duke of Courland, as his agent at Amsterdam told me, will lend his Majesty three good ships; the least of twenty-five guns. They are now in these parts; but it ought to be concealed, if accepted, until they shall be at sea, for many reasons. M. Wicford, at the Hague, will negotiate any thing with the agent who had orders to comply with the King's desire therein, that you shall intimate. He himself has a design to send two or three good ships to the East Indies, with the King's commission, and likewise with goods to trade, if his Majesty thinks fit; paying a good proportion of the value of the prizes to him. I only propounded for you to judge of it as I do the raising of a very round sum, upon the islands of Scilly, upon a treaty to be made with these States. Think well of this latter, and whether the

King will be able to defend and relieve them this next summer. But, if he might receive 50,000 *l.* and they be put into the States' hands, as caution only for the money, whereby they should be defended by them, and possibly they thereby insensibly engaged in the King's quarrel, it might be no ill bargain."

A. L. folio,
page 138.

A copy of King Charles the Second's letter to lord Loudon. Jersey, January $\frac{12}{22}$, 1650.

139.

The letter was sent by Mr. Wyndram. Charles appoints commissioners from Scotland to meet him at Breda. Along with it was sent a letter to the clergy of Scotland. Charles, in these letters, promised to submit to the conditions which were proposed to him, and particularly to acknowledge the convention of estates, then assembled in Scotland, to be a parliament. At the same time he wrote a letter to the marquis of Montrose, assuring him, that he would make no concessions, inconsistent with the powers he had given him in his commission; and declaring, that, though he called them a committee of estates, he was determined not to acknowledge them to be legally so. This letter was intercepted, and was of infinite prejudice to the King. Abram Cowley, on the 13th of March, writes about it to secretary Long, in the following terms: "No doubt it has done the King a great deal of hurt; but it is very happy, that it has missed of the chief end, for which I conceive it was published, which was to hinder the treaty. That danger is now over; and the only doubt remaining is, whether the treaty will produce an agreement; and I dare say, all the world, besides a few of our nation, believe it so great a madness not to agree, that they think it impossible to happen."

140.

142.

Anonymous letters, with news from Leghorn, April 9th and 13th, 1650.

145.

The Queen-mother to the King. Paris, May 26th, 1650.

Original.

"Monsieur mon Fils,

J'ay veu par la copie du traité avec les Eccossois que vous m'avez envoyé, comme vous avez consenty á tout ce qu'ils ont désiré touchant le covenant. Je confesse que cela m'a surprise extremement de voir que vous avez fait ce que vous protestiez ne vouloir jamais faire: et quoique vous ne le preniez pas presentement, neanmoins s'est le prendre en une autre espece, que ce sermant que vous avez promis de prendre, et aussi des avantageux pour vous, et autant contre ce que je vous ay ouy declarer. Vous savez assez comme j'ay soueste (souhaité) sette accomodement, mais aussi sur quels termes, qui sont elloygnees de ce qui s'est fait, vous ayant toujours dit, qu'il ne falloit jamais prendre ce covenant, et * encore je vous dis, hors se covenant, et § et le soing de vos amis, vous ne deviez pas desputer sur le reste. Je suis obligée devant Dieu, et envers vous, de vous faire congnoistre que ce n'a pas esté de mon advis, ce qui a esté fait, et que je crois vous

* A word illegible.

§ A word illegible.

y avez esté surpris : etant une chose encore laquelle je vous ay entendu tant protester, et que le feu Roy votre pere avoit en *sy grande horeur*. Mais s'en est fait. Il nia plus de remede. Il *n'an fault* plus parler, puisque l'affaire est conclue : ce que j'ay à vous dire davantage, est sur mon particulier. Le *covenant* estant si violant contre moy et ma Religion, il peut estre que les Eccoslois ne voudront plus, que je me melle de vos affaires. Vous scavez qu'il y a longtems que je l'avois *soueste* (souhaité) et vous l'avois demandé. Mais vous m'aviez toujours commandé le contraire, et jugiez que mes services vous pourroit estre utiles. Ce que j'ay à dire est, que *sy* ils *sents* dans cette opinion, et vous *offy*, que je suis toute preste à me retirer. Pour vous faire voir que je n'ay point d'austres *desseings* que pour votre service, quoique je croye que je vous peus servir à cette heure plus que je n'ay fait auparavant. Car *sertainement tout* les princes *Catoliques sont* alarmés de la maniere de ce traité, et il y a *aparance* qu'ils *oront* plus de croyance en moy, qu'en personne pour les rassurer : et *sy* les Eccoslois *pretendent* de vous reestabli tout seuls, je crains qu'ils *se trompe*, ou vous tromperont : l'affair n'estant pas *sy aysee* que cela : et *sans assistance* des Princes de dehors, vous ne feres jamais rien. Je voudrois me tromper moy-même. Mais je crains beaucoup. Mes prieres ne manqueront jamais, et rien ne me puis oster la *tandresse*, qui est dans mon coeur pour vous. Dieu vous *done toute* ses benedictions en *se monde ysy*, et dans l'autre que jamais personne ont eu ; *sest* l'ardant priere de

Monseigneur mon Fils

Votre tres affectionnee Mere,

HENRIETTE MARIE R."

There is a postscript of eight lines to this letter ; but the pen is drawn through it in such a manner as to make it totally illegible.

The several papers concerning Sir Robert Long, Sir Richard Greenville, and Peter Massonet's accusation of Sir Edward's Hyde's correspondence with Cromwell, and of Hyde's accusation of Long's corresponding with Ireton, are preserved in this volume. All the particulars of this affair, which made a great noise, at the time, and was afterwards, the tenth article in the impeachment against the Earl of Clarendon, are already well known.

A. L. folio,
page 144—
166 and
189—201.

King Charles II. to Sir Robert Long. Paris, Nov. 11th, 1651.

Original.

167.

" Robin Long, I forgot last weeke to write to you, to give you notice of my being heere. This is now to that purpose ; and I can yett give you no further account either of my selfe or my busines ; I know not whether I shall stay here, or to what other place I may be caled, by the condition of my bussines. Pray, therefore,

fore, bee very carefull to advertice as many of my servants as are in the Low Countries, that they doe not come this way, till they heare from me. It would bee very inconvenient to me and themselves, if they should. This is all I have at present to say, more than to assure you, that I am,

Your most affectionate friend,

CHARLES R."

"Pray excuse me to my sifter and to the Queen of Bohemia, that I did not write this post: for really, I did not thinke the post had gone away so soone; for I had scarce time to write this."

The Queen-mother to secretary Long.

Original.

S I R,

Jully the 4th.

"The King will be upon his remove within fourteen days after the date of this. I give you this notis too prevent your removal, and that you may the better prepare your applications you would make to the King for a just trial. Other things that I will not mention, will fall accours. If you have had any thoughts of the King's beufines for the prokewring of hors, foot or transportation, it is well. If not, let that little time, before we see you here, be alike occupied in that. The duke of Yorke has taken the feeld with verry good equipage. I shall trouble you no more, till I assure you of my servise. Adeu."

169, 170, 171, Sundry letters to Mr. secretary Long; of no consequence.

172.

"Draughts of letters to count Magnus de la Garde, the father, and to the chancellor of Sweden, on sending an extraordinary embassy to that court."

Qr. 179.

A letter from the general assembly of the kirk of Scotland to the King, about his consenting to the covenant. July 6th, 1650.

180, 182,
and 184.

Letters from Mr. John Simpson and Mr. Mason. Hague, July and August, 1650.

The Prince of Orange's ill reception at some towns in Holland; his disputes with the States of Holland, &c. &c.

Qr. 183.

"A letter from the general assembly of the kirke of Scotland to the King. August 19th, 1650." Thanks for his signing the covenant, and for omitting, in his declaration, the name of the queen-mother, on account of her idolatry.

185.

"Copy of King Charles II.d's letter to the Emperor of Morocco, by his ambassadour, lord Bellamont; written from Scotland, in the year 1651." He notifies the murder of his father, and desires the Emperor's assistance to recover his dominions.

186.

"J. Webster to the King. Amsterdam, Sept. 2d, 1650. He endeavours to raise 30,000 pounds in Holland. But was disappointed by the Prince of Orange's attempt upon Amsterdam. He gives an account of the sale of the crown jewels at Rotterdam.

"Con-

“Considerations worthy to be weighed, in the case of the English gentlemen now in prison.” These gentlemen were imprisoned in Spain, for killing the agent of the commonwealth of England. All the particulars of this affair, which are well known, are at full length, in letters to the King from lord Cottington and Sir Edward Hyde, his Majesty’s ambassadours to the court of Spain, in this volume, p. 174—177. A. L. folio, page 188.

Abbé Salmonet to the King and to Queen Christina of Sweden. He writes to the King about his history, and asks materials for the second part of it, which related to the death of King Charles I. He writes in the same subject, to Queen Christina, to whom he had addressed his book. 201—204.

King Charles II.’s original letter to the marquis of Montrose. He desires him to disband the troops, on concluding the treaty of Breda with the Scots. 205.

Account of William duke of Somerset’s death and funeral, October 24, 1660, ætatis 74, and of his successor, William duke of Somerset’s death, December 12, 1671, ætatis 19. 208.

Original letter from the privy council to “our very good lord, the lord Herbert, lord-lieutenant of the county of Hertford,” about defaulters in musters, December 14, 1660. 209.

The same to “our very good lord Herbert, of Ragland, lord-lieutenant of the county of Gloucester. January 8, 1660.” Directions about disarming the disaffected, &c. 210.

Sir John Talbot to lord Herbert, at Bodmington, Wiltshire, July 11th, 1663. News of the earl of Bristol’s impeachment of the earl of Clarendon. 212.

Original letters to the lord Herbert; one to him, as lord-lieutenant of the county of Gloucester, about the militia, &c. on August 19th, 1661; another to him, as lord-lieutenant of the county of Hereford, on the same subject, August 5th, 1663. 213—214.

Original of a letter from the privy council to the marquis of Worcester, lord-lieutenant of the county of Hereford, September 29th, 1668; enjoining mayors and bailiffs of burroughs to take the oaths. 215.

Sir Leoline Jenkins to the marquis of Worcester. Doctor’s Commons, Sept. 8th, 1675. He writes about the disposal of an estate, and gives his opinion, at full length. 216.

Copy of the duke of Ormond’s letter to the earl of Rochester. Dublin, December 30th, 1684; written to that lord when he was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland. 221.

Godfrey Harcourt to the duke of Beaufort, May 9th, 1685. News of Otes’s being convicted of perjury. 223.

Copy

A. L. folio,
Page 224.

Copy of a letter from the duke of Ormond to Sir Robert Southwell. Windsor, August 17th, 1685, on family business. "I am not certain, but there may be some attempts to trim the settlement of Ireland; and some neate-handed barbers of the law may contrive how it must be done, if they are back't with force. Yet I should think there are but two ways; either by commission or by parliament. That of commission has bin tried and laid aside: but it may be reassumed, and this thought to be a more favourable conjuncture for it than 1670. To shake the settlement by parliament requires more preparation; sheriffs to favour elections must be named; and the house of lords must be filled with peers, that will concur. In short, I know not what is designed, or by what means.

I believe you will shortly heare, that the earl of Macklesfield is prisoner in the Tower, as well as his sonne. I am certain they both deserve it. Time will produce what may prove fatal to them. I am, with reality, Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

ORM."

277. Account from Edinburgh of the earl of Argyle's defeat. June 18th, 1685.

It is an account of facts which are well known.

229. Extract of a letter from Sir John Percival, July 14th, 1685.

He writes about the affairs of Ireland; the hardships of the act prohibiting the Irish to trade directly to the plantations; and the consequences of the proclamation calling in the arms of the militia.

"This proclamation doth disquiet the minds of the militia, especially of the common sort, who are all fearful, lest endeavours should have been used to represent them to his Majesty, as persons disaffected to his service, and not fit to be trusted with arms, though they are all English, and universally, in those parts, Protestants of the church of England, and have all taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, a little before King Charles the Second's death (such being then turned out as refused); and the officers have all produced certificates of their having taken the sacrament, as required by the church of England, upon an order from the government of this kingdom, about 12 months since. And many of the Irish gentlemen of this country openly spread abroad reports, and tell the English themselves, that their arms are thus called in to be given to them, as the King's best subjects; and that, they say, is the meaning of the proclamation, in the expression used therein, viz. that the captains are to keep the arms, for the use of the militia, or such other uses as his Majesty may have for them. This serves to disquiet the minds of the common people: but the officers, and all others of better sense, are so well satisfied with his Majesty's gracious and royal opinion, declared to the advantage of all the church of England principles, that no such idle fear enters their thoughts; but they wholly rely upon, and acquiesce in, the assurances given by his Majesty, whose word, they know, is sacred and inviolable.

People's

People's fears of troubles here are very great, especially if the rebel Monmouth should have any success; which disturbance breeds a great deal of ill blood here between the English and the Irish; the latter charging this rebellion on the whole body of the English, and telling them, that now their turn is come, and that they will make the English of this country good subjects: and the English, on such occasions, justifying themselves, and telling them, that though this be a rebellion in England, yet it is only by the worst of the King's subjects there; and that there are none, but his subjects of England, that appear in the King's service against them; with abundance of other hot discourses of this kind that run about the country; the Irish charging all the English universally, hardly three excepted in all this country, as devoted to Monmouth, and not fit to be trusted by the King: which language gives great offence and provocation to such of the English as hear it, and administers greater occasion of jealousy between the Irish and them than formerly; insomuch as each say they are afraid the others will cut their throats. And some, more fearful or disaffected than others, speak of sermons being in many places preached, by the friars of this country, upon the 5th, 6th, and 7th verses of the ninth chapter of Ezekiel; and though I cannot find any such sermon any where, by them preached, yet it serves to amuse and disquiet the ignorant sort of people, and to prejudice the little trade that is going about the country; nobody buying any thing of the countrymen: insomuch that I have not been able to receive the sixth part of my rent in money, and am fain to receive the rest in beef or corn, or to go without it.—The most apprehensive of my friends, on this side the water have been advising me, upon score of security, to cross the sea, and to go live privately in England; and, though I see not so much cause to fear, or expectation of disturbance, as they pretend to see, yet, because they desired me to move it to you, I desire the favour of your advice about it. It is upon the advice of our friends, that we have thoughts of sending part of our stocke of children, &c."

Letters from Robert (afterwards baron) Price to the duke of Beaufort, 15, 22, 24, 27, 29 Nov. 1688. A. L. folio, P. 231—239.

He gives an account of occurrences previous to, and at the time of the Revolution. Extracts have been made from some of these letters in the preceding volumes.

The same to the same, from the 20th of January, 1690, to the 16th of December, 1699. 23—286.

These letters contain the occurrences of the times; a particular account of what passed in the two houses of parliament; trials of persons who adhered to King James II.; a list of the members who would not subscribe the association. Among Price's letters, there are two letters from Henry Morgan to the duke of Beaufort, giving a particular account of Dr. Oldis's plea in favour of those who acted as privateers under a commission from King James II.

- A. L. folio,
P. 288. "Rights of the master of the horse." An account of his privileges, perquisites, &c.
289. Settlement of the Somerset estate on lord Bruce's marriage.
- 290—291. Petition of Sir Edward Walker, knight-garter, principal king at arms to King Charles II. at Breda (1650), about the right of garter, to carry the order to foreign princes, with a report thereon, and the King's confirmation of the said right.
- 292—308. "Sundry papers" of no consequence.
- 309—314. Letters and commissions to colonel Robert Ellice, communicated by his grandson, Mr. P. Ellice, to Mr. Thomas Carte, about raising a regiment for the King's service, 1642 and 1643.
- 315—322. Copies of, and extracts from, papers which are printed.
- 323—338. Treaty with Portugal, in 1703; journey from England to France, by a spy, 1704; orders from the admiralty about foreign ships, 1704; letters from Mr. Harley, 1703 and 1706; instructions to lord Peterborough, 1706; official letters and papers, 1706, 1707, 1709. These papers contain nothing that is not very well known.
- 340—354. Extracts from different books of Mr. Thomas Carte; letters written to him; and some papers, which contain nothing material, collected by him.
355. Introduction to the history and antiquities of Durham.
It consists of fifty-three folio pages; and is rather a collection of materials for the history of Durham, than an introduction to it.
- 356—360. Extracts and papers, which contain nothing material.

Besides the papers of which a list is given in this Appendix, and those few which are published in the preceding volumes, or to which Mr. Carte himself refers in his history, this volume contains extracts by him from Rymer's *Fœdera*; from the first duke of Beaufort's letters, from 1644 to 1658; from letters of the privy council to ditto, from 1660 to 1697; from O. Cromwell's letters and papers, published 1742, by Nicholas; E. Strafford's letters and dispatches, in two volumes, and Sir George Radcliff's *Essay on his Life*, 1739; and from other books, particularly lord Clarendon's tracts, 1727; from the *ambassade de Noailles*, from 1553 to 1557, about Mary, Queen of Scots; from Wavrias's history in MS. of England, in 2 vols. in Bibl. Reg. in Paris, about the death of Hen. VI.; with the value of peers' estates in the counties of Gloucester, Monmouth, and Hereford, and of the rectory of St. Petherton in Somerset, and of the manor of Halberton in Devon; Thompson, dean of Bristol's vindication from a charge of rebaptizing, &c. &c.

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Macpherson, James

Original Papers; Containing The Secret History of Great Britain, From The
Restoration, To The Accession Of The House Of Hannover To Which Are
Prefixed Extracts from the Life of James II. As Written By Himself
Bd.: 2

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